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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *n.*, note by the person named; *r.*, review by the person named.

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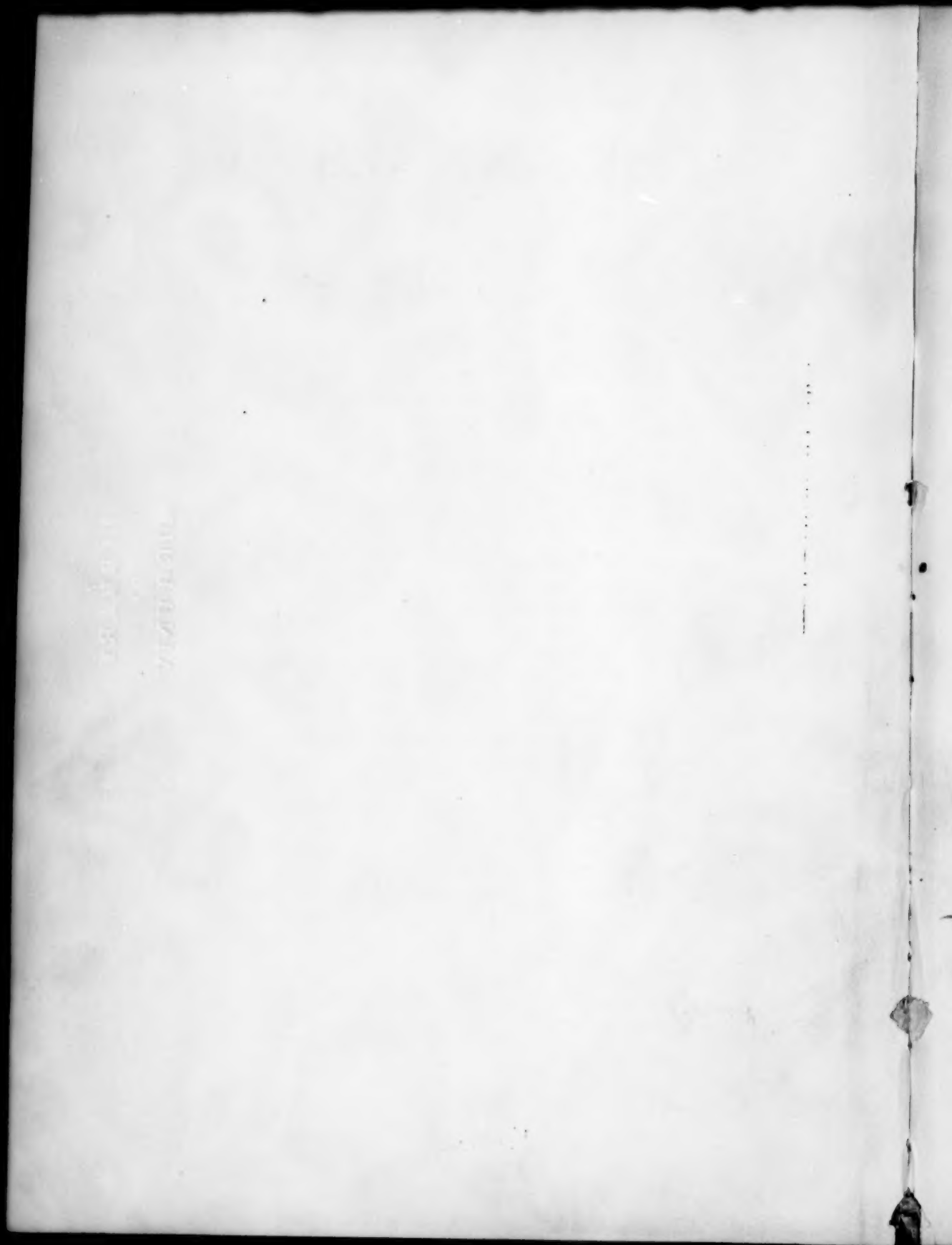
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Proceedings of the session of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held February 24, 1906. Introductory Remarks by the President of the Academy, Prof. L. S. Rowe. Addresses by His Excellency, Senor Don Joaquin D. Casaus, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the United States; His Excellency, Senor Don Joaquin Nabuco, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Brazil to the United States; His Excellency, Senor Don Ignacio Calderon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia to the United States; His Excellency, Senor Don Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica to the United States. May, 1906. Pp. 22.

GLASGOW'S EXPERIENCE WITH MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION.

WATER, GAS, ELECTRICITY AND STREET RAILWAYS.

BY ROBERT CRAWFORD, LL. D.,

Ex-Councillor, Ex-Burgh Magistrate, Ex-Chairman of the Committee on Health of Glasgow, Member for Ten Years of Committee on Street Railways, Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of the City of Glasgow.

The corporation of Glasgow is the representative body to which the citizens entrust its municipal government. Two separate elective bodies are appointed having charge respectively of education and poor law administration, but the Town Council (which is the corporation) has the responsibility of practically all other departments of the city government.

Glasgow has for many years taken a wide and comprehensive view of the work which its governing body should carry out for its inhabitants, and thus we find that the scope of its municipal operations is probably broader and more extensive than what prevails in any other city in the United Kingdom. Not only does the corporation of Glasgow undertake all the duties which naturally and necessarily have to be discharged by every city government, but it handles in addition large enterprises of a commercial character which were at one time generally, and still are quite commonly, entrusted to private enterprise and control.

The work carried on by the corporation falls thus into two main divisions or groups. The first group includes all those services for which no charge is directly imposed for the services rendered, the cost being defrayed out of the rates. These include police and fire protection, roads and bridges, lighting, cleansing, public health and sanitation, infectious disease hospitals, libraries, art galleries, museums, parks, playgrounds, botanic gardens, etc. These and many other minor services are at the call and use equally of every citizen,

without limit and without distinction of class, the cost thereof being met by an assessment based on the rental or annual value of all occupied buildings or lands within the municipal limits.

The second main division of municipal administration consists of those services of a more commercial character which derive no aid from the rates, and for which every person, citizen or stranger, pays only, if and when, he or she makes use of them. Here again the number of services is legion, and comprises among other departments markets, abattoirs, baths and wash-houses, bowling-greens and golf courses, lodging-houses and houses for the laboring classes, etc. Such conveniences are publicly provided and controlled for many and various reasons, but primarily for public health and amenity, and also because the citizens desire that this should be so. None of these are monopolies in any strict sense, but they are of such manifest public convenience and advantage that their public ownership and management is generally approved. The most important enterprises under this head, however, are those which form the subject matter of this article, viz.:

Gas, Water, Electricity and Street Railways.

These four great departments, with their army of servants and officials, their enormous capital cost, and their princely revenues have all been made or acquired with public money, and are carried on by the corporation profitably and successfully without friction, and to the manifest satisfaction of the people, and the advantage and prosperity of the city.

There is probably no citizen of Glasgow who could be found so foolish or so bold, as to propose to-day, that any of these four great natural communal services should be divorced from public control and handed over again to private ownership. No doubt very large sums in cash could be obtained for each of these civic monopolies, and very stringent conditions could be imposed on the concessionaries for the public protection, but no sum of money however extravagant, and no conditions however apparently advantageous, would now be sufficient to tempt the people of Glasgow to part with the privilege of possessing and managing what have now become municipal necessities.

It is true that the organization of each of these great departments is admirable, that they are all financially very successful, that they are all highly flexible and sensitive to the public wants, and

minister in a marked degree to the public well-being, health and comfort. All this is expected in Glasgow from every department of the municipal service, and as a rule is rendered. But, while this is true, there is something more. There is in Glasgow to-day a large infusion among citizens of every class of the civic spirit. There is civic pride in civic enterprises and institutions. These enterprises are the property of the people, their very own, to be appreciated, cherished and encouraged as well as used. This attachment to and loyal support of things municipal was strikingly shown when, eleven years ago, the street tramways were first operated under city control. The service under the private company had fallen out of public favor, but on the very first day that the corporation cars were run, the people began traveling by the municipal street cars in great numbers, as it almost seemed for the mere joy and pleasure of using their own property. The truth is that the great magnetic power of public possession has, during the last twenty-five years, gone far to develop among the citizens of Glasgow, a feeling of loyalty, responsibility, order and a permanent living interest in civic affairs and business, which is entirely admirable and of great value to all aspects of its public life.

It was not ever thus. As I will show in the short history which follows of each of the four great branches of public service now under consideration, they were all held at one time under separate private ownerships. It is indeed only within the last forty or fifty years that the conviction has begun to grow in the minds of Scotchmen that the community as such should and could conduct its own proper public business, and supply its own communal needs through the agency and under the management of its own public representatives, without the intervention or exploitation of private capital. In each of these enterprises, the private owners were only eliminated after long resistance, at great public cost, and amid much doubt and controversy as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the proposed public ownership. In no case have the anticipations of the overtimid been justified. Good public management, wise, honest and able officials, along with public confidence and support, have led up to complete success and enormous growth and development in every branch. It may be worth while to look briefly for the reasons and causes of this very satisfactory state of things in Glasgow, and generally throughout our Scottish cities and towns.

And first, as to the suffrage: The elective franchise is entirely democratic; every person, male or female, who pays the rates for poor relief is entitled to vote in the election of the council members. The municipal constituency numbers 140,000 persons all entitled to vote, out of a population of 800,000. The city is divided into twenty-five divisions or wards, each ward being entitled to return three council members. One member retires from each ward every year, so that there is maintained a constant interest and movement among the electors who can indicate their views and feelings by re-electing or changing one-third of their representatives annually without violently upsetting the working of the municipal machinery by wholesale changes. Candidates are generally nominated for election or re-election at the annual public meeting of the ward electors, and any person who is a rate-payer in any ward of the city may be a candidate for any division. Contests are frequent,—one-third to one-half of the wards being contested annually. National politics do not enter into the elections to any visible or serious extent, the choice of a councillor being usually dependent on character, experience and business ability, qualified by his views on temperance, finance, labor questions, municipal employment, salaries, etc.

Bribery and corruption of voters is unknown, and the expenses which may be incurred by candidates in carrying on their election is regulated by statute in proportion to the population; seldom exceeding in any ward one hundred pounds. The representatives are unpaid and no councillor can hold any office of profit, or take contracts, or supply goods to the corporation while he holds his office. Councillors are chosen from all ranks, occupations and professions, and are of very varying degrees of wealth and social standing,—merchant princes, large manufacturers, doctors, lawyers, shop-keepers and small tradesmen are accepted as of equal standing and importance in their position as town councillors, and all may rise to posts of importance as chairmen of committees, burgh magistrates, and other prominent offices, not in any way by virtue of their wealth, but solely by the evidence they give of usefulness, talent and public spirit. There is no log-rolling, very little of clique or party feeling and the council as a body is conspicuously honest and free from all taint or suspicion of direct or improper personal interest of any kind. There is of course plenty of public talk and debate on all important points of public interest, but the voting is generally directed by a conscientious desire on the

part of individual members to settle all business in the way best calculated to promote the public interest. It follows from the character and constitution of the council that it forms an excellent body from which the members may be drawn who are to do the very important work of the various great standing committees. The committees who carry on the actual work of such enterprises as water, gas, electricity and tramways, usually consist each of twenty-five members, one being chosen from the representatives of each of the twenty-five city wards. A chairman and vice-chairman are appointed by the council for each committee, and the committees themselves are chosen or re-appointed annually. Meetings of committees is approved by the council. The general public meetings of details of the work done at these meetings are printed in detail in the form of minutes and presented to the whole council for review and discussion. As a general rule the recommendation of these committees is approved by the council. The general public meetings of the council are very fully reported in the press, and as this body is always highly sensitive to public opinion, and their proceedings regarded with great interest by the citizens, there is every guarantee that no abuses or blunders can occur in committee without coming into the full blaze of public criticism and comment.

This, then, is the body of seventy-five honest, intelligent and generally capable men who on behalf of their fellow citizens, undertake without fee or reward, the great responsibility and labor of carrying on the complex and elaborate machinery of municipal government in Glasgow. That they accomplish this with signal success is known to the world. But there is no secret concealed beneath this great success,—no charm or magic in the method. There is nothing in the system which would necessarily and of itself give guarantee of success. The system is undoubtedly good, probably as good as could be devised. The secret of success, however, lies deeper than the mere machinery and must be sought for mainly in the honesty, uprightness, capacity, self-sacrifice and patriotism of the men chosen by an intelligent community and entrusted with this great communal duty.

The chairman of the council is the Lord Provost of the city, who does not receive salary or money allowance of any kind. He holds the office for three years, and is during that period not only the civic but also the social head of the city. He is appointed by the

council itself, as a rule, on account of his long service, ability and high character.

During the period of his office he presides at the public meetings of the city council, and is in constant touch with the chief officials, chairmen of committees, etc., and knows all the main movements of municipal business. Outside of the council he is the leading exponent of municipal policy, ideas and ideals,—very much as the Prime Minister of Great Britain is the recognized mouth-piece of the government. The Lord Provost, however, drops national politics absolutely during his three years of office. He may be, and often is, a keen politician, but just as there are no national politics recognized in carrying on municipal business, so the first citizen, on his election to his office, strips himself entirely of all political color so long as he holds the official status of head of the municipality.

The administrative body which exercises control over Glasgow's municipal industries is thus by its character, composition and experience admirably adapted to carry on successfully these great civic commercial undertakings on sound commercial and business lines. The absence of the political elements and of direct self-interest, the free public criticism, the method of election and the existence of the civic spirit, impart to such a body just the right tone, temper and capacity for sound, sane and efficient administration of public affairs. The staff of paid municipal officers and employees are selected on similar lines. There are no gifts of lucrative offices or posts to confer on political friends or supporters, experience, merit and ability alone being recognized. As a rule, the official heads of the great departments are invested with full powers of discipline and control over the various staffs of public employees.

The committees on gas, water, electricity and street cars deal, as a rule, only with important matters of policy and organization, leaving to the chief manager of the department absolute discretion and power in the matter of employment or dismissal of the personnel of municipal workers. His aim and object being efficiency, he permits no other consideration whatever to influence him in carrying on his work as responsible departmental chief. The municipal employees number over 15,000, and a considerable proportion have votes. These employees from time to time have made efforts publicly to influence the election of councillors who had expressed themselves as

specially in sympathy with their interests as wage-earners, but up to the present this has not assumed the proportions of a very serious danger, although it may become so in time, and may have to be dealt with for the protection of municipal independence.

The wages and general conditions of the men employed by the municipality are exceedingly good, better indeed than those prevailing in private employment, but not extravagantly so. The very best class of men are anxious to enter into municipal employment on account of its permanence and other advantages, and the supply obtainable is practically unlimited. Civility, courtesy, smartness and reliability in their contact with the public are required from all such public servants, and, as a rule, are practiced. And thus it comes that the enterprises of which I am writing are not only conducted economically and efficiently, but in addition are most satisfying to the citizens, who would never consent to part with them as municipal possessions.

A very important question of principle arises in connection with the finance side of the group of municipal services now under consideration. Quite a number of municipalities who carry on similar enterprises successfully take from their surplus funds annually considerable sums for relief of the municipal rates. Glasgow has constantly declined to follow this example. She has always acted on the principle that each public service should be water-tight, asking nothing, and giving nothing financially to any other department of the public service. All profits are therefore used to lower the charges to the public, or to increase the facilities for use of the various services. This self-denying policy seems perfectly sound and eminently equitable. To each citizen there comes in this way his due proportion of advantage according to the measure of his use of the public services or utilities. As a result of this policy Glasgow claims that not only has she the best, but very much the cheapest supply to the users of water, gas, electricity and street railroads in Great Britain.

If further justification be sought for the public possession and operation of these undertakings, it is to be found in the nature of the services themselves in relation to the public convenience. In the first place, these enterprises are in the nature of civic monopolies,—competition in the supply of water, gas, electricity and tramways, all requiring as their essential condition, the use of the public streets

and highways, and it could in no case be of advantage that rivalry should exist. The streets being public property, and set aside for public uses, cannot be given over to the tender mercies of competing undertakings to deal with at their own will, and in modern days with its enormous increase and development of such public services there seems no reasonable course possible other than the entire public possession and control of every enterprise which requires the use of the streets of a city for its operation.

I have set down at some length the general reasons and ideas prevailing in Glasgow as to public ownership, and some of the reasons and conditions which have led to its success, but it must be further added that the bold and progressive example set by Glasgow has had the result over the whole United Kingdom of greatly stimulating municipal enterprise, and of generally developing municipal ownership. If Glasgow, through laxity or bad management or any other cause, had unfortunately made a failure in any of these services, her failure would have acted as a check on the municipal progress of the whole country. Happily, nothing of this kind has occurred. The history of each of these and of other departments may be scanned, without finding the record of any important failure in management or serious blunder in policy. Glasgow's success has in this way been a valuable contribution to the progress of communal government in the United Kingdom and even beyond it, and a constant stream of students of municipal institutions and civic control sets towards the city of St. Mungo. These students come from every city and every country and from no country in such numbers as the United States. All who are interested in these matters are cordially welcomed, and every facility afforded them to learn all about everything. Glasgow is cosmopolitan enough to desire that, if she has any knowledge or experience of any kind that is likely to be useful to other communities, all are welcome to take advantage of it.

The following are the chief points of interest (avoiding details and figures as much as possible) relating to the several departments under review.

Glasgow's Water Supply.

In 1855 the Glasgow Corporation obtained powers from Parliament to acquire by purchase the works of two private companies

which were then supplying the city of Glasgow with water, and to construct new works for bringing a plentiful supply of pure water to the city and surrounding districts from Loch Katrine and other lochs in the Perthshire Highlands, and distant from Glasgow over thirty-five miles. The scheme had been under discussion for ten years, and was bitterly opposed by the two private companies, costing the city in parliamentary expenses alone over £26,000 sterling. The supply up to that time had been meagre in quantity, and most execrable in quality, being mainly drawn from the river Clyde, which was fast becoming a poisonous and foetid stream. In March, 1860, the city was able to turn off the river water as a source of domestic supply forever.

The citizens of that date were not all models of enlightenment, and the bold and novel proposal to bring a supply of water from a series of remote highland lakes with many intervening mountains, was subjected to fierce and long continued opposition by a portion of the rate-payers. Every conceivable kind of calamity was predicted at the ward meetings and in the press, and the most absurd criticism was indulged in, but common sense at length prevailed, and the vast task of tunnelling the mountains taken energetically in hand. The aqueducts have since been duplicated, and the storage capacity now possessed by Glasgow is sufficient to supply the city with clear crystalline cold water to the extent of one hundred million gallons per day. The water is remarkably uniform in quality, temperature and color,—summer sun and winter storm affect it but little,—it is absolutely free from pollution, and needs no filtration. There is certainly not another city in the kingdom,—indeed it is doubtful if anywhere on the face of the earth there is a large population so advantageously situated as the people of Glasgow for water supply in respect of abundance, purity and cheapness. It has been of incalculable value in fostering the arts and industries of the city. Its effect on the tables of mortality was something magical, especially in respect of diarrhoeal affections and diseases of the young. The whole effect of this great and bold municipal venture in promoting the health and welfare of the people may never be reckoned up, while its blessings and benefits of many multifarious kinds would fill a volume.

The domestic water rate charged to consumers is only 5d. per pound on rental of dwelling houses, and all other rates proportion-

ately low,—not much more than one shilling per head of the population supplied,—and this for an absolutely unlimited individual supply. The saving of cost to the citizens under their own ownership of water supply (leaving out all questions of quality and quantity) as compared with the cost under private ownership, has been calculated at not less than a million and a quarter pounds sterling. Mr. Bateman, the original engineer of the scheme, made a calculation that the saving in the use of domestic articles by reason of the softness of the water (including soap, tea, coffee, etc.) would more than pay the whole domestic water rate.

Charitable institutions are all supplied free of charge, as are also the public baths and wash-houses belonging to the corporation. Nor does the water department charge the other branches for water used for cleansing purposes, watering streets, flushing sewers, extinguishing fires, etc., thus introducing a freedom and simplicity most beneficial to the public interest. The cost of the whole undertaking amounts to over four million pounds, and the population supplied, inside and outside the city limits, numbers over 1,100,000, the consumption per head being equal to fifty-six and a half gallons per day.

Municipal ownership and municipal management have a splendid and enduring monument in the Glasgow Corporation water works.

Glasgow Corporation Gas Supply.

Gas was first introduced into Glasgow in 1818. It was not until 1869 that the citizens made up their minds finally that the making and distribution of gas was a public service that ought not to be carried on under private ownership, but rather that it was essentially suited to municipal ownership and management. Until 1869 two gas companies had competed for the business, and had the right to lay their mains and distribute pipes throughout the city. Grumbling and dissatisfaction were general and perpetual. The price was said to be too high, quality bad, service faulty in many respects. After many years of friction and much negotiation, a bill was passed by Parliament (1868-69) authorizing the purchase by the city of the existing companies. The shareholders received perpetual corporation annuities for their entire capital, at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum in the case of one company, and of $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in the other.

The works so acquired were in a very bad condition of repair, as was shown by the fact that one of the companies had been losing by leakage and unaccounted-for gas as much as 23 per cent. of the total make, instead of about 10 per cent. which is now the Glasgow rate. In short, the works and the mains and pipes had to be practically renewed at the public expense. Four large and modern works, fitted with all the latest machinery and methods for gas production now supply an area of sixteen miles long by twelve in breadth. The gas sold in 1870 amounted to 1,295,866,000 cubic feet,—the price was four shillings and seven pence per thousand feet, and the gross revenue was £235,701.

In 1904-05, the price for domestic consumption was two shillings and a penny per thousand feet,—the gross revenue totaled £800,177, and the amount of gas sold reached the enormous total of close on six thousand millions of cubic feet, and the quantity of coals carbonized reached to seven hundred thousand tons. The entire capital cost to the corporation of their gas undertaking is close on four millions of pounds sterling, from which depreciation has been written off exceeding one and a quarter million pounds sterling. Gas stoves and cooking ranges are hired or sold, and more than 100,000 of these have been brought into use through the organization of the corporation. From every possible aspect the management and control of the gas supply of Glasgow by the city government must be pronounced an unqualified success. The price is low, the supply and quality good, the public convenience fully met in every way, and there is no complaint on the part of any section of the public.

Glasgow Electricity Department.

The electric lighting order, conferring on the corporation the sole privilege of publicly supplying electricity for light and power was not applied for until 1890. A small company was then in existence for this purpose, but having no right to use the streets for cables, their business was very limited. This company was acquired by the corporation at the price of £13,000. No one then had or could have any idea of the magnitude to which the undertaking would so rapidly attain. In the year ending May 31, 1905, the gross revenue already amounted to nearly two hundred thousand pounds, and there is every evidence that this will increase by leaps and

bounds for many years to come,—not alone from the increased use of electricity for light, but even more markedly for power purposes. Many users of power are gradually abandoning the use of steam entirely in favor of electric driving. The capital expenditure is now one million and a quarter pounds sterling, and large additions to the various stations are now being made.

The management is in the hands of a committee of twenty-five members of the corporation, and there seems no reason to think that their work could be better done in any other way. The enterprise is commercially sound, and the supply gives every satisfaction to the citizens alike from its convenience and moderate cost. The keeping of this service under public control along with gas and water is manifestly a great public convenience in so far as the opening up of streets is concerned inasmuch as it permits of the official heads of the respective departments arranging together to reduce this to its lowest possible limit.

Glasgow Street Railways or Tram Cars.

The first tramway in Glasgow was constructed by the corporation and opened on August 19, 1872. The service was by animal traction, and was operated by the Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company, to whom the system was leased for twenty-two years. On July 1, 1894, the corporation commenced to operate the tramways as a municipal undertaking,—the company's lease expiring at twelve o'clock on the night previous and a full and complete corporation service was running six hours later. The length of line (single track) leased to the company was sixty miles. The lines now made and authorized to be made come to close on two hundred miles of single track.

Of the total length of tramways made and authorized 62 per cent. is within and 38 per cent. without the municipal boundaries. The lines outside the city project into the outside burghs of Clydebank, Partick, Renfrew, Paisley, Pollokshaws and Rutherglen, and into the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, to Bishopbriggs, Shettleston, Tollcross, Cambuslang and Cathcart. These extensions into the outlying districts have all been made at the request of the communities concerned, and the corporation of Glasgow has always acted with the fullest co-operation and support of all the burgh and county authorities.

The city of Glasgow, with most of the places above mentioned, forms really one community. The corporation, in making arrangements for extensions of the tramway system, has always recognized this fact, and has, consequently, regarded the whole tramway system as one, giving the outside communities exactly the same tramway facilities and at the same fares as are enjoyed by the citizens of Glasgow.

Prior to 1894 the Tramways Committee considered the question of mechanical traction, and reported on various systems. The line, however, being in the hands of the lessees up to the last day of the lease, it was impossible to start with any other system than horse traction. In 1895 a committee was again appointed to go fully into the question of electric traction. This committee finally reported in favor of the overhead system or trolley. The Springburn line, extending to two and a half miles of route, was equipped as a demonstration of the system, and the line opened on October 13, 1898. So satisfactory in every way was this demonstration during the first two months' working that, on December 28, 1898, it was decided to convert the whole of the tramways to the overhead system. The equipment of the whole of the routes was completed by the summer of 1901, and the last horse cars had disappeared by the end of April, 1902.

The power station is situated at Pinkston, on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and is one of the largest traction stations in Europe. It is bounded on one side by the canal, and is connected with both the Caledonian and North British Railways. The building is 244 feet in length by 200 feet in breadth, and the height of the walls is 88 feet. The boiler room, which forms the east bay, with a span of 84 feet, contains sixteen Babcock and Wilcox boilers, each capable of producing 20,000 pounds of steam per hour, at a working pressure of 160 pounds per square inch. The engine room, which forms the centre bay, contains four main engines, designed to work at 4,000 I. H. P., but which are capable of developing a maximum of 5,000. Two of the engines are of American make, and two of British make. Each engine is directly coupled to a three-phase generator, designed for an output of 2,500 kilowatts at a pressure of 5,000 volts.

There are also two auxiliary engines of 800 to 1,000 horsepower, each coupled to a direct current dynamo. In the west bay are situated all the auxiliary plant.

From the feeder panels of the main switchboard in the power station four three-score cables are led to each of five substations, which are situated at Coplawhill and Kinning Park, on the south side of the river; Partick, in the west; Whitevale, in the east, and Dalhousie, near the centre of the city. The units in each of the substations are all of the same size, each static transformer being 200 kilowatts, and each rotary convertor 500 kilowatts.

When the corporation took over the lines in 1894 almost the whole of the system had been previously relaid with steel girder rails, weighing 79 pounds per yard. The corporation introduced a heavier section, weighing 89 pounds, and since 1898 all the rails used, both in renewals and extensions, have been 100 pounds per yard, and in 60 feet lengths. The rails are laid to a gauge of 4 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, on a bed of Portland cement concrete 6 inches in depth, and extending 18 inches beyond the outer rails. The feeder system of cables is laid in ducts, which are placed in the centre of the street.

Throughout the whole system the trolley wires are supported in the centre of the track by span wires. In Great Western Road, from Kelvinbridge to Hyndland Road, the centre pole construction has been adopted. There are also a few centre poles on the Springburn route, and also on Glasgow bridge. Wherever possible the span wires have been attached to the buildings on either side of the street by means of rosettes.

The workshops of the department are situated at Coplawhill, on the south side of the Clyde, about a mile from the centre of the city. These cover an area of 28,000 square yards. The ground in this locality has been in the possession of the corporation for several centuries, and this portion was taken over by the tramways department from the Common Good at a valuation. The workshops consist of offices, stores, smiths' shop, sawmill, car-building shop, iron-working shop, car-repairing shop, paint shop, etc. All these departments are fully equipped with the most approved machine tools for making and repairing cars, etc. Nearly all the electric cars have been built in these workshops by the staff of the department.

There are in all nine depots for the accommodation of the electric cars. At each depot there is a roomy office for the accommodation of the traffic staff. The depot foreman has a store, workshop etc., and every convenience for the cleaning and inspection of the cars. At all the depots there are kitchens, bath-rooms, etc. There is

also, at several depots, a well-equipped gymnasium for the use of the men. The department has now 683 electric cars, and arrangements are being made for building an additional number to cope with the increasing traffic.

When the corporation started to operate the system in 1894 the fares were considerably reduced, and halfpenny fares instituted for half-mile stages. From time to time further reductions have been given, and the average distances which can be travelled at the various fares are now as under:

Fare.	Distance.
½d. ....	.58 miles
1d.	2.30 "
1½d.	3.48 "
2d.	4.64 "
2½d.	5.80 "
3d.	6.89 "
3½d.	8.15 "
4d.	9.09 "

During the year ending June 30, 1894, the number of passengers carried by the lessees was 54,000,000. During the year ending May 31, 1905, the number carried by the corporation cars exceeded 195,000,000.

TABLE SHOWING GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE GLASGOW STREET RAILWAYS UNDER MUNICIPAL CONTROL AND OPERATION.

Period (to 31st May).	Length of track (single).	Average cars 16-hour day.	Car mileage.	Passengers carried.	Receipts.	Average receipts per car mile.
1894-5..... (11 months)	64	170.97	5,192,031	57,104,647	£222,121. 11. 0.	10.26
1895-6.....	65	227.66	6,932,650	86,462,594	328,827. 8. 8	11.38
1896-7.....	73	268.20	8,127,111	98,966,658	365,761. 3. 10	10.80
1897-8.....	73	280.96	8,483,012	106,344,437	389,216. 9. 6	11.01
1898-9.....	81½	305.85	9,071,640	118,775,668	433,128. 0. 6	11.46
1899-1900...	83½	316.96	9,657,429	127,628,484	464,786. 15. 2	11.55
1900-1.....	88	322.02	9,847,545	132,557,724	484,872. 17. 10	11.82
1901-2.....	103½	365.41	12,615,021	163,678,190	612,826. 2. 4	11.66
1902-3.....	130	399.58	14,008,750	177,179,549	653,199. 18. 2	11.19

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION REGARDING ONE YEAR'S
WORKING TO MAY 31, 1905.

Total borrowing powers	£2,700,000 0.0
Borrowing powers exercised	2,232,358. 8.9
Unexhausted borrowing powers	467,641.11.3
Capital expenditure	2,763,381.12.3
Single miles of line open for traffic (average during year)....	144¼

MILEAGE OF TRACK OPEN FOR TRAFFIC AS AT MAY 31, 1905.

	SINGLE.			DOUBLE.			TOTAL.		
	Miles.	Fur.	Yds.	Miles.	Fur.	Yds.	Miles.	Fur.	Yds.
Owned.....	1		86	68	2	146	68	4	12
Leased				5	2	163	5	2	163
Total	1		86	73	5	89	73	6	175

Population served by tramways (city and suburbs).....	over 1,000,000
Traffic revenue	£756,480. 8.7
Total revenue	764,790.16.8
Working expenses	387,167. 9.2
Interest on capital	49,906. 4.7
Sinking fund	46,919. 8.9
Net balance	93,298.13.6

DISPOSAL OF NET BALANCE.

Special depreciation	£68,500. 0.0
General reserve fund	24,798.13.6
	<hr/>
	£93,298.13.6
Car miles	17,943.595
Car hours	2,619,822
Passengers carried	195,767,519
Total number of units used for traction and car lighting.....	20,268,407
Number of units used per car mile for traction and car lighting	1.13
Average number of cars in use for sixteen hours day.....	448.59
Percentage of working expenses to receipts	50.42
Average traffic revenue per car mile	10.12d.
Average traffic revenue per car hour	5s. 9.30d.
Average traffic revenue per mile of single track.....	£5.253
Average total revenue per car mile	10.23d.
Average car miles per day per car	109.59
Average speed per hour (miles)	7.4
Average car hours per day	7,177.59
Average working expenses per car mile (excluding power works cost)	4.84d.
Average working expenses per car mile (including power works cost)	5.18d.

Average working expenses per car mile (including power works cost and amount expended on permanent way renewals)	5.36d.
Average working expenses per car mile (including total power cost and amount expended on permanent way renewals).....	6.36d.
Average fare paid per passenger .....	.93d.
Average number of passengers per car mile.....	10.91
Average journeys per head of population per annum.....	195.77
Number of cars in stock	683
Total amount of sinking fund	£449,274.15.2
Amount of sinking fund applied in reduction of debt.....	£449,274.15.2
Amount of general reserve fund	£32,589.15.6
Amount of depreciation and permanent way renewals fund.....	£777,636.18.8

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENSES TO RECEIPTS.

Working expenses	50.42
Corporation of Govan .....	.66
Paisley District Tramways Co. ....	.12
Interest on capital	6.50
Sinking fund	6.11
Income tax .....	.71
Parliamentary expenses .....	.11
Annual payment to Common Good.....	3.27
Depreciation and permanent way renewals fund.....	19.97
	— 87.87
Net balance	12.13
	— 100.00

The staff of the tramways department now numbers 3,500. Of this number 3,020 are members of the Departmental Friendly Society. The weekly contribution per member is 6d., to which the tramways committee add 4d., including 1d., which is placed to the credit of a superannuation fund. The weekly aliment to members who are off work through illness is 15s. for the first six months, and 10s. for the second six months. The amount at the credit of the Superannuation Fund is now £9,591.13.6d. This fund comes into operation in 1911, and is for the benefit of members who, after long corporation service, have become unable for work.

The Friendly and Superannuation Funds have been of great value in making the employees content with their conditions and anxious to remain permanently in municipal employment. It has also had the effect, along with a liberal scale of wages, in keeping off the paid agitator, so that no strikes or threats of strikes have taken place among the men. The wages and general conditions are distinctly better than those paid by private employers for a similar kind

of service, and the supply of suitable men seeking corporation employment is always far in excess of the demand.

The writer has set down the facts relating to Glasgow's street railways at some considerable length and detail, because of the great importance of this form of municipal enterprise, and because of the prominence recently given in America to its municipal ownership of this service. The decision of the corporation to undertake this comparatively new branch of public management was not arrived at without much public doubt and controversy. The success has been so immediate and so great, and the convenience and happiness of the population have been so marvelously enhanced, that all doubt and questioning is now at rest. From the very first morning on which the corporation cars ran on the streets, a loyal and hearty approval was given to the service by the whole body of the people. Even as horse cars the corporation service was an enormous improvement on that of the company. The conversion of the system to electric trolley was accomplished without a hitch, and without a blunder. Fares are exceedingly low, as the tables show, the service swift, bright, clean and frequent. No advertising on the cars is permitted. The conductors, smartly dressed in uniform, are civil and obliging, and satisfaction is universal.

The success of Glasgow's street tramways has had, as already indicated, a vast influence on the history of British tramways. When Glasgow took heart of grace and determined against great opposition that the street monopoly of rails and cars should thenceforth be her own civic property and be controlled by the Town Council, the other great cities of the kingdom stood still for a time and watched this great venture and experiment. Had Glasgow blundered or failed even in a degree, it is quite certain that to-day most of the important cities would have re-leased their street railroads to private companies, and faith in the capacity of public elective bodies to handle such concerns would have been rudely shattered. But the very reverse has been the case. Not only is it true that the striking example of Glasgow has led to the general taking over of the management of their tramway system by all important cities and towns in Britain to the vast advantage of their citizens, but it is equally true that the civic spirit and confidence in communal management of public utilities and services generally has been greatly stimulated and strengthened.

The committee of twenty-five representatives, to whom the Town Council have entrusted all the complex details of an organization so vast as this, has never been composed, nor even contained one member who could be called an expert in street railways. The members have gradually been changed from year to year in the ebb and flow of representation, and are simply ordinary shrewd men of business, without special or technical training or experience of any kind. Common sense, loyalty, honesty and devotion to the interests of the whole community supply the real key to the success of Glasgow in this as in all her other communal enterprises.

THE WATER, GAS, AND ELECTRIC LIGHT SUPPLY OF LONDON

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At the outset of a survey of the existing arrangements for the supply to London of water, gas, and electric light, it will perhaps be useful to remind the reader of the development and nature of these metropolitan authorities who are in any way concerned with the special services now under consideration.

The most striking feature in the municipal history of London is the lateness of the time at which there appeared a strong central authority, really representative of the whole body of inhabitants. Until 1855 the "metropolis" did not exist; what was loosely called "London" consisted of the one square mile of the City of London with its ancient Corporation, a ring of urban parishes adjacent to it, and an outer ring of semi-urban, semi-rural parishes. All these parishes were administered by vestries which exercised powers derived chiefly from innumerable local Acts of Parliament. There was no uniformity, and there was no "central" authority for the whole area, except in the matter of police, outside the city; and the commissioners at the head of the police were appointed by, and dependent solely upon, the Home Secretary. The first reform came in 1855, when the Metropolis Management Act for the first time defined the metropolis as consisting of the City of London and certain specified parishes around it. The city was left untouched; the parishes were divided into two classes—those in the first elected each a vestry, while those of the second class were grouped into districts, each with a board elected by the parish vestries. The vestries of the first class and the district boards were given control over local sanitation and roads, and such other powers as they possessed or could obtain under local Acts. For the Metropolis as a whole there was established the Metropolitan Board of Works, appointed

by the city corporation, the vestries and district boards, and not elected directly by the ratepayers; it was at first empowered to deal with main drainage and street improvements, and later to provide parks, bridges, embankments, protection against fire, and other services.

Some modifications of details took place subsequently, but there were no organic changes prior to 1888 and 1899. By the former year the Metropolitan Board of Works, though it had done much good work and carried out many important improvements, had fallen into disrepute, partly owing to its non-representative character, which had always prevented it from being a popular body, and partly owing to certain scandals connected with its administration. The Local Government Act, 1888, replaced it by the directly-elected London County Council, and for the first time London obtained a strong central authority which commanded public interest and was entitled to speak as the representative of the whole community. But the fact that it is only within the last twenty years that such an authority has appeared in London has had for Londoners certain serious consequences, some of which will be described in the present article. Then, eleven years later, the London Government Act abolished the thirty administrative vestries and twelve district boards which divided the Metropolis outside the city, and a large number of lesser authorities, and redivided the area into twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, each with its mayor, aldermen, and councillors.

The existing authorities in the Metropolis who are in any way concerned with, or interested in, the services now to be considered are, then:

(1) *The London County Council*, governing an "administrative county" of 121 square miles, and armed with vast and varied powers. Especially is it concerned with main drainage and protection against fire; it has considerable powers in public health matters, and exercises a supervisory control over the sanitary work of the Borough Councils.

(2) *The Corporation of the City of London*.

(3) *The Metropolitan Borough Councils*.

The Corporation and the Borough Councils are the local sanitary authorities, and are concerned (*inter alia*) with roads and streets, lighting, and local drainage.

(4) and (5) *The Conservancies of the Thames and the Lea*. These two bodies are charged with the regulation and safeguarding of navigation in the two rivers, and the prevention of pollution. The Thames conservancy, which is naturally by far the more important, consists of representatives of government departments, of the councils of counties and county boroughs through which the Thames flows, of the London County Council and City Corporation, and of the ship, dock, and wharf-owners. The Lea Conservancy is composed of representatives of a small number of county and municipal authorities.

(6) *The Metropolitan Water Board*, whose constitution and powers will be described later.

But it must be remembered that the administrative county of London is surrounded now by a broad belt of more or less densely-populated territory which, ever increasing in extent, is in reality part of London, but is not included under the authority of the County Council. This belt of "Outer" or "Greater" London is divided into a number of municipal boroughs, such as West Ham, East Ham, Ealing, Wimbledon, and urban districts like Leyton, Tottenham, Walthamstow. In many respects their interests are identical with those of "Inner London," and the separation for local government purposes has become not much more than artificial.

I. WATER SUPPLY.

I. The Conditions Prior to July, 1904.

For nearly a century up to the month of July, 1904, the water supply of London was furnished by eight private companies, possessed of powers and privileges conferred by Acts of Parliament and subject to conditions similarly imposed. Each company had an area to itself, and each supplied a part not merely of London proper but also of the surrounding districts. The following table gives the names of the eight companies, their dates of formation, and the average number of houses and persons supplied:

TABLE I.

COMPANY.	Year of foundation.	Average number of houses, etc., supplied during year 1903.	Average population supplied during year 1903.
New River	1620	178,011	1,290,579
Chelsea	1723	39,555	291,127
Lambeth	1783	128,703	803,108
Southwark (1822) and Vauxhall ..	1805	128,193	860,173
West Middlesex	1806	89,831	664,746
East London	1806	223,891	1,482,156
Kent	1810	106,878	641,269
Grand Junction	1811	73,558	476,659
Totals		968,620*	6,509,817

* See note to Table IV.

The population thus supplied was about two millions greater than the population of the administrative county of London, whilst the area was nearly 620 square miles, as against the 121 square miles of London County. Parliament had originally sanctioned the principle of competition by giving to different companies powers of supply in the same areas; thus the West Middlesex, Grand Junction and East London Companies were erected with areas of supply overlapping the areas of the New River and Chelsea companies. But the disadvantages of competition to the companies were too great, and as early as 1815 coalition began. The New River and East London companies divided their common area into two parts, and agreed not to compete, and gradually by formal or informal agreements the process of complete partition was completed by 1818, and three years later received, subject to certain safeguards, the approval of a Parliamentary Committee.

The total nominal share capital of the companies was at the end of 1897, according to the report of Lord Llandoff's Commission,¹ £10,228,548, with a market value of £32,645,189. There was also preference, debenture, and mortgage stock amounting to £6,203,736, with a market value of £9,060,254. The next two tables show the sources from which the water supply was drawn in 1903, the average daily amount per head furnished by each company, and the maximum and minimum annual average in the twenty years 1884-1903:

¹ Market prices were subsequently affected by the prospect of legislation. The end of 1897 represents a normal period.

TABLE II.

SOURCE.	Imperial gallons.	Percentage of total supply.
Thames.....	42,694,100,774	55.351
Lea.....	17,336,958,265	22.477
Springs and wells.....	17,011,484,232	22.055
Ponds (non-domestic purposes only, 90,571,499		.187
Total	77,133,114,770	100.

TABLE III.

COMPANY.	Average daily supply in gallons per head, 1903.	Maximum and minimum daily averages in years 1884-1903.
Chelsea	40.85	Max. 45.31, 1901; min. 33.40, 1888.
East London	27.27	Max. 40.02, 1895; min. 27.27, 1903.
Grand Junction	35.62	Max. 49.61, 1895; min. 35.62, 1903.
Kent	28.47	Max. 33.07, 1895; min. 25.50, 1889.
Lambeth	36.63	Max. 41.95, 1885; min. 30.45, 1889.
New River	31.15	Max. 32.88, 1893; min. 26.80, 1885.
Southwark and Vauxhall	36.36	Max. 42.27, 1895; min. 28.84, 1884.
West Middlesex.....	34.41	Max. 35.66, 1895; min. 27.52, 1884.
General Average .	32.46*	Max. 38.44, 1895; min. 30.80, 1888.

* The lowest average since 1889.

As regards the sources of supply, it should be remarked that the companies which draw from the Thames are subject to various restrictions imposed either in Parliamentary enactments or by agreements with the Thames Conservancy, and there are less complicated restrictions on the amount which may be taken from the Lea. The amount available from these sources is, moreover, limited by natural conditions, and although the supply obtained from springs and wells has increased from 17.3 million gallons per day in 1883 to 46.6 millions in 1903, it has long been evident that new sources must be found. The establishment of the great reservoirs at Staines by a joint committee of the West Middlesex, Grand Junction, and New River companies, the erection of other reservoirs elsewhere in the Thames valley and the Lea district, and the arrangements whereby a deficiency in the area of supply of one company may be made good to some extent by the others—all these only provide for a temporary difficulty, and do not touch the real problem. A Royal Commission in 1891 estimated that the probable population of "Water London"

would be more than eleven millions by 1931. Moreover, the growth of population in the two valleys renders the prevention of pollution even more difficult. It has been apparent for some time that recourse will have to be taken to more distant sources; but inasmuch as the necessary works would be extremely costly and possibly unremunerative, it was scarcely to be expected that private enterprise would undertake them.

Reference has already been made to the conditions imposed upon the companies, and one of them—the restriction of the amounts which may be drawn from the rivers—has already been mentioned. But others require to be noticed in more detail.

(1) The first group relates to the nature and quality of the supply; under the Metropolitan Water Act of 1871 the companies were bound, when required by the proper metropolitan authority, or failing that, the Local Government Board, to provide and keep a constant supply in all districts where regulations for preventing waste, misuse, and contamination, and prescribing the nature and size of pipes, cocks, and cisterns, were complied with by four-fifths of the inhabitants of that district. These regulations were to be made by the companies themselves, with the approval of the Local Government Board. The advantages of the constant supply, as compared with the intermittent supply with cistern storage, are now generally recognized, but it is only quite recently that the obligations of the companies have been enforced. The following table gives the extent of the constant supply at end of 1903:

TABLE IV.

COMPANY.	Houses supplied.	Houses with constant supply.	Percentage.
Chelsea	39,676	39,676	100
East London.....	226,165	226,165	100
Grand Junction	75,149	75,149	100
Kent	108,611	108,411	99.8
Lambeth	130,860	102,574	78.4
New River	179,026	177,596	99.2
Southwark and Vauxhall.	128,871	122,778	95.3
West Middlesex	90,360	90,360	100
Totals	978,718*	942,709*	96.3

* The number of houses given in this table are somewhat in excess of the real number, owing to the nature of the returns made by the companies, but the figures in the two columns are comparable.

This percentage, 96.3 per cent., compares with 57.5 per cent. in 1889, and the marked improvement is due in no small measure to the action of the County Council.

Further, the Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847, gave the owners and occupiers of houses within the area of supply of a company power to compel it to furnish a supply, provided that their number was such that their water rates would amount to 10 per cent. of the cost of laying down pipes. Under an Act of fifty years later twenty consumers could appeal to the Local Government Board as to defects in the quality or quantity of water supplied, or any consumer or interested local authority could similarly appeal to the Railway and Canal Commissioners. The companies were bound to provide sufficiently for the cleaning and watering of streets, the flushing of drains, and free of charge, the extinction of fires. Finally, an Act passed in 1852 obliged the companies to "effectively filter" the water supplied; for this purpose they employed usually distinguished chemists whose reports were presented monthly to the Local Government Board and published, together with the report of the board's own expert, a "water examiner" appointed by the board, but paid by the companies.

(2) The second group of conditions related to finance. An attempt was made to protect the consumers against exploitation by the monopolist companies by (a) the limitation of dividends, and (b) the settlement of the water charges by Parliament. On nine-tenths² of their ordinary shares the companies were limited to dividends of 10 per cent., and on the remainder to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and 7 per cent.; but they were entitled to make up back dividends to these amounts. On the preference, mortgage and debenture shares the rates of interest ranged from 5 to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. By 1887 the West Middlesex had paid the maximum dividend for all the years in which it had been in existence, and had commenced to reduce charges; and by the year 1899 the Chelsea, Kent and Lambeth companies had reached the maximum and were paying arrears, the Grand Junction had reached the limit for the part of its shares entitled to dividends of 7 and $7\frac{1}{2}$, while the New River was paying 13 per cent. The East London and Southwark companies were still below the maximum.

²It had been assumed that the New River Company's dividend was unlimited, but the Arbitrators in 1904 took the opposite view.

The charges authorized by Parliament differed with the various companies, and ranged from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 4 per cent. on the annual rateable value of the houses supplied. Extra charges could be imposed for baths, closets, and high services, and the companies could make their own terms for water for industrial purposes. The average rate for household supply was £4.1.10 per hundred of rateable value but there were great variations. Thus, according to the report of Lord Llandoff's Commission, for a house with bath-room, two closets and one high service, rented at £35 and valued at £28 per annum the charge ranged from $2.3\frac{1}{2}$ per £ of rateable value in the Lambeth area to $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per £ in the district of the West Middlesex Company. For a house, similarly equipped, with a rental of £120 and a valuation of £100 the East London company charged $1.5\frac{3}{4}$ per £, and the West Middlesex 11d. Yet the report of the commission showed that the companies which charged the higher rates received less per house and per mile of mains than the companies charging the lower rates, since they supplied districts in which the average rateable value was low. Thus the four companies entitled to charge from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. (the East London, Lambeth, Southwark and Vauxhall, and Kent) received in 1899 £1.10 per house and £233 per mile of mains; the other four companies, limited to 4 per cent., received £2.16.4 per house and £461 per mile of mains. It will be noticed that the revenue of the companies increased automatically, and without any extension of service on their part, with the increase of rateable values in London; these rose in the administrative county by 65.3 per cent. between 1871 and 1891, and considerably, though to a smaller extent, in the surrounding districts.

Finally, the companies, after 1886, were required to make contributions to a sinking fund; if they borrowed money on debentures (and after 1886 they borrowed only in that way) the capital so borrowed was assumed to bear interest at the rate of the average dividend paid on *all* the capital, share or loan, of the company; and the surplus of that amount over the interest payable on the debenture plus 1 per cent. for management was to be paid to the City Chamberlain as a trustee, and invested by him in shares of the companies, the interest being again so invested, in order ultimately to extinguish the capital of the companies, or for any other purpose determined by Parliament. The net effect has not been very con-

siderable; in 1897 the amount received by the Chamberlain was only £4,804, though it was estimated that the annual amount available would reach to nearly £120,000 by 1915.

2. Municipalization.

These arrangements have been described at some length, since they constitute the most elaborate attempt yet made in England at the control of public services supplied by private enterprise. But they were never regarded as satisfactory, and the movement towards municipal ownership set in early. It was recommended by a Royal Commission in 1869; it was proposed by the City Corporation and the vestries in 1891; it was again recommended by a Parliamentary Committee in 1892; legislative efforts in the same direction were made constantly by the County Council after 1895. Though all these efforts failed, the discussion of the existing anomalies and the attention drawn to the growing difficulties of an adequate supply had their effect; gradually the principle of municipalization was generally accepted, and discussion was concentrated on such questions as the terms of purchase and the constitution of the new authority. Ultimately a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Llandoff (1898-1902) recommended the purchase of the undertakings and the establishment of a Water Board; and with a number of alterations its proposals were adopted in the Metropolitan Water Act, 1902.

The new Metropolitan water area is about the same size as the area supplied by the companies. One or two small districts hitherto included are now excluded, but their place is taken by the areas hitherto supplied by the Tottenham and Enfield Urban District Councils, and by two small rural areas. In this "Water London" there are a great number of authorities; and as the government was unwilling to agree to the proposals of the County Council, which desired to supply its own area alone or, preferably, to deal with its own area directly and to supply the outside authorities in bulk at a fixed price, recourse was had to the plan of a Joint Board. The Metropolitan Water Board consists of representatives of the following authorities:

Inner London..	{	County Council.....	14	
		City Corporation	2	
		29 Met. Borough Councils	29	
			—	45
Outer London..	{	5 County Councils	5	
		2 Town Councils	3	
		4 Urban District Councils	4	
		5 Town Council and 33 Urban District Councils in 7 groups ^a	7	
			—	19
Thames and Lea Conservancies.....		2	2	
			—	—
Total members				66

The board elects its own chairman and deputy chairman from its own ranks, and may allot salaries to them if it so chooses, but it has resolved not to do so.

On July 25, 1904, the new authority took over the undertakings of the eight companies of the Staines Reservoirs Joint Committee, and of the Tottenham and Enfield Urban District Councils, with all their rights and liabilities. The purchase price of the undertakings was fixed by a court of arbitration consisting of a distinguished ex-lord of appeal, a well-known engineer, and a former Permanent Secretary of the Local Government Board; and in coming to a decision they were directed by the Act to make no allowance for compulsory sale, or for appreciation or depreciation in the market value of shares arising from the prospect of compulsory purchase, but only for the cost of reinvestment, or possible loss in awaiting it. The following table shows the amount claimed by the various companies, and the amount awarded by the arbitrators, whose decisions on points of law were all confirmed on appeal. The debentures were taken over by the board, and are to be replaced within two years by new "water stock" producing an equivalent amount:

³ In each of these groups the local authorities elect a joint committee, which in turn elect the representative, who must be a member of one of the councils.

TABLE V.

COMPANY.	Amount of claim.	Amount of award in cash.	Debentures on "appointed day."
	£	£	£
Chelsea	4,750,000	3,305,700	249,217
East London	7,204,144	3,900,000	2,251,166
Grand Junction	4,830,000	3,349,500	500,250
Kent	3,715,614	2,712,000	333,880
Lambeth	5,511,342	4,301,000	1,045,753
New River	13,260,144*	5,967,123	2,758,000
Southwark and Vauxhall	5,674,140	3,603,000	2,487,982
West Middlesex	4,200,240	3,524,000	772,000
Staines Reservoirs Committee			1,226,700
	49,145,624	.....	.....
5% on claims other than that of New River Company†.....	1,794,274	.....	.....
Totals	£50,939,898	£30,662,323	£11,624,948

* This is the original claim. When the Court of Arbitration gave judgment that the dividends of the New River Company were limited to 10 per cent., a judgment subsequently confirmed, the claim was reduced to £8,214,163.

† Except the New River Company, the companies claimed 5 per cent. on their claims or awards to cover loss pending, and cost of, reinvestment. The awards included sums in respect of these additional claims.

To pay these amounts the board may raise money by the issue of "water stock" bearing interest at not more than 3 per cent. and to be repaid in 100 years; and for other purposes it may borrow in the same way, but for a maximum period of only sixty years. Its borrowing operations are controlled, and its accounts audited by the Local Government Board.

The charges to be levied by the board are not to be reduced below those in force in the June quarter of 1903 unless such reduction will not cause a deficit, but within three years of the transfer the board is to introduce into Parliament a bill to provide for (a) a uniform scale of charges throughout the whole area, and (b) the collection of these charges along with the local rates. In the event of the receipts in any financial year not being equal to the expenditure, the deficiency is to be made up by rates levied throughout the area by precept addressed by the board to local authorities.

The new authority has been in existence for so short a time that it is impossible to express any opinion as to its probable working. Its constitution is cumbrous and unrepresentative, and so far it has aroused little, if any, popular interest. But the creation of

a central water authority of any kind, the speedy establishment of a uniform scale of charges, the consolidation of responsibility for the supply of the needs of an ever-increasing population—all these are substantial gains. On the financial side it is to be feared that there is not much prospect of relief for the consumers. The abolition of directors' fees and the consolidation of management may result in some economies, but it seems inevitable that the new authority must speedily seek fresh sources of supply, and undertake works which cannot be financially remunerative but must involve higher prices to the consumer or, as a lesser evil, a charge upon the rates.

II. LIGHTING.

A. Gas.

In many respects the history of the gas supply of London is a repetition of the story of the water supply, with the difference, however, that municipalization has not taken place, but the public authorities have turned their energies to competition with the gas companies by the supply of the rival illuminant-electric light.

The first company authorized by Parliament, by the usual Private Act, to supply part of what is now the metropolitan area, was the Gas Light and Coke Company, founded in 1810; and a number of others speedily followed. As with the water companies, Parliament intended that there should be competition, and for a considerable time there was a real and effective rivalry, with the natural results—chaos in the streets, excessive capital expenditure and great waste owing to the construction of different sets of mains in the same streets by competing companies, and a fall of charges which benefited the consumers for a time, but brought the companies into financial difficulties, and ultimately damaged the consumer, since when competition was eliminated in any area the surviving company naturally raised its charges in order to recoup itself for its losses during the struggle. The companies soon realized the costliness and futility of this rivalry, and as early as 1823 the first attempts to end it were made; for some years new companies were confined to separate areas. But in the absence of any effective regulation by the legislature, or of any strong local authority which could be en-

trusted with the supervision of the companies on behalf of the inhabitants of London, this policy of separate areas amounted to the creation of monopolies, and in 1842 the principle of competition was re-established. The companies then began to make arrangements between themselves, and tried first to come to agreements as to the "districting" of London; an arrangement was made for this purpose in 1851, but it could not be enforced, and a bill to give Parliamentary authority to the scheme failed to pass. In 1859 a Parliamentary committee enquired into the whole question, and recommended that each company should have a district assigned to it, and in return should be subject to restrictions as to prices and dividends, and conditions as to the quality of the supply; and in the following year there was legislation on the lines of this report. In the next decade the question of municipalization was much discussed, and though the Metropolitan Board of Works was steadily hostile to all schemes of the kind, there were a number of proposals put forward, particularly by the city corporation. None of them were carried, but the effect of the agitation, and the sympathetic attitude of Parliament, was the recognition by the companies of the necessity of submission to control, if they were to retain their privileges, and in 1875 and 1876 there were important legislative enactments on the subject. About the same time the companies began to combine, till the fifteen companies existent prior to 1870 had been reduced to three by 1885. The present companies have districted London, and there is no competition. Of recent years little has been heard of proposals for municipalization, partly owing to the amount of the control exercised over the companies and still more to the fact that the local authorities of the metropolitan area have preferred to devote their energies to the supply of the competing illuminant.

At present the supply of gas to the administrative county is almost entirely in the hands of three companies—the Gas Light and Coke Company, the South Metropolitan Gas Company, and the Commercial Gas Company. The first of these has the greater part of the area north of the Thames, and a small territory to the south; the South Metropolitan has the chief part of London south of the river; the Commercial has a district in the northeast. Smaller portions of the administrative county—in each case suburban areas—are supplied by the Brantford Company in the west, the Wandsworth & Putney Company in the southwest, and the South Suburban Com-

pany in the south. But we may conveniently confine our attention to the three great companies, and the following tables give some statistics in regard to them for the year ending June 30, 1904:

TABLE I.

		Gaslight and Coke Company.	South Metropol- itan Gas Com- pany.	Commercial Gas Company
Share Capital	{ Authorized	£21,643,065	£6,761,224	£2,235,000
	{ Paid up	21,643,065	6,250,000	1,935,000
Loan Capital	{ Authorized	5,073,975	2,048,994	550,000
	{ Paid up	4,323,975	1,832,700	450,000
Premiums		1,586,807	808,860	40,589
Receipts	{ Gas	3,051,844	1,255,712	348,153
	{ Meters		58,265	18,261
	{ Stoves	62,740	46,556	7,854
	{ Residual Products . .	895,065	550,777	104,111
Gross Profit		1,225,749	445,944	123,118
Dividend Paid on Shares		4 1-5%	5 5-12%	5½ and 5%

TABLE II.

	Gaslight and Coke Company.	South Metropol- itan Gas Com- pany.	Commercial Gas Company.
No. of consumers	398,247	269,351	55,571
No. of public lamps supplied . .	49,004	22,449	4,205
Price of gas to consumer, per 1000 cubic feet, in June, 1904	3s.	2s. 1d.	2s. 6d.
Charge for public lamps per 1000 cubic feet	2s. 3d.	2s. 1d.	2s. 4d.
Candle power of gas	16	14	14

The charges and dividends of the companies are regulated and limited by a sliding scale, originally imposed upon them by the legislation of 1875 and 1876. In those years standard prices were fixed—3s. 9d. per 1,000 cubic feet for the Gas Light and Coke and Commercial Companies, 3s. 6d. for the South Metropolitan; when these rates were charged the companies could pay dividends of 10 per cent, but for every penny above the standard charge the standard dividend must be reduced $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., whilst for every penny below the standard the dividend could be increased by $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. In recent years (1896-1902) the three companies have converted their stock, under parliamentary authority, into corresponding amounts bearing a standard dividend of 4 per cent, so as to bring the nominal value of their stocks near to the market value—i. e., the nominal

stock has been multiplied by $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the standard dividend correspondingly divided by $2\frac{1}{2}$. Further the standard prices have all been reduced since the year 1900, and the variation of the dividend has been modified also. The present situation is that the standard prices are: For the Gas Light and Coke, 3s. 4d.; for the South Metropolitan, 3s. 1d.; for the Commercial, 3s. 3d. [The South Metropolitan price would have been 3s. 3d. but the company gave up 2d. in order to be allowed to supply 14-candle gas, and the Commercial surrendered part of its price for the same reason.] For all three companies the dividend varies 2s. 8d. per cent. for every penny change in the price of gas. The following table shows the prices in December of the years 1895-1904; it should be noted that for its small area on the south side of the Thames the Gas Light and Coke Company could not charge more than the South Metropolitan till 1901, and now may not charge more than 2d. above the price of the South Metropolitan:

TABLE III.

COMPANY.	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904
Gaslight and Coke:										
North of Thames ..	2. 10	2. 10	2. 10	3. 0	2. 11	3. 5	3. 0	3. 0	3. 0	2. 11
South of Thames ..	2. 3	2. 3	2. 3	2. 3	2. 1	2. 8	2. 5	2. 5	2. 5	2. 2
South Metropolitan	2. 3	2. 3	2. 3	2. 3	2. 1	2. 8	2. 3	2. 3	2. 3	2. 0
Commercial.....	2. 6	2. 6	2. 6	2. 6	2. 6	3. 0	2. 8	2. 8	2. 6	2. 5

It may be mentioned here that in December, 1904, the charges of the other three companies, previously mentioned as supplying portions of the metropolitan area, were: South Suburban, 2s. 7d.; Wandsworth and Putney, 2s. 2d.; Brantford, 2s. 9d.

It should be noticed, further, that the legislation of 1875-6 directed that all new stock should be offered to the public and allotted to the highest bidder; any premiums arising from these sales were to be applied by the companies as capital, but not to bear interest. The companies obtained in this way the large amounts given in Table I above, but the effect of the recent conversion of the stock has naturally been to reduce very considerably the sums so obtained, and in some cases stock has been issued below par. Finally, the South Metropolitan and Commercial Companies are now authorized to offer any new stock first to their employees and con-

sumers, at about current market price, and this power they commonly use. The growth of electric lighting is a serious menace to the gas companies, and is bound to affect their prices; they are actively engaged in pushing the use of gas for cooking purposes, and in endeavoring to prove that in some respects gas is superior to electric light for purposes of street illumination.

The quality of the gas supplied is fixed at 16-candle power for the Gas Light and Coke Company and 14-candle power for the other two. The County Council and the City Corporation both watch over the interests of the consumers within their areas by the appointment of Gas Examiners; there has been some difference of opinion between the authorities and the companies both as to the method of testing and as to the standard of purity, and the question is still under discussion. The London County Council is also the authority for the testing of the meters supplied by the companies whenever the consumers so desire and on payment of a small fee (6d. to 1s.).

B. Electric Light.

In recent years the Metropolitan local authorities—the Vestries prior to 1899, and then the Borough Councils which superseded them—have been actively engaged in the provision of electric light. The Electric Lighting Acts of 1882 and 1888 authorized the Board of Trade to grant “provisional orders,” *i. e.*, orders needing the more or less formal confirmation of Parliament, to local authorities and private companies enabling them to undertake the supply of electric light and power within areas prescribed in the orders. In the case of a local authority and a company applying for powers in the same area, preference has generally been given to the local authority; when the concession is granted to a company it cannot be bought out until the end of forty-two years, except by friendly agreement. Local authorities may be authorized to supply electricity in “any area, although the same or some part thereof may not be included within their own district.”

In London, in the middle of the year 1905, the supply of electricity was divided nearly equally between municipal and private undertakings. In the city of London the supply was in the hands of two companies. Of the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, in fourteen the councils were actually engaged in providing electric

light and power from works established by themselves, in one the works of a private company had just been purchased, and in another a scheme was under consideration; two councils had obtained provisional orders, but had let them fall into abeyance. In the remaining boroughs the supplies were furnished by private undertakings—the order in each case being consented to by the local authority. The municipal services were in areas whose total population amounted to about five-ninths of the inhabitants of the administrative county. The Metropolitan Borough Council of Shoreditch in 1897 commenced to utilize the heat raised by a dust destructor for the purpose of generating electricity, and the plan proved so successful that it has been imitated by a number of authorities, both within London and outside.

This local energy and enterprise is in many ways admirable, but it has some distinct disadvantages, especially of an economic character. In the case of electricity it is particularly true that the larger the area and amount of supply the smaller will be the cost of production and distribution per unit. The London County Council recognized the defects of the artificial and somewhat arbitrary limitation of areas in London, so far as this particular matter is concerned, by promoting bills to enable it to supply electricity in bulk to the borough councils, which would be authorized distributors. As the County Council is the tramway authority, with an extensive system of electric cars, the combination would probably have produced still further economies. But the efforts failed, and the attempt made in 1905 by a private combination to secure an Act authorizing it to establish a bulk supply for the whole of the administrative county at a uniform rate, failed before the opposition of most of the local authorities. But it is probable that the attempt will be repeated, and it is difficult to see how, from the economic standpoint, it can properly be opposed; and the possible abuse arising from a monopoly could be guarded against by a stringent system of control.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF STREET RAILWAYS IN GERMANY

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The introduction of the electric railway marks a turning point in the history of street railway development in Germany. It inaugurated a movement toward municipal ownership and operation which is sweeping over the entire territory of the empire and which includes not only the larger cities, such as Munich, Frankfort, Cologne and Nürnberg, but small towns, such as Bonn, Trier, Colmar and Graudenz. The radical change in public opinion as well as in the attitude of the town authorities toward the question of municipal ownership and operation is due in part to the feeling of antagonism toward the street railway companies; an antagonism traceable to the never ceasing struggle to secure from them something approaching efficient service. A further factor which has exerted no small influence is the fact that the introduction of electricity simplified considerably the conditions of street railway management and made the town authorities less reluctant to assume the burden of this new function. It is a significant fact that during the entire horse railway period but two towns, both of less than ten thousand inhabitants—Wiesloch and Friedrichshagen—owned and operated their street railway systems.

The communalization of street railways began in England at a much earlier date than in Germany. As early as 1897, forty-two English towns had acquired title to their street railway systems and eight of these, viz: Glasgow, Hull, Huddersfield, Blackpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Plymouth and Birmingham had embarked upon municipal operation. Not until 1898 did one of the larger German cities—Frankfort—commit itself to the principle of municipal ownership and operation.

It may seem surprising at first glance that while the movement for the municipalization of gas plants of German cities began in the

early sixties, there seemed to be little or no desire to take over the street railways. In 1902, fifty-six of the seventy-three cities with a population of fifty thousand and over, owned and operated their gas plants. The course of development is shown in greater detail in the following table:¹

OWNERSHIP OF GAS PLANTS.

Cities with Population of	1868.		1885.		1895.	
	Private.	Munic.	Private.	Munic.	Private.	Munic.
Under 5,000	90	34	88	36	70	46 (28)*
Bet. 5,000-10,000	74	69	71	102	83	111 (89)
" 10,000-20,000	66	45	81	74	55	99 (61)
" 20,000-50,000	16	17	33	41	33	76 (40)
Over 50,000	12	10	17	29	13	35 (16)
	258	175	290	282	254	367 (234)

* Figures in parenthesis represent the number of cities in which the gas supply was made municipal at the time of its introduction.

The municipal gas plants were successful beyond the expectations of the advocates of municipal ownership. The influence of these municipal plants was not confined to the cities concerned but also served to raise the standard of service in those communities in which the gas service was still in the hands of private companies. In fact, between 1850 and 1890 the efficiency of the most important municipal services, such as water supply, lighting, sanitation and poor relief was raised to a point which placed the cities of Germany in the vanguard of municipal improvement.

In the midst of this general improvement of municipal conditions, urban transportation remained in a most primitive state. In fact it was not until 1865 that the first street railway line was built—a short experimental line between Berlin and Charlottenburg. Not until 1872, twenty years after the introduction of street railways in the United States, was the construction of street railway lines on any considerable scale begun. Hamburg had no street railways until 1866; Stuttgart until 1868; Munich until 1876; Cologne until 1877; Hamburg until 1878; and Nürnberg until 1881. As late as 1900 there were still nine cities with a population of 40,000 and over without street railways.

¹ For this table, as well as other assistance in the preparation of this article, the author begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to the work of Dr. Hugo Lindemann "Arbeiterpolitik und Wirtschaftspflege in der Deutschen Staedteverwaltung," Stuttgart, 1904.

The backwardness of this service was due in great part to the small area of the German cities. The concentration of population within the old city walls made the problem of urban transportation of relatively little importance. Furthermore, the fact that in the German cities of the '70's and '80's the residence and business sections were not separated, tended to reduce the necessity for improved transit facilities and delayed the development of a true appreciation of the bearing of rapid transit on the improvement of city conditions. It was not until the cities of Germany began to extend their areas through the incorporation of suburban districts that the problem began to assume vital importance. When the city authorities were awakened to the tremendous social value of a well-developed transportation system, they found their hands tied in the attempts to secure it. The franchise grants of the '70's and '80's were generally made for a term of at least twenty-five and in some cases for forty and fifty years. Under the terms of these grants the street railway companies could not be compelled to extend their lines into the suburban districts. The companies were not disposed to take any chances, inasmuch as the original franchise grants imposed heavy financial burdens which would only permit of the construction of lines in the more densely populated sections. The efforts to secure an extension of service from the street railway companies led to long negotiations and gave rise to considerable bitterness of feeling. The only possible solution seemed to be the expropriation of the lines, but this involved expenditures which would have taxed the credit and resources of the larger cities to the utmost and would have been entirely beyond the reach of the smaller cities.

Fortunately the necessity for better service became acute at a time when the street railway companies throughout Germany were applying for the right to change their motive power from horse to electrical traction. The new system was so much more efficient and at the same time so much more economical that no company could afford to forego its use. The city authorities found themselves therefore in an entirely new relation to the companies. Instead of being petitioners for favors, they held the key to the situation. The position of the companies was further weakened by the fact that in most of the larger cities the franchises granted during the seventies had but comparatively few years to run.

The negotiations between the city authorities and the street railway companies during the period of 1890-1900 constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of German municipalities. The main purpose of the negotiations so far as the cities were concerned, was to secure the construction of additional lines in return for the new privileges. Only after long continued negotiations had demonstrated the impossibility of arriving at an amicable understanding was the desirability of municipalization seriously discussed.

The Steps Towards Municipalization.

The experience of Frankfort, Munich, Cologne and Nürnberg is typical of the difficulties encountered in bringing about an adjustment to the new conditions and also explains the rapidity with which the movement for municipalization of street railways has spread through the cities of Germany.

In 1880 the city of Frankfort granted to a Belgian company the right to operate a railway over certain specified streets. The duration of the franchise was limited to twenty-five years, but the city reserved the right to terminate the contract at the expiration of twelve years and take over all the company's lines. If the city availed itself of this right, the company was entitled to receive, until the expiration of the franchise in 1904, an annual sum equal to 30 per cent. of the average gross income during the three years, 1900, 1901 and 1902. If the city preferred, this annual payment could be capitalized at 6 per cent. and the entire amount paid in one lump sum. In return for the franchise the company was compelled to pay to the city 5 per cent. of the gross receipts from all lines. As the expiration of this first twelve year period approached it became evident that the sentiment in favor of municipalization was not sufficiently strong to lead to a termination of the contract. On the 24th of March, 1891, the city entered into a new contract with the company. Under its terms the city agreed to extend the franchise until December 31, 1914, but reserved the right to terminate the contract and take over the lines either on January 1, 1898, or on January 1, 1906. The annual payment of the company to the city was fixed at 6 per cent., with the exception of certain of the new lines which were classed as suburban and from the gross receipts of which the company was only compelled to pay

3 per cent. The contract provided, furthermore, that the company pay the following sums into the city treasury:

During the first two years of the franchise.....	\$7,500 annually
During the following three years of the franchise.....	10,000 "
During the following five years of the franchise.....	12,500 "
During the following five years of the franchise.....	15,000 "
During the following five years of the franchise.....	17,500 "
During the following five years of the franchise.....	20,000 "

In addition, if the company's accounts showed a net profit exceeding 10 per cent. the city was entitled to one-half of such excess. If the net profits exceeded 16 per cent. the city was entitled to two-thirds of the excess.

The rapid growth of the city during the first five years of the life of this contract² clearly demonstrated that while the city was receiving a fair return for the use of its streets, the existing lines were totally inadequate to meet the needs of the newer sections of the city. Both branches of the local legislative assembly—the council and the "Magistrat"³ determined to use the right to terminate the contract as a weapon to compel the company to construct much-needed lines in the outlying districts of the city. Although the possibility of placing the street railway system under municipal operation was discussed, the sentiment was not sufficiently strong to make this step seem probable. The negotiations between the company and the city were prolonged but fruitless. The situation was complicated by the fact that the company was anxious to change its motive power from horse to electricity, for which privilege the city was also determined to exact a *quid pro quo*. The only solution for the deadlock which ensued was the termination of the contract between the city and the company. On November 10, 1896, the city gave notice that it would take over the lines on January 1, 1898. The reluctance of the city authorities was all the greater because the decision involved a heavy financial burden, for under the terms

² According to the census of 1900, the population of the city proper was 288,989, but including the suburban districts within a radius of six miles from the center of the city, which in reality form part of the city, the total population dependent upon the street railway lines of the city amounts to over four hundred thousand (436,792).

³ The "Magistrat" of the Prussian cities is one of the organs of local government combining executive with legislative functions. The individual members are the heads of administrative departments. As a legislative body the "Magistrat" occupies a position similar in some respects to that of the upper branch of the American town council.

of the contract the city had agreed that in case it decided to take over the lines it would pay to the company, until the expiration of the franchise in 1914, an annual sum equal to 30 per cent. of the average gross income of the years 1895, 1896 and 1897.

Although the street railway lines became the property of the city on the 1st of January, 1898, the authorities were unwilling immediately to assume the burdens involved in municipal operation. The "Magistrat" in a report submitted to the council laid special emphasis on the difficulties incident to the change from horse power to electricity, and pointed out that no matter how carefully the change was planned it would certainly cause considerable inconvenience. In these circumstances municipal operation would be introduced under the most unfavorable auspices. In order to avoid this, the city adopted a plan which other German cities have followed, viz: to lease the lines for a brief period to the same company to which the contract for the construction of the electrical equipment was awarded. In 1898 a contract was made with two electrical engineering firms for the transformation of the horse railway into an electrical system and for the construction of a number of additional lines. Under the terms of this contract the operation of the entire railway system was handed over to the construction companies for a term of five years with the reserved right on the part of the city to terminate the contract prior to the expiration of the five year period by giving one year's notice.

The successive steps leading to the municipalization of the street railway system of Munich⁴ present peculiar interest, owing to the many difficulties and discouragements which the municipal authorities had to face, both in their dealings with the company during the period of private ownership as well as during the first years of municipal ownership.

In 1882 the city granted to the Munich Street Railway Company the exclusive right to operate street railways within the city limits. Under the terms of this franchise, the company was required to pave, repair, maintain and clean the section of the street between the rails and sixteen inches to either side thereof. The city reserved to itself the right to do all such paving, repairing and cleaning and to charge the same to the company. The rates of fare to be charged by the company were minutely specified. The lines were divided

⁴ According to the census of 1900, the population of Munich was 499,932.

into sections of three-fifths of a mile each. For each section the charge was not to exceed one and one-quarter cents, but the company was permitted to fix a minimum fare of two and one-half cents no matter how short the distance travelled. In return for this franchise the company was compelled to make the following annual payments to the city treasury:

1. Of the first \$250,000 gross receipts, two (2) per cent.
2. Of the succeeding \$12,500 gross receipts, two and one half (2½) per cent.
3. On all receipts above \$262,500 three (3) per cent.

The contract with the company had not been in operation five years before controversies arose between the city and the company relative to the construction of new lines. The desire on the part of the authorities to relieve the congestion in the central sections of the city, combined with the rapid growth of the population, made the extension of existing lines imperative. The company was unwilling, however, to incur the expense unless the city was prepared to grant terms more favorable than those of the original contract. Negotiations with the company extending over a period of four years having proved fruitless, the "Magistrat"⁶ and council decided to build the new lines. They were not prepared, however, to take over the operation of the new lines and therefore entered into a supplementary contract with the street railway company on the 17th of February, 1892, under which the new lines were handed over to the company to be operated for the account of the city. Under this arrangement the company was permitted first to deduct the cost of operation from the gross receipts. The remainder of the income was then divided as follows: The city first to receive 4 per cent. on the cost of construction, 2 per cent. depreciation charge and a sum equal to 3 per cent. of the gross receipts. The remainder, if any, was then to be divided between the city and the company in the ratio of three to one. This contract of February 17, 1892, had been in operation but a short time when the question of the electrical equipment of the entire system arose. Further negotiations with the company resulted in the signing of the contract of October 25, 1897, according to the terms of which the entire street railway system

⁶ In the Bavarian cities the "Magistrat" occupies the same position as in Prussia, viz.: exercising both executive and legislative functions. The members of the "Magistrat" are elected by the Council subject to the confirmation of the Central Government. The members of the Council are elected by the people on restricted suffrage.

became the property of the city. Instead of taking over the operation of the system, it was stipulated that the Munich Street Railway Company should continue to run all the lines until the termination of the original franchise period, viz: July 1, 1907. Owing to the fact that certain sections of the system were built by the company and certain others by the city, the adjustment of the financial relation during the period, 1897-1907, was fraught with considerable difficulty. The agreement as finally reached provides:

First. Inasmuch as the introduction of electricity made much of the old rolling stock worthless it was necessary to make a large outlay for new equipment and cars. Instead of making these purchases from city funds the contract stipulated that all such purchases be made by the company after consulting the city authorities, and that the city return to the company each year the amount thus expended. For the renewal of equipment the contract provided for a "Renewal Fund," which is to receive at least six per cent. of the gross receipts.

Second. The gross receipts from lines built by the city must be paid into the city treasury, in return for which the city guarantees to the company a sum sufficient to pay all operating expenses.

Third. The gross receipts from lines built by the company are likewise paid into the city treasury, but in this case the city guarantees to the company not only all operating expenses, but also agrees to pay to the company annually, until 1907, a sum equal to the gross profits of the year 1896-97, viz.: \$230,804.76.

Fourth. The contract further stipulates that the company is to receive twenty-five (25) per cent. of the net profits.

As we shall see when we come to consider the financial results of municipal ownership, the contract of the city of Munich with the street railway company, while most profitable to the company, has been a constant drain on the resources of the city. Since 1897 the stockholders have enjoyed a guaranteed dividend of 11 per cent., with the possibility of a larger dividend if a net profit remains after deducting all fixed charges. Until the close of the fiscal year, 1904-1905, the city treasury has been compelled each year to meet a considerable deficit. The amount of this deficit and the causes thereof will be considered in a subsequent section.

The duration of the original franchises granted to the Cologne Street Railway Company ranged from twenty-five to thirty years, but were made at different periods. The first of these expired in 1902, another will expire in 1916 and still another in 1924. Early in

the '90's the city authorities suggested to the company the prolongation of certain existing lines and the construction of a number of new ones, but met with no encouraging response. As in Frankfort and Munich, the situation was further complicated by the desire of the company to secure the right to equip the system with electricity. The popular clamor for improved transportation facilities became so strong that the city decided in 1896 to undertake the construction of five new lines on its own account and to equip the same with electricity. Here a new difficulty presented itself. The original franchises gave to the company the exclusive right to run cars on certain streets. As soon as the resolution of the city council became known, the company gave notice that it would contest the right of the city to construct any lines which would directly or indirectly compete with the lines of the company. To make this threat effective the company immediately applied to the Landgericht of Cologne for an injunction to restrain the city from building the new lines. In a long and carefully reasoned opinion the court held that the city could not, without violating the terms of the franchise, construct any new lines which would compete directly with the existing lines of the company. An appeal was taken by the city to the Oberlandesgericht and finally to the Imperial Supreme Court, but with the same result. These decisions placed the city in a most difficult position. The choice seemed to lie between a policy which meant a complete surrender to the company or one which, by delaying the change from horse traction to electricity, would work great harm to the social and economic welfare of the city.

In view of these difficulties the city council, by resolution of March 31, 1897, decided to take over the entire street railway system provided some arrangement could be made with the company to this effect. A commission was appointed to report a plan. The commission presented a report favorable to city ownership and operation, and on the 2d of January, 1900, a contract with the Cologne Street Railway Company was finally signed under which the city became owner of all the company's lines. It is true that the city had to make great financial sacrifices in order to become master of the situation, but it was felt that a continuation of the antagonism between the company and the city would work incalculable harm to the economic and social welfare of the community. Under the terms of the contract the city agreed to take over all the real estate and

rolling stock of the company; the former at an appraised value of \$661,795.60, the latter at an appraised value of \$333,995. In addition the city agreed to pay to the company in return for the cancellation of the franchises the following sums:

First. From the first of January, 1899, to the 30th of June, 1913, \$250,000 annually.

Second. In addition, the following sums:

For the year 1903	\$6,250
For the year 1904	12,500
For the year 1905	18,750
For the year 1906	25,000
For the year 1907	31,250
For the year 1908	37,500
For the year 1909	43,750
For the year 1910	50,000
For the year 1911	56,250
For the year 1912	62,500
For the half year Jan. 1 to June 30, 1913.....	34,375

The contract was given retroactive effect in providing that the lines were to be regarded as belonging to the city from and after the 1st of January, 1899, but that the company should continue to run the same for the city's account until such time as might be necessary to perfect the organization under city operation. On April first, 1900, all the lines were placed under city management. The city was given the privilege, under the contract, to fulfil all its financial obligations towards the company at once by capitalizing the annual payments and making payment of one lump sum. Of this privilege the city has not as yet availed itself.

The first problem confronting the city was to equip the entire system with electricity. In fact, Cologne was the last of the larger German cities to retain horse power and the city authorities therefore felt a special obligation to make the change with all possible speed. Before the close of 1901 the four principal lines were equipped with electricity. The city immediately began to plan the construction of a number of new lines, not only within the city limits, but also to connect the city with the smaller suburban towns. During the fiscal year 1902-1903 five new lines within the city limits were constructed, the following year a number of the existing lines were lengthened, and during the year 1903-1904 the city took over three existing suburban lines.

In Nürnberg, as in Frankfort, Munich and Cologne, the communalization of the street railway system was forced upon the community because of the impossibility of securing from the street railway company the kind of service which the rapidly growing city required. The original franchises were granted in 1881 for a period of forty years. In 1897 the Nürnberg-Fürther Street Railway Company applied for permission to substitute electricity for horse power. On the 13th of August, 1897, a new contract was entered into under which the company was given this privilege. In view of the great expense involved in the introduction of the new system, the company made a strong plea for an extension of the franchise beyond 1921. The city finally agreed to an extension of five years, viz: to 1926, provided the company would undertake the construction of three new lines.

Within a comparatively short time after the signing of this contract the city authorities began to realize that they had made a serious mistake. Nürnberg was rapidly acquiring a position as one of the leading industrial cities of Germany. Its population was increasing at an extraordinary rate. In 1899 a number of suburbs had been incorporated into the city limits and in the immediate vicinity were a number of smaller towns which in fact formed part of the municipal aggregate although not legally a part of the city. It was evident that in order to relieve the congestion of population in the city proper an elaborate system of urban and interurban railways would be necessary. Negotiations were opened with the company with a view to securing such extensions. The company in its reply expressed a willingness to make all the extensions desired, provided the city was willing;—First, to extend the original franchises beyond 1926; and, secondly, to guarantee to the company a net profit on all new lines equal to the average net profit on the lines included in the original franchises.

The apparent one-sidedness of this proposition aroused considerable feeling against the company, which was aggravated by differences growing out of the interpretation of the contract of August 13, 1897. Before the close of 1898 the city authorities were convinced that the only possible solution of the problem lay in the construction of the new lines, either by some other company or by the municipality itself. Negotiations were opened with another company but led to no definite results. The authorities were con-

vinced by this time that the city would have to build the new lines and be prepared to take over their operation. In December, 1901, application was made to the Bavarian Minister of Internal Affairs for leave to construct and operate certain lines extending both within and without the city limits. In December, 1901, the necessary permission was granted, but objection was immediately filed by the company on the ground that the lines planned would compete directly with existing lines and were, therefore, in violation of the terms of the franchise. The city, in its reply, not only contested the right of the company to make any objection to the proposed lines, but submitted a more elaborate plan involving the construction of a far greater number of lines. In deciding upon this larger plan the city council was influenced mainly by the fact that the territory incorporated within the city limits in 1899 was without adequate transportation facilities. It was hoped that cheap and sanitary workingmen's dwellings would be constructed in these quarters and in order to encourage this larger social purpose the city extended the water, gas and drainage services, and was determined to secure a similar extension of the transportation service. But it was evident that property owners would not be willing to build until an efficient and relatively cheap transportation system was provided.

On the 7th of July, 1902, the Bavarian government gave permission to the city to construct the larger system with the understanding that all questions affecting the rights of the company be settled by the courts. The company had already filed a bill to restrain the city from building the lines, but the suit was brought to a sudden close by the announcement that the city had decided to purchase all the company's lines and that an agreement to this effect had been reached. Under the terms of this agreement, which was ratified by the company on October 20, 1902, the city agreed to pay to the company for the real estate, rolling stock and franchise \$2,835,000, *i. e.*, \$525 for every share of stock (par value \$250). The payment was made in city bonds bearing 3 per cent. interest. The bonds began bearing interest in January, 1903, but for the year 1902 the city agreed to guarantee to the stockholders a dividend of 8 per cent. The net profits of the year 1902 not being sufficient to pay this dividend, the city was obliged to make up the deficit of \$6,605.

On the 6th of June, 1903, the entire system passed into the hands of the city. Work on the extension of the lines was immedi-

ately begun. Before the close of August, 1903, two of the most important lines had been extended to the suburbs of the city. During the fiscal year 1903-1904 over \$80,000 were expended on new lines. The city also reduced the fares on certain lines for the purpose of relieving the congestion of population in the central districts. Thus, after a long struggle extending over seven years, the city authorities found themselves complete masters of the transportation situation.

The Conditions of Municipal Operation.

(a) FINANCIAL RESULTS.

In considering the results of municipal management, it is important to bear in mind that in all the German cities which have adopted this policy, and particularly the four cities now under consideration, the street railway administration is struggling under exceptionally heavy financial burdens, due in part to the necessity of large outlays for the construction of new, and in the main, unprofitable lines, but mainly owing to the large indemnities which these cities were compelled to pay for the unexpired franchises. A further fact which has had considerable influence is the economic reaction against over-speculation, from which many of the German cities are at present suffering. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first years of municipal management do not show brilliant results.

Of the four larger cities that have embarked upon municipal operation of street railways, the financial situation of the Frankfort system is the most favorable. At the close of the fiscal year 1903, after paying all operating expenses, there remained a surplus of \$576,574.25. Out of this the following fixed charges were paid:

First. Annual payment to street railway company (to be paid each year until the expiration of the original franchise in 1914).....	\$82,080.00
Second. Interest and liquidation charges on street railway loan....	140,666.72
Third. Depreciation and renewal fund.....	56,250.00
Fourth. Contribution to general administrative expenses of the city.	16,816.93
	<hr/>
	\$295,813.65

From the remaining \$280,760.60 the city contributed \$15,805 toward the pension fund for employees, \$4,057.50 toward the pen-

sion fund for orphans and widows of employees and \$36,250 toward the repaving and widening of streets, leaving a net profit of \$224,648.10. This is by far the most favorable showing since the beginning of municipal operation, the net profits of the preceding years being as follows:

NET PROFITS.

1899	\$85,921.65
1900	108,190.59
1901	126,677.25
1902	122,190.95

This exceptionally favorable showing was not due to any particularly favorable traffic conditions, but is traceable directly to careful and economical administrative methods.

During the period between 1899 and 1903 the cost of operation per car-mile^a was reduced from 13½ to 8¾ cents. During the same period the percentage of gross receipts required for operating expenses was reduced from 68.29 per cent. to 54.9 per cent. This compares very favorably with the situation in the United States where the relation of operating expenses to gross income for all the electric lines is 57.3 per cent. The following tables will give a clearer idea of the efficiency of municipal management.

RECEIPTS 1899-1903.

Source of Income.	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Fares	747,820.99	882,616.70	864,619.39	985,880.20	1,072,505.24
Commutation Tickets ..	100,610.07	123,282.59	130,443.75	158,624.62	170,910.08
Forwarding Mail .....	.....	.....	7,763.58	7,800.97	7,857.65
Miscellaneous	8,285.73	14,642.93	10,676.43	15,036.22	28,073.61
Total	856,725.79	1,020,542.22	1,019,503.15	1,167,342.01	1,279,346.58
Receipts per car-mile ..	20 cents	19 cents	15½ cents	15 cents	15 4-5 cents

EXPENDITURES 1899-1903.

Item.	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Total Operating Expenses	\$581,667.57	\$620,493.87	\$633,257.31	\$688,570.10	\$702,772.57
Relation of operating Expenses to total receipts (in per cent) ..	68.29%	60.8%	56.6%	59%	54.9%
Operating Expenses per car-mile	13½ cts.	11½ cts.	8½ cts.	9 cts.	8¾ cts.
Gross Profits	\$270,058.21	\$400,048.84	\$486,245.84	\$478,771.92	\$576,574.25
Net Profits	85,921.65	106,190.59	126,677.25	122,190.95	224,647.50

^a The term "car-mile" means the total cost of operating reduced to a unit standard; i. e., the cost of operating each car over a distance of one mile.

Although the receipts per car mile have also declined, this has been due to circumstances which indicate improvement of service rather than decline of traffic. During the five years of municipal operation from 1898 to 1903 the city has constructed a number of new lines in relatively sparsely settled districts, from which no surplus can be expected for some years to come. Although they are certain ultimately to prove profitable, the city has had primarily in view the possibility of influencing the settlement of outlying districts.

We have already had occasion to examine the unfortunate financial situation of the Munich system, due in large part to the extraordinarily heavy payments which the city must make each year to the street railway company as indemnity for the cancelling of the unexpired franchise. The deficit for the fiscal year 1904-1905 amounted to \$32,747.03, but this is not surprising when we stop to consider that the budget was burdened with the annuity payable to the street railway company, amounting to \$230,804.76. Inasmuch as all the lines belonging to the city are being operated by the company and will continue to be so operated until 1907, it is impossible at present to draw any conclusions with reference to municipal operation.

In considering the municipal railway system of Cologne, it is necessary to distinguish between the distinctly urban and the suburban lines. During the first few years of municipal operation, especially in 1901 and 1902, the street railways of Cologne, as of all the cities of Germany, were affected by the general economic depression from which the country was suffering. The receipts were further reduced by the temporary disturbances of traffic caused by the change of equipment from horse power to electricity.

The fiscal year 1901-1902 showed a net loss of \$12,145.54; in 1902-1903 there was a net profit of \$21.51; and in 1903-1904 a net profit of \$130,816.06. In considering this profit and loss account we must take into consideration that the city is compelled to pay to the street railway company an annuity of \$314,319.15. During the last four years the city has been able steadily to reduce the operating expenses.

The city owns and operates three suburban lines, one to the neighboring town of Frechen, another to Königsforst, and a third to Ehrenfeld. Under the Prussian law any community operating railway lines occupies a legal position very similar to that of a

private corporation. It may seek franchises from neighboring communities for the operation of such lines and is held to the same measure of obligation as a private company. In 1903 the city of Cologne entered into a contract with the town of Frechen to take over the line constructed in 1893. Under the terms of the contract Frechen is to receive an annuity of \$12,500, which is to be increased annually by \$250 until it reaches \$15,000. Cologne must furthermore pay into the treasury of Frechen one-third of

	1900-1901		1901-1902		1902-1903		1903-1904	
	Gross Receipts.	Per Car Mile Cts.	Gross Receipts.	Per Car Mile Cts.	Gross Receipts.	Per Car Mile Cts.	Gross Receipts.	Per Car Mile Cts.
Receipts	751,486.50	20 4-5	801,350.75	20	1,021,433.00	16 1-5	1,249,536.75	15 2-5
Operating Expenses	434,207.75	12	484,793.50	12	621,611.00	11 1-5	706,461.25	8 9-10
Surplus	317,278.75		316,557.25		299,822.00		543,075.50	
Relation of Operating Expenses to Gross Receipts (in per cent.)			60.50%		60.85%		56.54%	

the net profits and has agreed to equip the line with electricity with the least possible delay. The line is of considerable importance for freight as well as passenger traffic; in fact, since 1900 the income from freight traffic has been more than double that from passenger traffic. The city authorities of Cologne were anxious to acquire the line because of its importance to the industrial growth of the city rather than the possibilities of profit involved. During the first year of municipal operation after paying the annuity of \$12,500 to the town of Frechen there remained a net profit of nearly \$1,000.

The second of the Cologne suburban lines, viz: from Cologne to Königsforst, is the first section of a network of suburban lines on the right bank of the Rhine which the city has decided to build. As this line passes through three towns—Kalk, Vingst and Merheim—it was necessary first to enter into agreements with the local authorities of these towns. The agreements entered into are as follows:

First. In return for the use of its streets the town of Kalk is to receive an annuity depending on the net profits of the section running over its streets. It is provided, however, that in no case shall the annuity be less than \$2,125 nor more than \$6,750.

Second. The town of Vingst received a lump sum of \$1,250 to be expended for certain street improvements, and in addition is to receive an annuity depending on the number of inhabitants, and graded as follows: $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per inhabitant per year as long as population remains under 10,000; $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents per inhabitant per year for population between 10,000 and 15,000; 5 cents per inhabitant per year for population between 15,000 and 19,999; $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents per inhabitant per year for population between 20,000 and 29,999; $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per inhabitant per year for population over 30,000.

Third. The town of Merheim granted the right to use one of its streets for \$750, a sum sufficient to make a few minor repairs.

The third suburban line operated by the city is intended mainly for freight traffic. The city is doing everything in its power to encourage the establishment of new industries. The Cologne-Ehrenfeld line was acquired mainly with a view to improving the freight connection with the state railways.

The city of Nürnberg did not come into full possession of its street railway system until June 6, 1903. During the brief period of municipal management the city authorities have shown a degree of business capacity which promises to place the system in the front rank of the German street railways. As soon as the city obtained complete control of the situation, the construction of the new lines which the city had fruitlessly attempted to obtain from the street railway company was begun. Before the end of August two of the main lines were extended into outlying wards. The influence of the improved service in relieving the congestion in the older portions of the city was immediately apparent. Two new lines to suburban towns were also begun without delay. The following year (1904) the belt line encircling the entire city was completed through the construction of a section connecting the terminals of two existing lines.

The financial results of the first two years of municipal operation have been satisfactory. It must be remembered that the street railway account is burdened with the interest and liquidation charges on the loan contracted for the cancelling of the company's franchise. This means an annual outlay for thirty years of about \$138,000. In spite of this fixed charge, the street railway department turned over to the general city treasury a net profit of \$13,669.89 in 1903 and \$38,263.91 in 1904. During the first year the expense per car mile was reduced from $13\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 12 cents. The percentage of total receipts expended for operating expenses was reduced from 48.7

to 47.2 per cent. As regards economy of management the city can easily hold its own when compared with its predecessor. The street railway accounts under the two forms of management give ample evidence of this fact.

(b) FARES.

The most difficult problem confronting the cities which have embarked upon the municipal operation of street railways has been the adjustment of fares. During the last five years this question has been in the foreground of public attention. Unfortunately, the purposes and policies which the city authorities had in mind at the time the street railways were taken over have had to be considerably modified owing to the stern necessity of avoiding a deficit. In almost every instance one of the considerations which was of no small influence in bringing popular sentiment to favor municipal ownership and operation, was the possibility of so adjusting fares as to subserve social as well as financial ends. It was constantly pointed out that with municipal operation, the city would be able so to adjust fares as to influence the migration from the densely populated central wards to the outlying districts. Unfortunately the movement for municipal operation came at a time of economic depression in Germany, which was also felt in the street railway traffic. The first attempts to readjust fares with a view to influencing the distribution of population were followed by a marked decline in gross receipts. These two circumstances were immediately associated as cause and effect and led most of the cities to return to the system of fares in force prior to the period of municipal management.

The system of fares in force in German cities may be divided into two broad classes:

First. The uniform rate under which the same fare is charged no matter what the length of the ride.

Second. The zone tariff, *i. e.*, a system under which the rate of fare increases with the length of the ride.

Prior to the period of municipal operation the zone tariff was practically universal. This system, although sound from the standpoint of the financial interests of the companies, had the serious inconvenience that it retarded the development of the suburban districts. In the agitation for municipal ownership much stress was laid

on the possibility of introducing a uniform fare under municipal ownership. Of all the cities that have tried this system, Nürnberg is the only one that has been able to retain it. Munich, Düsseldorf, Barmen and Königsberg have tried it but felt compelled, for financial reasons, to revert to the zone system.

The experience of Munich is particularly instructive. As soon as the lines became the property of the city a radical revision of the system of fares was undertaken. A uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents was introduced for all distances within the limits of the older city; a maximum distance of six miles. With this fare the right to one free transfer was given. Beyond the old city limits the fare was five cents with one free transfer. We have already had occasion to point out the heavy financial obligations of the city toward the street railway company which, combined with the fact that at the time of the beginning of city ownership, the community was in the midst of a period of financial depression, account for at least a portion of the deficit of the first few years. The municipal authorities felt that the uniform fare was at least one of the causes of the unfavorable showing. A commission was appointed which recommended that the uniform fare be retained at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for week days, but that on Sunday the fare be increased to $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents. It was furthermore recommended that commutation tickets be adjusted to the zone system. Monthly cards, valid for a distance not exceeding two miles, were to be sold for \$1.25, while cards permitting of a three mile ride were to cost \$1.87 $\frac{1}{2}$. This plan was put into operation in July, 1903, but did not fulfil the expectations of increased income. The number of persons using the cars on Sundays dropped from 10,408,833 in 1902 to 6,933,450 in 1903. The people evidently were unwilling to pay the higher Sunday rate. The question was again referred to a commission and in 1904 the city council decided to abandon the uniform fare and to substitute therefor a zone tariff. On October 16, 1904, the new system went into effect. The lines were divided into sections called "units," each three-fifths of a mile in length. The rate of fare for each unit was fixed at $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents with a minimum fare of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The fare for the maximum distance was fixed at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Free transfers on all lines are issued. In order to make the change more acceptable to the working classes it was provided that from May 1st to October 15th the fare prior to 7 a. m., no matter what the distance, should be

2½ cents, and from October 16th to April 30th the same fare should obtain prior to 7.30 a. m. Monthly commutation tickets valid for a specified "two unit" ride (1 1-5 miles) are sold for \$1.50, for a "four unit" ride, \$3.00. The holders of these cards may travel over these units as often as they desire. Monthly cards good for the entire system are sold for \$3.75.

During the first nine months of the new system the financial results have been relatively satisfactory. The gross receipts during this period increased \$16,156.60. Although the gross receipts were increased, the total number of passengers carried declined considerably. As compared with the nine months of the preceding year the decrease was nearly half a million (458,626). Frankfort has also a zone tariff system similar in some respects to the Munich system. The gradation of fares is as follows:

For 1⅓ miles or less.....	2½ cents
Over 1⅓ and less than 2⅓ miles.....	3¾ "
Over 2⅓ and less than 3 miles	5 "
For every ⅓ of a mile over 3 miles	1¼ "

Frankfort has done more than any other German city to encourage the migration of population to the suburban districts. In 1904 a special system of fares was introduced for apprentices, workingmen and artisans whose income is less than \$500 per year. Cards for the six week days and entitling the holder to the single use of a section not exceeding one and four-fifth miles are issued for 7½ cents. These cards must be used before 7.30 a. m.; at least the ride must be begun before that hour. Weekly cards good for a morning ride before 7.30 and a return ride in the evening are issued for twenty cents. Monthly commutation cards for unlimited use of a section not exceeding one and fourth-fifth miles are also issued to workingmen for \$1.25. The city of Mannheim, imbued with the same desire to favor the housing of the working classes in the outlying districts, has adopted a plan which has proved most successful. Workingmen's tickets good for a two and one-tenth miles ride are sold for 1¼ cents, but these tickets can only be used from the suburban sections to the old city wall. A further ride must be paid at the regular rate.

In Bielefeld special workingmen's cars are run during the early

These tickets are only sold to persons whose income does not exceed \$300 per year.

morning and evening hours. The fare is $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents no matter how long the ride (maximum ride five and three-twenty-fifth miles). In Mühlheim a. d. Rohr workingmen's monthly commutation tickets are issued for \$1.00, good for the morning ride to and the evening ride from place of work.*

Cologne has recently introduced a new zone tariff system arranged as follows:

Fare for $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles	$2\frac{1}{2}$ cents
Fare for $3\frac{1}{8}$ miles	$3\frac{3}{4}$ "
Fare for $5\frac{1}{8}$ miles	5 "
Fare over $5\frac{1}{8}$ miles	$6\frac{1}{4}$ "

With every fare exceeding two and one-half cents a free transfer is issued. Four classes of tickets are sold:

First. For monthly tickets over the entire system, \$3.25.

Second. Monthly tickets over definite sections of the lines are arranged as follows: The entire system is divided into eighty-one "unit sections." The charge for monthly tickets over three contiguous sections is \$1.25, for five sections, \$1.75; for seven sections, \$2.00.

Third. In order to furnish workingmen with cheap transportation facilities, tickets good for use before 7 a. m. in summer and before 7.30 a. m. in winter are issued at the rate of six for seven and one-half cents.

Fourth. Tickets for school children are issued for one and one-quarter cents, good for any distance.

In Cologne, as in the other cities, holders of commutation tickets may use the lines as often as they wish. Nürnberg and Darmstadt are the only cities of any size which still retain the uniform fare in their municipal railway system. The fare is $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In the issuance of commutation tickets Nürnberg has departed from the uniform rate. Monthly tickets for two mile sections are sold for \$1.50; monthly tickets for the entire system cost \$2.50. In Darmstadt the uniform fare of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents is only departed from on one line, on which the fare is $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents.

The experience of some of the other cities in which the street railways are under municipal management is worthy of attention. Duesseldorf took over the street railways and immediately introduced the uniform fare of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents with right to one free transfer, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents with right to two transfers. Monthly commutation tickets for the entire system were sold for \$1.50. A special rate of \$1.00 was made for school children. The first year of municipal

* Cf. Lindemann, op. cit. p. 273.

operation showed a deficit of \$33,963. After careful consideration the city authorities decided to abandon the uniform fare and adopted a zone tariff. This seemed to have no immediate effect as the real cause of the deficit was the general economic depression. The attempt was then made to remedy the financial situation by diminishing the size of the zone unit. The increase in price, combined with the improvement in the industrial situation of the community placed the system on a paying basis.

In Barmen the uniform $2\frac{1}{2}$ cent fare with free transfer was also introduced immediately after the municipalization of the street railways. Monthly commutation cards good for all portions of the system were issued at \$1.25. The maximum length of ride without transfer was four and one-fifth miles. Under this system the street railway accounts showed a chronic deficit amounting to \$220 in 1897, \$9,849 in 1898, \$5,312 in 1899, \$3,729 in 1900 and \$4,026 in 1901. In December, 1903, this system was replaced by a zone tariff under which the lines were divided into five zones of two and one-tenth miles each. The rate for each zone was fixed at $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents with a maximum fare of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

In Königsberg the uniform fare system was in force during the first years of municipal management. In April, 1903, the city authorities, in order to increase the receipts, introduced a combination of the uniform rate and zone tariff.⁹ Within the limits of the city the uniform $2\frac{1}{2}$ cent fare is retained, beyond the city limits $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents is charged.

Character of Service Under Municipal Management.

It requires but very brief observation of conditions in German cities to be forced to the conclusion that "rapid transit" in the sense in which that term is used in American cities is unknown in Germany. Its absence has added greatly to the burdens of the municipal authorities, especially in increasing the difficulties of the housing and other sanitary problems. The failure to develop a system of rapid transit is not traceable to the shortcomings of municipal management. In fact, under municipal management conditions have undergone marked improvement.

⁹Cf. Lindemann. *Wirtschaftspflege in der Deutschen Staedteverwaltung*, Vol. ii p. 266.

Municipal Ownership of Street Railways

The marked difference between American and Continental cities in the efficiency of the service is traceable directly to the conditions of business life. Until comparatively recent years there was no definite line of demarcation between the business and residence sections of German cities. This condition is directly traceable to the industrial characteristics of the mediæval city in which the artisan's workshop and residence were in the same building. Another factor of considerable importance is the relatively small area of the German as compared with the American cities. The incorporation of suburban districts which has taken place within the last ten years has greatly diminished the contrast, but the standards of traffic have not as yet caught up with the changed conditions. The system of urban transportation in Germany fails to meet the requirements of the great industrial centers that have developed in recent years. The street railway system has not advanced in harmony with the changes in urban conditions.

In most of the German cities the day cars are run at intervals of from four to eight minutes. On some of the most important lines the interval is reduced to three minutes, but more frequent traffic is unknown. After midnight the service is usually suspended until 5 a. m. The speed of the cars is from one-third to one-half less than in the United States.

It is true that greater care is taken of the comfort of passengers, the number of persons permitted in each car being carefully designated. Nevertheless, this attention to detail is hardly counterbalanced by the absence of a well developed system of rapid communication which, by favoring a more equable distribution of population, would considerably simplify the most pressing municipal problems.

Labor Conditions Under Municipal Management.

One of the most notable achievements of municipal operation in Germany has been the betterment of labor conditions. The German cities undertook without delay to readjust the hours of labor so as to bring them within the ten-hour limit and so to arrange the schedules that this ten-hour service should be as continuous as possible. This constituted a great improvement over the older schedules under which the employees worked three and four hours at a time and

were thus compelled to be on duty considerably beyond the ten-hour period. Compared with the United States the wages seem surprisingly low. In the larger cities of Germany the average wage of motormen is eighty cents per day, of conductors, seventy-five cents per day. In Cologne, conductors receive from \$22.50 to \$30 per month, motormen from \$29.50 to \$37.50, depending on the length of service. In case of disability arising from any cause whatsoever, an annuity of \$175 is assured during the period of such disability. Munich pays the motormen and conductors seventy-five cents per day, which is gradually increased until, after five years of service, the maximum rate of \$1.25 per day is reached. This represents the wage condition in most of the cities in which the street railways are under municipal management. The hours of labor in all the cities are adjusted on a ten-hour scale.

In judging this comparatively low wage scale, it must be borne in mind that the "fee" system still prevails in most of the German cities. Many of the passengers in paying their fare give to the conductors five pfennigs ($1\frac{1}{4}$ cents). The motorman is entitled to a certain percentage of the fees received by the conductor—usually about 35 per cent. In this way motormen and conductors receive from thirty to forty cents per day in addition to their regular wage.

Even with these additions the wage seems low compared with American conditions. The results of a special inquiry undertaken by the Census Bureau in 1902 show that 14 per cent. of the conductors on electric surface railways in cities of over 100,000 receive from \$1.75 to \$1.99 per day, 62.1 per cent. receive from \$2.00 to \$2.24, and 13.6 per cent. receive from \$2.25 to \$2.49. Of the motormen, 12.9 per cent. receive \$1.75 to \$1.99, 59.8 per cent. receive from \$2.00 to \$2.24 and 19.8 per cent. receive from \$2.25 to \$2.49. Although, in Germany, the wage scale of street railway employees under municipal and private management is practically the same, there is considerable difference in the treatment of employees in case of sickness, disability or death. In all the German cities special funds have been established, towards which the city treasury contributes each year a sum equal to a certain percentage of the employees' salaries. Cologne and two or three of the other cities have even undertaken to build dwellings for their employees.

Comparison and Conclusion.

Any attempt to determine the success or failure of municipal management of street railways in Germany must be based upon a comparison of public with private management. A careful review of the experience of German cities will show that private control has been singularly unprogressive. This has been due, in part at least, to the onerous conditions under which the original franchise grants were made. The companies did not feel justified in incurring the risks involved in making improvements on a large scale or in extending the service into the outlying districts of the city. Impressed with the lessons of this experience we find the more recent franchise grants specifying minutely the streets over which the service must be extended.

The relation between city and street railway corporations in Germany seems to be exactly the reverse of that in the United States. Here the companies are constantly seeking the right to extend their lines into new districts, whereas in Germany the municipal authorities are engaged in a constant struggle to secure from the companies an extension of the service. This difference in the attitude of the companies toward the extension of the service is due in part to the broader spirit of enterprise of American corporations, but the main reason is to be found in the fact that the German companies were aware that every new grant from the city would be accompanied by a demand for such a percentage of gross receipts as would considerably diminish their dividends. It is not surprising, therefore, that the German companies have shown a conservatism which is usually interpreted as lack of enterprise and inability to discount the future.

We have seen that the movement toward municipalization was largely determined by the antagonism between the cities and the street railway companies, growing out of the desire of the city to secure a more rapid extension of the service. If at the time they applied for the right to substitute electricity for horse power, the companies had more fully appreciated the value of the privilege, it is likely that they would have been more willing to accede to the wishes of the city authorities.

The process of municipalization was greatly facilitated by the fact that under the German law the accounts of public service

corporations are subjected to careful public control. The amount expended by each company for the construction and equipment of the lines is easily ascertainable. Every dollar of capital represents actual investment. The total capitalization of the companies whose lines have been recently municipalized is as follows:

	Total capitalization.	Length of line, including double track railways.	Capitalization per mile of road.
Cologne Street Railway Co. . .	\$1,368,625	50.5	\$27,101.48
Nürnberg Street Railway Co. .	1,570,000	29	54,138.28
Munich	1,500,000	63	23,809.52

The net capital liabilities per mile of track of the electric surface railways of the United States is \$92,114. In the cities with a population of 500,000 and over, the net capitalization per mile of track reaches the enormous sum of \$182,775. In New York City¹⁰ the capitalization per mile of track is \$259,542; in Chicago, \$109,537; in Philadelphia, \$165,085; in St. Louis, \$198,647; in Boston, \$97,353; in Washington, \$186,416; in Pittsburgh, \$185,170, and in San Francisco, \$140,985.

The influence of this wide difference in capitalization on the expense account of street railway lines under American and European conditions is readily apparent. The percentage of total income expended by American companies for interest and liquidation charges and for the payment of guaranteed dividends to subsidiary companies is considerably larger than those of the German companies. The following table presents some data relating to Frankfurt, Cologne and Munich. Accurate figures for the larger American companies are not obtainable:

	Interest and liquidation charges.	Percentage of total expenditure.
Frankfurt	\$112,066.04	10.6
Cologne	204,000.00	17.0
Nürnberg	138,063.00	28.7

Any attempt to review the results of municipal ownership would be incomplete without some reference to the effect on the civic life

¹⁰ The net capitalization per mile of the 19,874 miles of track (131.13 operated by conduit trolley) controlled by the New York Interurban Company is \$494,399.

of the communities under consideration. The introduction of electricity as a motive power greatly increased the possibilities of profit, and led the companies to exert the strongest possible pressure to secure a renewal of their franchises combined with the right to use electrical power. In the struggle to secure these new rights one can detect the first traces of the insidious forms of corruption which have done so much to undermine the civic life of American communities. In a number of instances, members of the council were retained as attorneys for street railway companies, and in one case an influential member of the "Magistrat" of one of the larger cities was made a director of a street railway company at a time when the company was seeking important privileges.

On the other hand, in those cities which have municipalized their street railway system, there is no indication of corruption traceable to the large increase in the number of city employees. The civil service system is so highly organized that the danger of political influence is reduced to a minimum.

Viewing the situation broadly, it may fairly be said that the municipalization of the street railways has protected these cities from the dangers involved in the desire of private corporations to secure control of local administration for the purpose of securing special privileges. In 1890 but few of the companies were declaring large dividends. In fact, the large return which they were compelled to make for the franchises under which they were operating grants made it necessary to exercise the greatest economy in order to make a fair profit on the capital actually invested. The new franchises, in offering to the companies far larger possibilities of profit, correspondingly increased the temptation to secure control of local policy. It is too early to predict whether the cities in which the street railways are still in the hands of private companies will be able to withstand the temptations which now beset them.

Are these lessons of German experience of any real value to our American municipalities? The answer to this question is a matter of far more than theoretical importance. Partly because of the feeling of irritation aroused by the corrupting influence of public service corporations on the civic life of American communities, but mainly owing to a general awakening to the possibilities of improved service in urban transportation and in gas and electric light service,

the public mind is anxiously turning to municipal ownership and operation as a possible solution. In fact, indications are not lacking that we are drifting toward a fetichism of municipal operation which is likely to work great harm. One of the safeguards against this danger will be a proper estimate of the value of foreign experience.

The success of municipal operation in Germany means that the people are enjoying better service than under private management. The causes of the failure of private operation to meet modern requirements are readily ascertainable, and as we have seen these causes do not exist in the United States. In other words, the conditions for successful private management are far more favorable in the United States than in Germany.

Furthermore, as regards urban transportation, the requirements of public opinion as to the standard of service are immeasurably higher in the United States than in Germany. Notwithstanding our prodigality of public franchises, the American public has always set a relatively high standard as regards the character of the transportation service. We have been willing to pay a high, at times an exorbitant price, but there has been a corresponding demand for good service. No American community of any size would to-day tolerate the conditions of urban transit that obtain in most German municipalities. The present unrest of American public opinion is due to the fact that the requirements as to the standard of service are being raised with such rapidity that the over-capitalized corporations are unable to maintain the pace to which they have been forced during recent years.

Although the arguments in favor of municipal operation are being grouped about the possibility of large financial returns to the city treasury, it is not likely that this argument will stir the American people to any drastic measures. To secure united action, appeal must be made to the desire for improved service. The fact that municipal operation has given improved service in Germany does not necessarily mean that it will produce the same results in the United States. Whatever may be said against American street railway corporations, no one will deny that they have given far better service than the German companies. It is true that they have been given greater freedom in the development of the service and that the public demands, especially as regards rapidity of service,

have been considerably higher than in Germany. Be this as it may, it is important to bear in mind that municipal operation in the United States would have to bear comparison with a higher standard of service than in Germany. Any attempt to apply the lessons of German experience which does not keep these differences in mind, is certain to be misleading rather than helpful.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES AND STREET RAILWAY TRAFFIC IN LONDON

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Secretary of the Royal Commission on London Traffic.

The name "London" is applied indiscriminately to various local government, judicial, and geographical areas. There is the "Administrative County of London," centrally governed by the elective London County Council, which controls certain matters of local government as sewerage, new buildings, education, etc. Comprised in the "Administrative County" is the City of London, governed by the Corporation of London, whose district is practically independent of the County Council except in a few matters. The rest of the "Administrative County," excluding the city, called "the County of London," is divided into 28 Metropolitan Boroughs, each with an elective borough council, which are the local government authorities for all purposes, *e. g.*, street maintenance, scavenging, lighting, etc., not appertaining to the County Council, and which in many matters are controlled by the County Council.

The next greater area is "Greater London"—the district under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police (a state force), comprising roughly every parish, the whole of which is within fifteen miles, and any part of which is within twelve miles, of Charing Cross, excluding the City of London, which has its own municipal police force. "Greater London" includes the Administrative County of London, excluding the City, and stretches beyond into five adjoining administrative counties, *viz.*: Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, Hertford, each county with a central county council and entirely subdivided into various subsidiary and practically independent units of local government, boroughs, urban districts, rural districts—each with an elective authority. The portion of "Greater London" lying beyond the Administrative County of London situated in the other counties is geographically known as "Extra" or "Outer

London." For transportation purposes "Greater London" should be the geographical area for consideration. Such is the decision of the Royal Commission on London Traffic, which has just published eight large volumes of original statistics and investigations on every phase of traffic on the railroads, street railways, and streets in "Greater London."

The Transportation Authorities.

London depends for locomotion on trunk-line railroads and their suburban sections, on underground railroads, "subway" and "tube," on street railways and on omnibuses and cabs.

Railroads, surface and underground, can only be constructed under a private and special Act of Parliament. The consent of the local authorities does not enter into the matter. They can oppose and present their case before the committee in the House of Commons, and also before the committee in the House of Lords, to which the bill is referred. Street railways are authorized by virtue of (1) a special and private Act; (2) a Provisional Order granted for the purpose by the (State) Board of Trade, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament; but no Street Railway Act or Provisional Order is allowed to proceed without the consent of the local authorities, who have thus a power of "veto" in addition to rights of opposition in Parliament. Street railways, or local railroads, can also be constructed outside the Administrative County of London under "Light Railway Orders" granted by the (State) Light Railway Commission, a procedure of recent growth over which local authorities have no "veto."

As a result, all the railroads of "Greater London" are in private hands. When constructed under an Act or Provisional Order street railways are purchasable by the local authorities at a date specified in such Act or Order. This is not the case when constructed under a Light Railway Order. In the Administrative County of London, the London County Council has accordingly purchased, or arranged to purchase and operate all street railways, and shortly none will be in private hands. In "Extra London" the local authorities have similar powers, but have not yet cared, or been in a position, to exercise them. All local authorities, with few exceptions, have, along with private promoters, power, which they

exercise, to promote Bills or Orders for the construction of new street railways, save that in the Administrative County of London, the London County Council alone, with the private promoter, has the power, subject to the other local authorities' "veto." Thus the street railways of "Greater London" are partly municipal, partly municipally owned and privately operated, and partly privately owned and operated. Omnibuses are all in private hands, and may be put on any route without special authority, subject to the licensing of the "bus," the driver, and conductor, by the police.

The following are the chief statistics bearing on traffic in Greater London, as contained in the report of the Royal Commission:

Statistics of Area Population and Traffic.

AREA.		Acres of land and inland water.
The City of London		673
The County of London.....		74,144
The Administrative County of London.....		74,817
"Extra London"		368,602
"Greater London"		443,419

RESIDENT NIGHT POPULATION.

Year of Census.	Administrative County of London.		"Extra" London		Total "Greater London."	
	Population.	Increase per cent.	Population.	Increase per cent.	Population.	Increase per cent.
1801	959,310		155,334		1,114,644	
1811	1,139,355	18.8	184,544	18.8	1,323,899	18.8
1851	2,363,341	21.2	317,594	11.0	2,680,935	
1861	2,808,494	18.8	414,226	30.4	3,222,720	20.2
1891	4,228,317	10.4	1,405,489	50.1	5,633,806	
1901	4,536,541	7.3	2,044,861	45.5	6,581,402	16.8

The feature of the population growth is the rapid rate of increase in "Extra London," partly natural, mostly migratory, occasioning an immense demand for suburban traveling facilities. In the central districts of London population is stationary or decreasing. For instance in the City of London:

	City of London. Population.
1861	112,063
1871	74,897
1881	50,652
1891	37,694
1901	26,923

although 359,940 persons spend the day there, and 1,250,000 persons and 100,000 vehicles enter and leave the city daily.

The following figures show the annual amount of intra-urban travel:

	All Local Railroads.	Street Railways.	Two Chief Omnibus Companies.	Total.	Rides Per Capita.
1880	133,877,485	64,817,361	57,722,231	256,417,077	54.8
1890	167,299,200	191,041,904	148,531,099	506,872,203	91.5
1900	214,537,095	340,203,066	264,503,868	819,244,029	126.3
1902	273,767,648	358,119,754	279,466,557	911,353,959	136.0

The only railroads included are the lines owned or used by the purely local East London, Metropolitan, Metropolitan District, North London, Central London, City and South London, and Waterloo and City Companies, for which lines statistics are available. Trunk railroads and their suburban sections are omitted, and also the smaller omnibus companies. Last year, with the co-operation of the transportation authorities, a special count was made for the Royal Commission of the travel on all local means of conveyance,—including the recently constructed Whitechapel and Bow, Great Northern and City Roads,—excluding trunk railroads. The figures are:

Railroads (local, not trunk).....	301,000,000
Street Railways	405,000,000
Omnibuses	458,000,000
	<hr/>
	1,164,000,000

These figures on an assumed present-existing population of 6,850,000 in "Greater London," represent 170 rides per capita per annum.

In addition, certain of the trunk line companies mentioned above have trackage rights over sections of other companies' lines.

There are also the following connecting lines operated jointly by the various companies having terminals in London: East London Joint; Hammersmith and City Joint; London and India Docks; Metropolitan—Widened Lines; North and South Western Junction; Tottenham and Hampstead; Tottenham and Forest Gate; Whitechapel and Bow.

Electric Railroads.

In addition to the above trunk roads there are the following local railroads existing and in course of construction:

EXISTING.

	Mileage and by Passenger Trains.		Passengers Carried 1904.
	Route.	Single Track.	
(A) Electric subway and in open			
Metropolitan	8½	17	.....
Metropolitan District	25	50	51,000,000
Metropolitan District joint lines Metropolitan and Metropolitan District	2	4	1,250,000
(B) Electric "Tube"			
Central London	6	12	45,000,000
City & South London	6	12	17,500,000
Great Northern & City	3½	7	8,000,000
Waterloo & City	1½	3	4,500,000

IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION.

(B) Electric "Tube."	Length Miles.
Baker Street and Waterloo	5½
Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead	8
Great Northern, Piccadilly and Brompton	8¾
Metropolitan District Extension (Hammersmith to Glidden Road)	½

AUTHORIZED, BUT NOT YET BUILT.

(B) Great Northern, Piccadilly and Brompton (Holborn to Strand)....	¼
(B) Metropolitan District (Earl's Court to Mansion House).....	4¾
(B) City and Brixton (Kennington Park to Brixton)	1½
(A) Edgware and Hampstead	4½
(B) North West London	4
(A and B) North East London	10
(A) Watford and Edgware	6

Omnibuses.

There are 159 omnibus routes or separate lines of omnibuses in the Administrative County of London, and 41 routes in "Extra London," and of the former 115 pass through the central area. The routes in the Administrative County range in length from 8.8 miles to .7 miles, and aggregate 757 miles, using a total street length of 242 miles.

The following is an approximate division of the 242 miles of streets according to the amount of omnibus traffic:

Number of omnibuses per hour in both directions (during hours of full service).	Length of streets in the administrative county divided according to amount of omnibus traffic Miles.
480 and upwards (intervals of one-fourth of a minute or less each way)	.57
480 to 360 (intervals of one-fourth to one-third of a minute each way)	4.43
360 to 240 (intervals of one-third to one-half of a minute each way)	6.47
240 to 120 (intervals from one-half of a minute to one minute each way)	14.64
Less than 120 (intervals of over one minute each way).....	215.89
	<hr/> 242.0

In the principal streets the omnibus traffic forms a very considerable part of the total vehicular traffic. In the Strand, out of a total of 11,000 vehicles per day, 36 per cent. are omnibuses; in Holborn, out of 9,400 31 per cent. are omnibuses, and at Piccadilly, out of 15,000, 30 per cent. are omnibuses.

THE MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CHICAGO

BY HUGO S. GROSSER,
City Statistician of Chicago.

The movement for municipal ownership in Chicago, although but recently designated by the most prominent merchant of the city as "a fad and a craze that will die out and not be heard of again within five years," is as old, almost, as the city itself. According to the records, the question of municipal ownership was first voted upon in Chicago in 1851, and the point at issue at that time was the acquisition and operation by the municipality of the water works. Of the four thousand four hundred and forty-five persons voting at that time, two thousand six hundred and eighty-eight voted for, and five hundred and thirteen against the measure, while one thousand two hundred and forty-four were silent on the question. Chicago as a result of that election acquired its water works, and has owned and operated them ever since. That the public mind, even in the early days of the city's life, considered the possibility of extending municipal ownership to other public utilities, and particularly to the street railway lines, may be seen from the fact that when the city council of Chicago in 1858 granted the first street railway ordinance to a number of gentlemen, the predecessors of the Chicago City Railway Company, it contained a provision for the purchase of the street railway property by the city.

Again in 1887, the city of Chicago without much ado, and without creating a bonded debt, erected its first municipal lighting plant, which, during the past eighteen years has been continually enlarged and extended, and has become one of the largest electric street lighting plants in the world. Thus not only the principle, but also the practical value of municipal ownership of public utilities was well known to the citizens of Chicago for many years.

There was little cause to discuss the question of municipal ownership for several decades, but the time came when the people were aroused as never before, and for a good reason, for one of the boldest attempts ever known in legislative history was made by the street railway interests to obtain, in a roundabout way, an extension of their grants for a further period of fifty years. In 1886 a syndicate headed by Charles T. Yerkes, organized the North Chicago Street Railroad Company and the West Chicago Street Railroad Company, which took over the leases of the street railways and the franchise rights of the North Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago West Division Railway Company for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, guaranteeing to the retiring companies annual dividends of 30 and 35 per cent. respectively. The new companies, after they had assumed the operation of the railways, received in their own right, from time to time, from the city numerous grants for additional streets in the north and west divisions for twenty years, which, in fact, constituted a very large part of the mileage of the respective lines of these companies. In 1897, through the efforts of Mr. Yerkes, the senate of the State of Illinois passed a law, popularly known as the "Humphrey Bill," which provided that any street railway ordinances heretofore granted to any one were extended for the period of fifty years from and after the first Tuesday in September, 1897. Although Mr. Yerkes personally appeared before the house committee to whom the bill was referred and urged the passage of it, the house finally rejected it, but passed a substitute, afterwards amended and passed by the senate, popularly known as the "Allen Law," which conferred upon the city the power to extend street railway ordinances for fifty years, instead of twenty years, as provided by the cities and villages act of 1874. The people of Chicago were up in arms, and when in 1898 Mr. Yerkes, on behalf of his two companies, tried to get the city council to pass an ordinance extending the time for the operation of the lines for fifty years, genuine alarm was felt everywhere, as, considering the composition of the city council at that time, well-grounded fears were entertained that the people's rights might be sold to the street railway corporations in spite of the probable veto of Carter H. Harrison, the new mayor, who had been elected not quite a year before. Indignation meetings were held everywhere; frequent threats of hanging the aldermen who would dare to vote for the propositions were

heard, and so stoutly did the people fight in their own behalf that the council did not dare to pass the ordinances. Not satisfied with that result, the agitation was kept up until in 1899 the legislature repealed the so-called "Allen Law," and in lieu thereof passed a law corresponding to the old law limiting franchise grants to twenty years.

As soon as, through the "Humphrey Bill," the people of Chicago were challenged to protect their rights in the streets of the city, the council appointed a committee to make an exhaustive investigation of the entire matter. This committee, known as the Harlan Committee, reported to the council in March, 1898. In this report were set forth all the facts as they existed at that time in regard to the street railways, and for the first time the public came into possession of reliable and helpful information. Aroused by the bold efforts of Yerkes, and fortified by the knowledge that most of the franchises of the old companies were about to expire, the public there and then became firmly determined that no further franchises should be given to these companies. They realized how utterly inadequate the street car service had been for years—how they had been subjected to the most abominable, yes, indecent, treatment—how the purpose of accommodating the people had been entirely lost sight of by the companies, whose only aim for years seemed to have been to procure the largest number of nickels for the least amount of service. The cause of municipal ownership received an impetus which since then has grown stronger and stronger; which, in spite of all the machinations on the part of the traction interests, could not be downed, and which, to judge from the present attitude of the people, will not down until it has been brought to a successful realization. It might be truthfully said that Mr. Yerkes is the father of the present municipal ownership movement, for, had he been wise enough to introduce proper transportation service and be modest or at least moderate in his demands for franchise renewals, it may justly be assumed that the companies would have received an extension of their grants, and that consequently there would have been no street railway question in Chicago.

As soon as the street railway interests saw their attempt to grab the streets of Chicago for another half century foiled in so pronounced a manner, they at once began to raise the cry of their rights under the so-called "Ninety-nine Year Act," under which they

claimed their franchise rights extended until 1958 and 1960 respectively. This ninety-nine year act playing so great a part in the present controversy is nothing but a mere legislative enactment, passed in 1865, amending an act of February, 1859, which incorporated the Chicago City Railway Company and the North Chicago City Railway Company, and likewise amending an act of February, 1861, which incorporated the Chicago West Division Railway Company. Under this act the corporate life of these three companies was extended from twenty-five to ninety-nine years, and further contained the following amendment:

"And any and all acts or deeds of transfer of rights, privileges or franchises, between the corporations in said several acts named, or any two of them, and all contracts, stipulations, licenses and undertakings, made, entered into or given, and as made or amended by and between the said Common Council and any one or more of the said corporations, respecting the location, use or exclusion of railways in or upon the streets, or any of them, of said city, shall be deemed and held and continued in force during the life hereof, as valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as if made a part, and the same are hereby made a part of said several acts."

The claim of the companies under this amendatory act, passed over the veto of the then governor, Oglesby, in spite of great public opposition, has never been adjudicated, has always been disputed by the city, and is now pending in the United States Supreme Court.

In the light of the following events it seems as though Mr. Yerkes, no doubt aware of the weakness of his position, must have had some very deep and mysterious purpose in thus setting up these proud claims, and this became evident when in 1899 he managed to organize the Chicago Union Traction Company, as the successor of his two former companies. These leased all their property rights, including their leasehold interests, privileges, franchises, etc., to the Chicago Union Traction Company, which latter undertook and agreed to assume and pay the floating indebtedness of the former corporations, interest on the bonded indebtedness, aggregating over twenty-five million dollars, and dividends to the stockholders of the five underlying corporations to the amount of one million six hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and sixty-three dollars annually. After Mr. Yerkes had succeeded in floating this new enterprise, out of which he is reputed to have drawn more than ten million dollars, he disappeared from the field of action to build his

"two-penny tubes" in London, leaving to the syndicate that succeeded him the heritage of the legal battle that has already consumed many years.

Chicago was on the *qui vive*. In December, 1899, the city council created the Street Railway Commission, with directions to prepare and submit to the legislature a comprehensive bill for new street railway legislation. In his annual message of December, 1899, Mayor Harrison, who in the spring of the year had been re-elected under the slogan, "The streets of Chicago belong to the people," called attention to the five points which he thought must be considered in connection with any extension of franchises to any existing street railway companies. These five points were:

First. Compensation based upon percentage of gross receipts;

Second. A reduction of fare during the crowded hours of the day;

Third. A betterment of conditions in the accommodation of the public;

Fourth. A proposition for municipal ownership of the lines at the expiration of the grant; and

Fifth. The requirement that before any ordinance granting an extension of franchises shall become operative it shall first be submitted to a direct vote of the people and receive popular endorsement.

The Street Railway Commission prepared and submitted to the legislature a comprehensive plan for new street railway legislation, and in their report dwelt upon several points to be observed before any franchises were to be extended. It maintained that the city should possess the power to own and operate street railways; that to the council there should be reserved broad powers of control of the street railway business; that the people should be given a direct voice through the referendum in the settlement of the most important questions of street railway policy; that the law should forbid over-capitalization; and that when any further grants of privileges from the city are accorded to the companies, they should be required, as a consideration of such grant, to renounce any claim of rights under the ninety-nine year act. In April, 1901, Carter Harrison, under the old battlecry, was elected for the third time.

In May of the same year the city council created a Committee on Local Transportation to deal with the street railway problem.

This committee, in December, 1901, reported to the council an outline ordinance for the proposed extension of franchises, but the companies for some time had ceased to negotiate with the city. In this report the committee said:

"The immediate municipalization of the street railways of Chicago as a practical proposition most persons will readily admit is out of the question."

and further:

"But the public is greatly interested in the early improvement of Chicago's belated and inadequate transportation facilities, and to that end it should be prepared to consider the terms of an early settlement of the general franchise question, in so far as a settlement may be an important element in leading to improvement of service."

Meanwhile a great deal of pressure had been brought upon the council and the mayor to "settle" the street car question, and it was stated by representative people that the overwhelming sentiment of the people was that the question should be settled right and soon. The Citizens' Association, the Civic Federation, and the Real Estate Board, as well as the press in general, emphatically were opposed to anything in the nature of delay. This finally caused Mayor Harrison, on January 6, 1902, to send a message to the council outlining the provisions of a street railway franchise renewal ordinance, in which, in order to meet the claim of the committee that a new franchise was essential to the obtaining of a satisfactory service, he stated:

"The general police power of the city is sufficient to give to the people the relief demanded." In this message he reiterated the points he conceived to be fundamental in any settlement. In addition to that, he said:

"For my part, I regard myself as under a pledge to the people to do all in my official and individual power to bring about the possibility of municipal ownership. The question with me, then, is: Do the people desire municipal ownership? The answer to this question will not be received by me from the owners of street car securities, nor from the all too interested precincts of the stock exchange, nor from that class of prominent citizens who regard a public franchise as personal spoil and loot, nor from that portion of the press which takes its editorial coloring from these classes of citizens."

Further on, he pointed out that at the time there was no authority for the city to own and operate its street railways, and that if

municipal ownership is to be obtained, the passage of enabling legislation must be a condition precedent to the granting of the desired extensions. In March, 1902, the city council, by resolutions, invited the street railway companies to enter into negotiations for renewal franchises.

The advocates of municipal ownership had not remained idle during all this time. New leagues and associations sprung up in all quarters of the city, taking up the fight, and in the aldermanic election in April, 1902, under the Public Policy Act, through their efforts, there was submitted to the people the question of municipal ownership of street railways. At that election one hundred and forty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-six voted in favor of municipal ownership, and only twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and ninety voted against it.

From then on, every effort was bent to secure from the legislature that was to meet in January, 1903, the necessary legislation authorizing the city to own and operate street railways. Within two weeks after the election, the council passed an order authorizing and instructing the mayor to "appoint a special committee of five aldermen and five citizens to take steps to present the necessary bills to the legislature and to do everything possible to carry out the will of the people so decisively expressed at the recent election."

A committee appointed by the mayor in compliance with the order, made a report in December, 1902, expressing the desirability of municipal ownership in Chicago, and submitted several bills which were approved by the council and in turn submitted to the General Assembly of Illinois in February, 1903. These bills were pending in the legislature when another mayoralty election was at hand. The mayor being a candidate for re-election, appointed a very large committee, consisting of prominent citizens of both parties, including the Republican candidate for mayor, the late Mr. Graeme M. Stewart, to advocate the enactment of these laws. The legislature being overwhelmingly Republican, great pressure was brought upon Mr. Stewart and his friends to induce the legislature to pass the desired laws. Well knowing the temper of the people, and fearing that a failure to pass the bills might hurt the chances of the Republican candidate, the delegates unanimously worked for their passage. There was considerable delay, and when election day came the bills were still held in abeyance. Mr. Harrison was elected for a fourth

time, but so strong became the general pressure that in May, 1903, the legislature of Illinois passed the "Act to authorize cities to acquire, construct, own, operate and lease street railways, and to provide the means therefor," popularly known as the "Mueller Law." It had been hoped that the act would have been passed before the election so it could be submitted to popular vote for approval there and then, as under the terms of the law this was necessary before it would be in force.

In October, 1903, the council passed an ordinance which provided for the submission of the act to popular vote at the election of April 5, 1904, to determine whether it should become operative in Chicago under its terms. At that election the act was approved by the people by a vote of one hundred and fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-three against thirty thousand two hundred and seventy-nine; and through the efforts of the Referendum League, the following two questions were submitted at the same election:

First. "Shall the city, upon the adoption of the Mueller law, proceed without delay to acquire ownership of the street railways under the powers conferred by the Mueller law?"

The vote was one hundred and twenty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven for and fifty thousand eight hundred and seven against.

Second. "Shall the city council, instead of granting any franchises, proceed at once, under the city's police powers and other existing laws, to license the street railway companies until municipal ownership can be secured and compel them to give satisfactory service?"

The vote was one hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and sixty-three for, and forty-eight thousand two hundred against.

Such a decisive vote clearly showed the will of the people, and the city having obtained the authority to own and operate its street railways, there seemed to be smooth sailing ahead for the cause of municipal ownership; but what a delusion! The difficulties were greater than ever, and the prospect for the final settlement of the long drawn out and exceedingly tiresome traction question looked gloomy, indeed. While in the spring of 1903 the Mueller bill was on its passage the city experienced a distinct shock when, without warning, the Union Traction Company went into the hands of a receiver. It seemed impossible that such a profitable enterprise should be

forced into bankruptcy, and it was generally believed that the astounding move was merely a subterfuge by which the Union Traction Company, passing under the control of the federal court, could, and actually did escape any, and all interference with its service on the part of the city. Through this move, furthermore, all negotiations for franchise extensions between the Union Traction Company and the city were broken off, and the city authorities for some time dealt with the City Railway Company only—the one covering the transportation service on the great South Side of the city.

Numerous petitions, resolutions, orders and ordinances were introduced in the city council ordering the Committee on Local Transportation to cease negotiations with the street railway companies,—providing for all kinds of improvements in the service—for licensing street railways, etc. These were all referred to the Committee on Local Transportation, where they were most conscientiously pigeon-holed, and the committee continued its negotiations until in November, 1903, a sub-committee reported for the consideration of the entire committee a tentative ordinance for an extension of the Chicago City Railway Company's franchise. The ordinance, according to the report, was "complete except as to the question of compensation." That question proved to be the rock on which the extension ship finally foundered, as the company refused to accede to the demands of the council in this respect, and when the ordinance was at last, in August, 1904, reported out, it was amended, referred back to the committee, again amended, re-referred, until, as a new tentative ordinance it was re-submitted to the council in March, 1905. Its consideration was postponed until after the spring election, and shortly thereafter it was placed on file.

The people became very impatient with these negotiations, especially when it was discovered that the committee as well as the then mayor would favor a franchise extension under proper safeguards, and with a provision for ultimate municipal ownership. That was not what was wanted, and the cry for immediate municipal ownership was raised. The people at large seemed to be convinced that that would be an easy matter to obtain, and the politicians were shrewd enough to see that they could not disregard this immensely popular movement, and some of them were very loud in their professions of being genuine, dyed-in-the-wool municipal ownership men.

Another mayoralty election was at hand. The four-times mayor, Carter H. Harrison, had absolutely refused to be a candidate for the fifth time, and both parties scoured the city for the most available man that might be successful. The Republicans nominated John M. Harlan in obedience to the demands of certain interests, although eight years before he had been an independent candidate for the mayoralty, and had thereby helped to defeat the regular Republican candidate. There can be no doubt but that Mr. Harlan was a popular candidate, but the Republican platform equivocated on the question of municipal ownership, and the candidate himself in the course of the campaign changed his own position in the matter so often that finally no one knew where Mr. Harlan really stood. The Democrats, on the other hand, had a candidate of a different calibre. His nomination was the final result of an absolute and firm demand on the part of the people. For years he had been known as an absolutely sincere and honest advocate of municipal ownership; as a judge on the bench for fourteen years he had frequently shown his predilection for the common people, so that many weeks before the convention every other aspirant for the nomination had disappeared, and Judge Edward F. Dunne was unanimously declared the nominee. The Democratic platform, supposedly written by the candidate, demanded "that Chicago follow the example of the enlightened municipalities of both the old world and the new by taking immediate steps to establish municipal ownership and operation of the traction service of the city."

That was what was wanted, and although just a few months before, in the fall of 1904, President Roosevelt had carried the city by a hundred thousand majority, on April 6, 1905, Judge Dunne was elected mayor of Chicago by a majority of nearly twenty-five thousand votes. At the same election the following three questions were submitted to the vote of the people:

First. "Shall the city council pass the ordinance reported by the Local Transportation Committee to the city council on the 24th day of August, 1904, granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?"

Second. "Shall the city council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to the Chicago City Railway Company?"

Third. "Shall the city council pass any ordinance granting a franchise to any street railroad company?"

For the first time in the history of referendum votes the people, if they wanted to record their vote in favor of municipal ownership, had to vote "no," while in every former referendum they had voted "yes." It was feared that this might lead to confusion and fail to bring out the real intention of the citizens, but what was the result? The so-called tentative ordinance submitted in the first question was snowed under by a vote of sixty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-one for, and one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred and eighty-five against the proposition. On the second question sixty thousand and twenty voted yes, and one hundred and fifty-one thousand nine hundred and seventy-four voted no. On the third question fifty-nine thousand and thirteen voted yes, and one hundred and fifty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-five voted no. The one remarkable fact in this vote was that in every single ward of the city there was an overwhelming majority against these propositions, so that while about one hundred and fifteen thousand voters did not vote at all on these questions, the vote must be accepted as a thoroughly representative one. Even in those wards of the city where the wealthier classes live, the ratio was two to one. That certainly was as plain and emphatic an answer as could possibly be made, and the answer was not rashly given. It was the result of a thorough study of the ordinance submitted, and of the subject of municipal ownership in general. This study, encouraged by newspapers, brochures and public speakers not only throughout the entire campaign, but for a long period before, brought to the majority of Chicago's citizens the firm conviction that only through the agency of municipal ownership could they expect permanent relief from the greed and oppression of the street railway corporations. The splendid examples of the beneficial results of municipal ownership in England, Germany and other European countries did not fail to leave a deep impression upon the voters, but the main cause for their great strength must be found right at home, for here for many years they themselves had practiced municipal ownership in such a manner that the opposition had to content itself with pointing out petty neglects, not being able to produce any well-grounded reasons against it.

In the two utilities owned and operated by the city, namely, the water works and the electric street lighting plant, the advocates of municipal ownership found the most potent factors for their con-

tention that the transportation facilities also should be owned and operated by the municipality. It was pointed out that the Chicago water works, even before the time of a thorough civil service, when they were to some extent used for political purposes, had been managed throughout without great scandal; that particularly during the last ten years, under a strict civil service, they had been managed economically; the cost to the public for water had been reduced time and again until at present the rates are lower than in almost all other cities; that they were much lower than the rates charged by private corporations, and that notwithstanding this fact, an annual profit of about two million dollars was derived from the water works, which was used to pay for the extension and improvement of the system and the purification of the water supply. In two of the more recently annexed territories of the city, water was still furnished by private companies, whose consumers had to pay for their water more than twice as much as if they had bought it from the city. It may be stated here that one of these private plants was municipalized shortly after the election, the city paying therefor the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The fact was pointed out that our electric street lights, owned and operated by the city, were furnished at a cost of about fifty-five dollars per lamp per year, while for a number of rented lights the city had to pay a rental of one hundred and three dollars per lamp per year, and it was plain to see that in spite of the great outcry of the opponents that the city does not charge off anything for depreciation, etc., the price was infinitely lower than that of the private corporation. These certainly were lessons that told, and the memory of the indignities the citizens and their families had suffered for years at the hands of the street railway companies—the sight of the illy-ventilated, unclean and uncomfortable cars in which they were forced to ride night and morning, huddled like cattle—the knowledge that aldermen and legislators had been debauched by these same traction interests, while their employees had been prosecuted and found guilty of successful attempts to tamper with juries and befoul the very fountainheads of justice—all these things helped to bring about the firm determination of the people that no further franchises should be given, and that the taking over of the street railways by the municipality was the only means through which a decent and adequate service could be permanently had.

In spite of the opposition of the public press, the street car interests, and a considerable portion of the business enterprises of the city, the friends and advocates of municipal ownership remained victorious. Edward F. Dunne was elected, and when, on April 10, 1905, he was inducted into office, it seemed that now, within a reasonably short time, the citizens of Chicago would obtain what they had fought for for many years—a decent and efficient street car service. But let no one believe that the street railway interests and their adherents were satisfied with that verdict of the people. After such an overwhelming vote it would have seemed but natural that the council should at once have gone to work and tried to carry out the popular will; but far from it. The election of Mayor Dunne and the unmistakable expression of the sentiment of the people simply marked the beginning of the real fight for municipal ownership. Perhaps there were some adherents of the new mayor who were deceived by the term "immediate," and probably expected that following the inauguration the city authorities would seize the street railway properties and operate them for the benefit of the people. If there was any such belief at the time, the newspapers certainly tried to encourage it, and within a short time began to scoff at the mayor and his advisers because municipal ownership was not had, nor indeed was even in sight.

According to the contention of the city authorities the franchises of the traction companies had expired July 1, 1903, but they were permitted to continue to run pending the controversy and decision of the Supreme Court on the ninety-nine year question under a special authorization by the city council. In the meantime a decision had been rendered by Judge Grosscup, of the federal court, which, although unsatisfactory to both of the contestants, gave the city some advantage, as according to it the street railway companies lost all rights to those lines for which franchises were granted later than 1872; thus denying the contention of the street railways that all franchises granted at any time would not expire until the original franchise expired, namely, in 1958. One line particularly, the Adams street line, for which a franchise had been granted to the Chicago Passenger Railway Company and had expired on April 26, 1904, had been selected by the past administration for trying out municipal ownership and operation as well as the validity of the certificates that under the Mueller law could be issued in payment of the cost,

and which had not been tested in the Supreme Court. The plan comprised about fifteen miles of track. The municipal street railway system to be established through this line was to be extended from time to time as other lines expired. But this proceeding was also interrupted by an injunction from the federal court, and when, after full argument, no decision was rendered, and it was learned from a public utterance of Judge Grosscup made in court, that he deemed it unnecessary to decide the case as long as negotiations were pending for a general settlement with the Union Traction Company, the city advertised for bids for the construction of a municipal street railway on Adams street, the advertisement appearing for the first time on April 3, 1905. These bids were to be opened on July 1, 1905. Some weeks prior to this latter date a decision upholding the contention of the city was rendered by Judge Grosscup, and shortly thereafter it was discovered by the advisers of the new mayor that ordinances covering at least thirty miles of streets on the west side, and considerable mileage on the north and south sides had already expired, which could be profitably constructed and operated, and that the city in its first contract could offer at least one hundred miles for construction. In a message to the council the mayor stated that it seemed to be advisable to defer the reception of bids until a comprehensive plan for the greater system could be completed. The advertisement was withdrawn, and on July 5th Mayor Dunne submitted his plans to the council. In his message of that date he stated:

"The people of Chicago having plainly manifested their desire for municipal ownership of street railroads with the least possible delay, I have diligently sought since my inauguration as mayor for the best information and the best advice regarding the subject, and have carefully considered all suggested plans."

He called the attention of the council to the fact that already one hundred miles of track were free from corporate control, and that within the next two years two hundred and forty miles in all would be at the disposal of the city, and that within six or seven years a great majority of all the seven hundred miles of trackage now under operation will be incontestably subject to municipal ownership. He further pointed out that in the ninety-nine year controversy "a ruling more favorable to the city than that adopted by the Circuit Court is expected to be established by the court of last resort."

Turning then, to the demand for municipal ownership, Mayor Dunne submitted for the consideration of the council two plans to secure this result. The one plan, generally called the "city plan," contemplated the construction and operation of a municipal street car system for the city of Chicago through direct financiering by city officials under the legal authority from the Mueller law. The second plan, called the "contract plan," contemplated the construction of a street car system for the city through the instrumentality of a private corporation acting in the city's interests. The mayor preferred the second plan for the reason that it "avoided every element of delay that in the city plan would be caused through condemnation proceedings, appeals and repeated referendums, and because it would be, financially as well as legally, immediately practicable, and enable the city to proceed at once with the reconstruction under circumstances assuring as good service at as early a day as the best conceivable system for private profit could provide. The rights of the city to take over and even to operate would be neither impaired nor postponed. As soon as a market for the Mueller certificates had been secured the city could acquire the system in its own right, and in its own name; and as soon as the people had by referendum under the Mueller law so decided, the city could proceed to operate by its own employees." The contract plan, Mayor Dunne contended, provided in effect for what the Mueller law contemplated and the people have demanded—immediate municipal ownership of the street car service.

The entire message, together with an ordinance covering the contract plan, was referred to the Committee on Local Transportation. This committee, meanwhile, had continued its negotiations with the street railway companies, who had stated definitely their demands and the character of a franchise they would accept in settlement of the controversy. The contract plan of the mayor was almost contemptuously shoved aside by a vote of eight to five, and on October 9th, the mayor sent a message to the council calling attention to the vote had in April, and pointing out that the Local Transportation Committee, instead of considering the plan submitted by him in his message for the purpose of bringing about municipal ownership of street railways, was then engaged in considering certain proposed ordinances presented by the street railway companies and contemplating the granting to them of new franchises for the

period of twenty years. He gave it as his opinion that, "Consideration of these franchise extension ordinances in the face of the vote above referred to is in defiance of the express will of the people." With the message he laid before the council an order that the Local Transportation Committee cease the further consideration of the ordinances submitted by the street railway companies, and report to the council at its next meeting the ordinance submitted by the mayor, commonly known as the "contract plan." This order was defeated by a vote of twenty-two against forty-one.

Again, on October 16th, the mayor sent to the council a message reiterating the vote had at the April election, and pointing out that the Local Transportation Committee was not acting in accordance with that vote. Accompanying this message was an order that the Local Transportation Committee cease all negotiations contemplating the granting of a franchise to any of the present existing street railway companies, and all negotiations with said companies excepting those looking toward the purchase of their properties. This order was defeated by a vote of twenty-seven to thirty-seven.

On October 23d, a third message from the mayor called attention to the adoption of the Mueller law in April, 1904, and the vote upon the question, "Shall the city council upon the adoption of the Mueller law proceed without delay to acquire ownership of street railways under powers conferred by the Mueller law." He pointed out that every ward in Chicago had voted in favor of municipal ownership under the powers conferred by that law, and accompanied his message by an order instructing the Local Transportation Committee, in co-operation with the legal advisers of the city, to proceed without delay to prepare an ordinance for the purpose of acquiring ownership of the street railways of Chicago under the powers conferred by the Mueller law, and that the matter of the preparation of said ordinance take precedence over all other matters now under consideration by the Local Transportation Committee. The consideration of this order was deferred for one week, and on Monday, October 30th, the opponents of the mayor moved the substitution of a resolution whereby the Committee on Local Transportation was directed "to consider and report to the council at an early date a method of making a legal test of the validity of the street railway certificates authorized by the Mueller law." This resolution was adopted by a vote of forty-five to twenty-one. An amend-

ment offered, that the committee cease all negotiations with the traction companies except with a view of the purchase of their properties, was laid on the table by a vote of forty-three to twenty-one. Thus the mayor and the advocates of municipal ownership were again defeated.

When asked for his views on the result, Mayor Dunne stated: "One point is plain; the city council as now constituted is not friendly to municipal ownership;" and he further declared: "the fight for municipal ownership has just begun." And from the way things look, truer words were never spoken.

The fight has begun to take on a most disagreeable aspect. The street car companies and their supporters try to harass the administration at every step, although under a decision of Judge Grosscup a goodly part of the franchises have expired, and the companies are allowed to run on the streets by mere permit, revocable at the pleasure of the council. The City Railway Company during 1904 obtained a permit to equip a certain line with a trolley system, which was technically revoked last March, although left practically undisturbed for the convenience of the public. The company, pleading this technical revocation, is trying to avoid paying the license fees reserved in that permit for the purpose of compelling still more privileges, though knowing that the city could legally stop the use of that trolley any day. With an unprecedented boldness they attack the administration for refusing them new permits which they claim are necessary for the betterment of the service, and are doing their utmost to cause as much dissatisfaction among the people as possible.

Certain newspapers have acquired a habit of jeering at the mayor and ridiculing his municipal ownership propositions; some of the aldermen are parading their opposition in an openly defiant and almost indecent manner and a great deal of bitterness has come to the surface. But undaunted by the hostile attitude of the council, with a fidelity to his duty, as he sees it, and with a devotion to the cause he champions that must challenge the admiration of even his enemies, Mayor Dunne, on November 13th, sent to the council still another message, in which he says:

"And inasmuch as further delay can but operate favorably to the interests of those companies and unfavorably to the interests of the people of the city, and as the counsel for the city have now completed their proposed ordinance for proceeding under the Mueller law for the establishment of municipal

ownership, I am of the opinion that such proceedings on our part ought to begin at once. The advisory votes under the public policy statute having clearly instructed every member of your honorable body, regardless of party politics and every other consideration, to proceed without delay to acquire municipal ownership under the Mueller law, I respectfully submit to your good judgment that it has now become the duty of your honorable body to provide for the necessary mandatory referendum under the Mueller law. Similar instruction having been given to me as mayor, both by advisory referendum and the circumstances of my election, I have no doubt of my own duty to do all in my power to accomplish that result. I, therefore, advise your honorable body to proceed without further delay to establish municipal ownership of the traction service under and pursuant to the Mueller law."

This message and the accompanying ordinance were also referred to the Committee on Local Transportation. It is possible, yes even probable, that the committee will report out some kind of an ordinance along the lines of the Mueller law for submission to the people, but meanwhile they have almost completed ordinances for the extension of the franchises of the present companies for twenty years which will be submitted to the city council within a short time. Whether these ordinances will finally be passed, however, will entirely depend upon the people, as in a resolution passed October 16, 1905, the council pledged itself that any ordinance for the settlement of the Chicago street railway question before its final passage by the council shall be placed upon the ballot to be voted upon by the people. Thus the people will have the last word. Will they reverse their opinion of six months ago, or will they stand by their verdict three times given? The public press, with but one exception, favors an extension of the franchises, and claims that a great deal of discontent over the failure of the mayor to end the controversy exists among the citizens. But the advocates of municipal ownership are keeping up the agitation, and do not believe that the street railway interests will succeed in wearing out the people to such an extent that they will forget what they have been made to suffer for so many years, and meekly surrender to the corporations.

Aside from the street railway situation the movement of municipal ownership is making steady progress in Chicago. The last legislature passed a law enabling the city to sell its surplus electricity, and to regulate and control the gas service. This law was submitted to the people at the last November election, and was carried by a great majority. The city is enlarging its electric lighting plants,

and claims that it will be able to sell electricity at one-half the rates at present charged by the private companies.

Another sign of the progress of the idea of municipal ownership, is the fact that in the last campaign both parties declared in favor of public ownership and operation of the water power now in course of development, which was created through the Sanitary Canal. A few years ago there had been much talk of turning over this power to private interests to be developed and utilized by them. As it is, the trustees of the sanitary district elected at the last November election stand absolutely pledged to the principle of municipal ownership, and the municipalities within the district will be enabled at an early date to use this immense power for their own public purposes, such as street lighting, operating pumping stations, turning bridges, etc., and thereby materially cheapen the cost of these services.

Chicago, November 25. 1905.

STREET RAILWAY FRANCHISES IN MASSACHUSETTS

BY WALTER S. ALLEN,

Secretary of the Special Street Railway Commission of 1897.

Although Massachusetts was not the first state in which railways for the transportation of passengers were laid in the streets, yet it was among the earliest, and the great development in recent years, which has taken place, not alone along physical lines but also upon legal and economic lines, has made the conditions in that state of especial interest.

The first street railway was opened in New York in 1852, and in the following year the legislature of Massachusetts granted two street railway charters, one for the establishment of a line between Boston and Roxbury and the other for a line from Boston to Cambridge. This latter company organized at once, and in December, 1854, secured a location in the streets. It then undertook to secure subscriptions to its stock but met with little success, only raising a few thousand dollars in this way. A contractor was however found who was willing to build the road and receive his pay in securities, and on March 26, 1856, the road was opened for travel between Bowdoin Square in Boston and Harvard Square in Cambridge, a distance of about three miles. It is curious to note that this first Massachusetts road was of the type known now as interurban, rather than purely urban in its character. It was but a short time before the other cities lying about Boston—Roxbury and Charlestown and South Boston—secured this form of transportation, although the old established omnibus lines still continued to run. Indeed it was not until early in the eighties that the line of omnibuses which ran to Roxbury was finally given up.

While the Cambridge and Roxbury street railways were to a certain extent interurban in character, and ran for considerable distances over marshes and past long stretches of vacant land, it was plain that in time these lands would all be occupied, and the suburban

districts would be incorporated into the larger city. But in 1859 a railway strictly interurban in its character was built. This connected Boston and Lynn, a distance of about ten miles, and traversed a country which showed no indications of dense settlement, and which even to-day presents long stretches of vacant land. This railway was built along the old turnpike and connected Lynn directly to Boston, also serving a few scattered settlements along the turnpike.

These early street railways required special legislation to enable them to carry on their business, and the laws began speedily to adapt themselves to the conditions. Each railway was incorporated by special act of the legislature, and each charter granted certain privileges in the streets, and authorized the city authorities to impose certain restrictions. It may be well here to note the fact that the control of the streets and highways in Massachusetts rests in the legislature, and that the courts have repeatedly held that when acting on questions concerning these, the aldermen are not acting as municipal representatives but as direct servants of the legislature, which has by statute delegated certain of its powers to them.

These early street railway charters provide that the mayor and aldermen shall determine in what streets the company may lay its tracks, the distance from the sidewalk at which the rails shall be laid, the grade and the gauge; and they shall at all times have power to make such regulations as to the speed of the cars and the mode of use of the tracks as public safety and convenience may require. The company is given power to construct, maintain and use such tracks on the location granted by the municipal authorities. These charters were granted for a term of fifty years. In 1854 amendments were made to the charters granted in 1853, one providing that at any time after the expiration of one year from the opening of the road for use the mayor and aldermen may, by a majority vote, determine that any of the tracks which the board sees fit shall be discontinued, and thereupon the tracks of the company shall forthwith be taken up and removed in conformity with the vote or order of the mayor and aldermen; another that notice shall be given to all abutters before a grant of location is made, and still another that rates of fare within the city of Boston shall not exceed five cents except with the consent of the mayor and aldermen. From this time on the section relating to the revocation of locations was inserted in each new charter granted to a street railway company.

All these charters require that the company shall maintain and keep in repair such portion of the streets and bridges as shall be occupied by its tracks. One charter required a company to keep in repair the whole of the bed of any road in which it might lay tracks, but this was changed in the following year and limited to repairing that part of the road occupied by the tracks of the railway. The act further defines the part of the road to be kept in repair as "the space between the rails, and so much on each side thereof as shall be within the perpendicular let fall from the extreme width of any car or carriage used thereon, being the space from which the public travel is excluded during the passing of said car or carriage."

These charters also provide for the purchase by the municipalities of "all the franchise, property, rights and machinery of the company at any time after the expiration of ten years from the opening of any part of the road, by paying for these rights such a sum as will reimburse to each person who may then be a stockholder therein the par value of his stock, together with a net profit of 10 per cent. per annum from the time of the transfer of said stock to him on the books of the corporation, deducting the dividends received by said stockholder thereon."

It was early recognized that the use of the streets for more than one set of tracks was infeasible, and as early as 1857 a provision was inserted in one charter allowing this road to run over the tracks of another, and in 1863 a general law was passed governing the use of the tracks of one road by another.

By 1864 the spread of these street railways had become so great throughout the commonwealth that an attempt was made to unify the laws, and in that year a general law was passed to govern them. In this general law the feature of a perpetual location, subject to revocation by the local authorities, was retained, and definition of the space in the streets in which the pavement was to be maintained was defined to be the space within the tracks and eighteen inches on either side. In this law the provisions existing in many of the original charters providing for eventual municipal ownership of the roads were eliminated. But this general law was evidently not an entirely satisfactory statute, for in the same year a commission was appointed by authority of the legislature to investigate the whole subject of street railways. This commission made a report to the legislature of 1865, and submitted a bill which failed of becoming a law. Even

at this early date it was recognized that the local authorities had in many cases imposed unjust burdens upon the railways, and that the power to revoke locations might be improperly used, so that the commission recommended that extraordinary conditions must be shown to be based upon good and sufficient reasons; that these reasons must be stated, and must be good in law. It also recommended that there should be an appeal to the courts from an order of revocation issued by local authorities. As the subject of the creation of a board of railroad commissioners was then under discussion this commission recommended that, in the event of its creation, this board should have jurisdiction of street railways as well as of steam railroads, but, as stated, all these recommendations failed to become law.

It was not until 1871 that a Board of Railroad Commissioners was established and given jurisdiction over street railways, and at about the same time the law in relation to them was codified. Under this law the street railways operated until 1898 with but few changes.

The most important of these modifications of the original law was the passage, in 1894, of the so-called "anti-stock-watering laws." These laws, which were made to apply to all of the public service companies, were intended to prevent the issue of stock without adequate payment for the same, and provided that street railway companies must obtain the sanction of the Board of Railroad Commissioners for any new issue of stock or bonds, and that such an issue should be made at a price fixed by the board, but at not less than par. The price fixed was to be determined by the actual market price of existing shares and by other pertinent conditions. The practical working of this law has been different from that intended by its authors. It was difficult for the street railway companies to go before the board and show the exact cost of needed extensions, and request the authorization of stock issues to cover the cost, and the board was naturally reluctant, after being put in the position of guardian of the people's rights, to assume that the cost of contemplated work was correctly stated. Moreover, changes might vary in a marked degree the cost of the work during the progress of construction. The practice, therefore, has grown up of the railways going ahead and completing desired extensions, incurring a floating debt for the work, and then, after completion of the work, going to the board and asking for the authorization of an issue of stocks

or bonds for the payment of the debts so incurred. In many ways this practice has been expensive, and the condition of the money market has often been such that companies have refrained from making improvements which would have been undertaken had there been power in the company to issue new shares in advance of the work. While these laws have undoubtedly been of advantage in preventing the wholesale watering of street railway stock at the hands of promoters, they have been disadvantageous to the conduct of honestly managed enterprises.

The successful introduction of electric traction in 1888, and its rapid spread brought into existence an entirely new set of problems, and by 1897 the law was found to be inadequate in many of its provisions. It was felt that franchises were too freely given in some places, that in others the conditions imposed were too onerous, and that the rapid extension of interurban roads demanded important changes in the law. Among the people a feeling had grown up that the new type of street railway, which was being so rapidly extended through country roads and into small villages, should be compelled in some way to pay taxes in excess of those already fixed by law. On the other hand the railways felt that the right of local boards of aldermen and selectmen to revoke at any time a location in the streets was a menace to their property, and that investors in street railway securities were not sufficiently safe-guarded against hasty action by such boards. The legislature of 1897, therefore, passed a resolution authorizing the governor to appoint a committee of three persons, to be known as the "committee on the relations of street railways to municipalities," to sit during the summer and report to the legislature of 1898 what changes, if any, were desirable in the street railway law, especially as it concerned franchises and taxation. Governor Wolcott appointed as members of this committee Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Hon. William W. Crapo and Hon. Elihu B. Hayes, and they immediately began the work of investigating the conditions as they existed both in Europe and America, and heard the railway companies, the municipalities and those citizens who had plans to offer for any changes in the law.

The condition of the franchise law has already been stated, and attention may be called at this point to the law governing the taxation of street railways as it then existed. Massachusetts had a law in operation governing the taxation of franchises which

had been in force since 1862. This law is applicable to all Massachusetts corporations, whether operating private business or public utilities. In substance its provisions are these, the municipalities assess the value of the tangible property of a corporation located within their boundaries, and the state determines the total value of the capital stock, as shown by sales, or as determined by the tax commissioner from all evidence obtainable. From the total value of the capital stock of the corporation, as determined by the tax commissioner, there is deducted the value of the tangible property of the corporation, as determined by the local assessors, and upon the difference in these values the state levies a tax at a rate equal to the average rate assessed upon property in all the towns and cities of the state. The state after collecting this tax distributes the proceeds among the several cities and towns in proportion to the shares of stock in these corporations held in them, retaining in the state treasury the tax upon shares held outside the state. As the tax is in this way paid directly by the corporations, the shares in Massachusetts corporations are not taxed to the holder living within the state. Evidence was presented to the special committee of 1897 showing the burden which the existence of street railways placed upon the municipalities in regard to the repair of streets, and it was shown that the introduction of heavy electric cars, running at high speeds, had increased this burden. On the part of the street railways it was shown that there was a constantly increasing burden put upon them by the requirements made by the city in regard to paving and repairing streets and caring for snow and ice.

The committee took two radical steps in regard to taxation. Realizing the justice of the claim of the municipalities as to their burdens, they proposed the distribution of the state tax on street railways according to the mileage of track in each town or city, and not upon the shares of stock held in each, and further, it presented a plan for the commutation of the charges for care of the streets, based upon the gross earnings of each company, relieving them of the work on the streets. It was of course not possible to change existing contracts under which the roads were operating, but an attempt was made to secure to the municipalities an individual control of the surface of the streets, the railways commuting their obligations to care for the streets into a money payment.

As regards the tenure of franchises, the existence of perpetual

revocable franchises was seen by the special committee to be an anomaly, but they had worked well under Massachusetts conditions, and in practice but two attempts had been made to revoke franchises. In both these cases public opinion caused the speedy repeal of the revocation order. The committee felt, however, that the interests of the stockholders in street railways ought to be protected against hasty action on the part of municipal authorities, and they recommended giving the roads a right to appeal to the Board of Railroad Commissioners from any order revoking a location which might be made by the local authorities.

There were a number of other changes proposed, mostly of a minor character, the most important being the grant of the right to the Railroad Commissioners to give a location to an interurban road in a town where it had been refused or burdened with unjust conditions by the local authorities. This change was due to the fact that it was found that some of the smaller towns had attempted to "hold up" interurban roads which were obliged to build through their limits in order to connect larger towns, and it was based upon provisions in the law relating to telegraphic companies.

This act, submitted to the legislature of 1898 by the special committee, became a law substantially as presented, but to a large measure was only applicable to the railways outside of Boston. In Boston a statute granting rights to the Boston Elevated Railroad, passed in 1897, provided that, so far as taxation was concerned, no change should be made in that act for a term of twenty-five years. As there are many peculiar features in the Boston street railway situation it will be considered by itself.

In 1904 all the statutes of Massachusetts were revised, and the street railway law as then existing was brought into one chapter, embodying all of the laws passed up to that time. Since then two topics have come to the front—the carriage of freight by street railways and the granting to them of the right of eminent domain. For several years different street railways had secured from the legislature special acts giving them the privilege of carrying express matter and certain forms of freight, and although these were in general opposed by the steam railroads, it was always possible to secure their passage. A general act was passed in 1903 governing the carriage of express and freight, but this was modified in 1904. The original act allowed the street railways to act as common carriers with the

consent of the aldermen or selectmen of the towns through which the road passed, but the act of 1904 limited the power to the carriage of such things, and the employment of such methods, as the Railroad Commissioners should approve.

The legislature of 1904 granted to the street railways a right to take private lands with the approval of the aldermen or selectmen and the Railroad Commission, and the legislature of 1905 had before it several special bills granting full powers to street railways to take land for their purposes, but none became a law. A special legislative committee is now considering this question and several other street railway matters, and this committee will report to the legislature of 1906.

During the past few years the physical and economic changes in the street railway situation have progressed even more rapidly than the legal changes, and these deserve careful attention.

From 1856, the date of the opening of the first horse railroad in the streets of Boston, until 1888, the date of the first successful introduction of electric traction, the progress of street railways had been constant and steady, covering all parts of the state, but in these thirty-two years there had been built but 562 miles of track. With the demonstration of the practicability of electric traction the street railway mileage increased at an extraordinary rate, so that by September 30, 1904, there were 2,652 miles of track operated in the State of Massachusetts, and this whole mileage was operated by electric power.

The natural development of the horse railway was urban and suburban, because of the limitation of the area which could be served. There is necessarily a limit to the time which people can devote to being transported from their homes to their work, and this natural limit affects the patronage of any form of transportation. It may be safely assumed that an hour represents the time which can be devoted to getting to and from work, and the speed at which transportation can be handled governs the area which is tributary to any urban centre. With the horse railroad this time covered at the outside a radius of eight miles, and the first effect of the introduction of high speed electric traction was to increase the suburban residence area from a radius of eight miles to one of fifteen miles, so that the tributary area of any given urban centre was practically quadrupled. At the same time the street railway naturally became an interurban means of transportation.

Massachusetts is essentially an urban state, and the urban centres are rarely more than fifteen miles apart, so that it is plain that interurban street railways must intrude upon the field of the steam railroads. It was not long after the practical application of electricity before bold promoters entered this field, and roads designed to enter into competition with the steam railroads were projected and built. The steam railroads affected to be indifferent to this phase of street railway development, and did nothing to meet the growing opposition, allowing this extension to go on without giving it due consideration. It was not long before many of the branch steam railroads found themselves seriously affected by the competition of these interurban electric roads, with their flexible forms of operation, but by this time it was too late to bend them to the advantage of the railroads. A consideration of the probable effect of these roads, and a study of the methods employed in Belgium and Italy, under which small lines of narrow gauge railroads running out from the main trunk lines of the steam railroads to the smaller and more remote villages, would have pointed out the way to make these electric roads tributary to the steam roads instead of competitive, and there might then have been no great street railway systems, such as exist at the present time.

But while the electric interurban railways were making these inroads into steam railroads there were evils growing up in their own field. It was easy to convince anyone that a profitable business would grow of itself in districts where at that time there was no traffic; that the interurban road would make traffic. This sometimes proved to be the case, and the very fact of this proof convinced people that this would always be the case, so that it was easy to secure funds for the promotion of any scheme for an interurban road. As these roads were promoted and began to spread over the state the authorities of the small towns began to feel that they might make demands upon the promoters for all kinds of improvements in return for the right to lay tracks. The widening of existing highways, the laying out of new highways, the grading of roads, the lighting of streets, money payments for the use of the roads, and other concessions, were demanded, and as the promoters of these schemes were anxious to complete roads and sell the stock in them in order to begin new roads, they were ready to agree to all sorts of onerous conditions. It was not difficult to foresee the result; in

order to continue their existence these smaller and weaker roads, the roads which had to create their own traffic and pay dearly for the right to create it, must consolidate. It was necessary for them to join with roads having a solid urban basis for their extensions in order to continue their very existence, in order to continue to operate.

The result of this rapid extension of rural and interurban roads, and the resultant consolidations has been to build up street railway systems covering large areas and to force them to assume the position of active competitors of steam railroads. Long distance cars running frequently have taken the place of cars simply connecting the nearest urban centres, and every year sees the extension of routes of this type.

The financial results of this rapid extension of street railways have not been wholly satisfactory, an era of readjustment, which inevitably follows over-expansion, has set in in Massachusetts. The following extract from the last annual report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners shows the position of the roads very clearly:

"In the early days of the change from horse to electric railway, promotion ran wild with the idea that immense profits were to be realized in the extension of the old and in the construction of new railways as electric roads in any and every direction; that where no business was in sight it would appear under the creative magic of the electric car. The test of this opinion, necessarily a test of years in which novelty disappears, is now practically complete. Experience has shown that with the more expensive roadbed and equipment, the heavier rail and larger cars, there has not been the corresponding and expected development of permanent business. Operating cost, too, in heating cars and in repair and renewal of plant, has proved larger than was expected. With the new accommodation and the nearer approach to railroad conditions has come the increased demand of the public for expenditures in the interest of safety and comfort which had not been counted upon, as for example in construction of double track, installment of signal systems and establishment of waiting rooms. Hurried along by the natural enthusiasm for the new type of railway, with its many most attractive features, capital, sometimes deliberately misled, has been invested in undertakings for which there was not sufficient demand and which are now represented by roads run, not only without return upon the investment, but at an actual loss of capital. In such cases the future promises as possible events: the acceptance of an unsatisfactory service as better than nothing; an increase in fares; or the abandonment of the railway."

The conditions imposed in original grants in relation to concessions and payments, and the establishment of low fares, while readily

accepted by promoters whose only object was the completion of the road, have become burdensome as the novelty has worn off and travel has settled into normal channels, and on this point the official opinion of the Railroad Commissioners is of value. In their last report they consider this question of fares, and give the following clear exposition of this problem:

"Upon some railways fares have been raised, and with encouraging results, but this action is usually unpopular and is often taken at the risk of lessening the volume of business. It is, moreover, at times complicated by agreements made between companies and town officials when locations and privileges in the streets were granted. If, however, this is the remedy, it is better that it be applied than that the public lose the benefits which the railways bring.

"Another incident of the present situation has been the enforcement upon certain systems of a seemingly arbitrary distinction between the long and the short distance ride, to the provocation of the through traveler, who is loth to admit that there is any justification for it. The zone system has never been favored in this State. Instead, there has been adopted the five-cent fare within city and town limits, in some cases between centres of adjoining towns. As new grants of location have been sought, the five-cent fare has been made good for greater and greater distances, frequently through the use of transfer checks. This low fare promotes a better distribution of population in large communities and is conveniently paid and collected, while the company has been enabled to reap a profit in the frequency with which cars have been filled and refilled with persons taking short rides. In one notable and exceptional instance this fare covers five cities which were deemed to be so closely connected as to make practically one continuous community and so to give the company the advantage of continually changing patronage from point to point. The attempt, however, upon interurban lines to maintain these local concessions and at the same time to establish a sort of mileage basis for through travel, with arbitrary fare limits, has naturally led to frequent complaints from those who think they are unjustly denied privileges which are given to others. The companies as well as the traveling public would be benefited by the establishment of a more satisfactory system of fares upon these railways. Much study has been and is being given to the matter, but as yet the problem remains unsolved."

Intimately connected with this question of fares is the question of taxation. At the present time it is popular to take the position that all public service companies should make some payment to the municipalities in the form of franchise taxes, or special taxes of some sort, for the use of the streets. The fact that taxes are a part of operating expenses, and are directly assessed upon the user seems to have been entirely lost sight of. It is popular to say that any

corporations using the streets should pay for the right, just in the same way as it is popular to say that governments, either city or state, can embark in enterprises from which good business judgment holds private capital aloof. Although taxes upon private property are clearly felt to be a burden upon business, taxes on public utilities are considered to be merely a new source of revenue to the municipalities.

Taxes are always a part of operating expenses, and an important part. According to the last report of the Railroad Commissioners the street railways in Massachusetts pay in direct taxes 6.3 per cent. of their gross income, and what they may pay in indirect taxes due to burdens placed upon them by municipalities in the original grants of locations is not easily determined. It is probably well within the fact to say that taxes, direct and indirect, represent 10 per cent. of all the fares collected from passengers, or, in other words, each passenger in Massachusetts who pays a five cent fare pays one-half cent in taxes, which, for those who make the greatest use of street cars—the wage-earners, is a heavy burden.

The social and economic importance of the great expansion of street railways, due to the introduction of electric traction, cannot be overestimated. The rapid extension of these lines into suburban areas has changed the entire course of land values, resulted in the occupation of large areas of land which, without the means of cheap and rapid transportation, brought about by the electric street railway, would have remained vacant for many years to come, and has carried the thrifty class of wage-earners out into the country, with all its advantages, while at the same time preserving to them all the advantages of urban life. The city schools are accessible, and, at the same time, the children have the freedom and advantages of country life. The extension of long interurban lines, with pleasure resorts maintained by the railways, located in attractive places along the route, affords opportunity for long journeys through the country at small expense, and gives a chance for country outings to dwellers in city districts. From June to November these long distance lines are patronized by crowds of city dwellers who get their knowledge of the country surrounding them under the most favorable conditions. Instead of devising new methods to increase the burden of taxation on these means of improving the condition of the people, it ought to be the object of the state to foster the extension of street

railways, and to relieve them of existing burdens rather than to impose new ones.

So far the street railways of Massachusetts have been considered without special attention to the problems involved in the metropolitan district of which Boston is the centre. The municipal area of Boston, with a population of 600,000, cannot be taken by itself when the transportation problem is considered. The true transportation area of Boston is composed of a score of separate municipal areas, with a population in excess of 1,200,000. Its topographical peculiarities are such that the problem involves bringing in, in the morning, the suburban population along the sticks of a fan, and the distribution at night of the same people along the same lines, but in a reverse direction, so that the congestion of street car traffic in the downtown districts probably exceeds that of any city in the country. The problem of street transportation in Boston presents many features of interest, and its historical development, both physically and legally, is worthy of extended study. The first lines leading to the suburbs were those previously mentioned, and their construction dates from the fifties. As the city grew, and its boundaries expanded through the occupation of vacant land, and the annexation of neighboring municipalities, the demand for adequate transportation facilities grew also, and new street railways entered the field. In an urban district, such as Boston and its suburbs, promoters were quick to see the possibilities, and new companies entered the field from time to time. The legislature of Massachusetts and the city council of Boston, being imbued with the feeling—almost universally held at that time—that the more competition there was in street transportation the better off the community would be, freely granted rights in the city streets to these new companies.

This competition led to the absorption and lease of weak lines, and the number of companies was reduced, until in 1865 there were only four street railway companies operating in Boston, each serving a different district. To the north, connecting Charlestown with Boston, and there meeting the Lynn and Boston Street Railway Company, extended the Middlesex Street Railroad; to the west the Union Street Railway Company, the lessee of the Cambridge Street Railroad Company, united Cambridge and Boston; to the south the Metropolitan Street Railroad Company served to connect Boston with Roxbury, and towards the east the South Boston Street Rail-

way Company brought the detached settlement on the peninsula projecting into Dorchester Bay into closer connection with the heart of the city.

These four roads continued their separate existence for about twenty years, during which time other competing roads were built, and in turn absorbed. There was, however, a single exception. The Highland Street Railway Company, originally built as a competitor of the Metropolitan Railroad in the Roxbury district, proved itself capable of independent existence, as the large amount of land made by filling in the Back Bay drew a large population into a district lying to the west of the original Metropolitan lines, and poorly served by them. In 1887 legislative sanction was obtained for the absorption of these five companies into the West End Street Railway Company, and for the first time Boston found itself with a single street railway system. The West End Street Railway, originally incorporated for the purpose of developing large areas of unoccupied land in Brighton and Brookline, had at this time built only a short piece of road, but it was simpler to use this company to absorb the rest of the Boston companies than it was to bring about a consolidation of the different companies. For the next ten years this enlarged West End Street Railway Company served Boston and its suburbs, spreading out more and more widely each year.

Of equal importance with the consolidation into one company of these different roads was the equipment of the consolidated road with electric power, begun in 1889 in a small way, almost experimentally. This proved itself so practicable that in a few years the whole system, excepting only a few minor lines, was equipped for electricity. The first experiments in 1889 were made with overhead wires, and also with a conduit system, but the former was so much cheaper to construct and presented so many advantages in operation that the conduit system was abandoned, and the only construction to-day in use in the state is the overhead conductor.

By 1890 the congestion of street cars in the heart of Boston had become so great that it was necessary to devise some plan for relieving the overcrowded streets of the central district. After careful study by a very able commission an elaborate report was made in 1892, which included a thorough investigation of all that had been done both in the United States and Europe, and acting on that report the legislature of that and the next two years passed acts authorizing

the city of Boston to construct a subway, immediately under portions of Tremont and Boylston streets, into which all the cars traversing those streets were to be turned, and the tracks on the surface were to be removed.

In accordance with these acts the city of Boston undertook the work and built the subway, with a total length of about one and two-thirds miles under the streets of the central part of the city, at a cost of about \$4,250,000. Upon its completion it was leased to the West End Street Railway Company for twenty years, for an annual rental sufficient to pay the interest on the bonds issued to build it and to provide a sinking fund which would extinguish the principal in forty years.

In 1896 the demand from the suburban districts for more rapid transit caused the incorporation of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, which immediately planned an elevated structure about seven miles in length, located in the streets. This connects Roxbury with Charlestown and passes across the centre of the city proper and through the subway. The Boston Elevated Railway Company then secured the West End Street Railway by means of a lease, and united under a single management the transportation of passengers within the settled districts of Boston and its immediate suburbs by means of electrically propelled cars on the surface of the streets, under the streets and above the streets. This consolidation and development stage seemed for a while to meet the situation, but only for a short time. Much as the congestion had been relieved by the subway in Tremont street and the elevated road, still congestion of traffic occurred and new subways were planned. At the present time a subway paralleling the present Tremont Street Subway is under construction in Washington street, a tunnel connecting Boston with the island of East Boston has been completed, and plans are under consideration for a subway combined with an elevated structure leading to Cambridge and following the line of the first horse railroad from Bowdoin Square to Harvard Square. In a growing city transportation problems must follow the growth of the city.

The legislation governing this growth has followed its physical development, and its modern development dates from the incorporation of the West End Street Railway Company in 1887. Through this organization the city of Boston acquired for the first time a

comprehensive street railway system. Then as expansion became necessary the Boston Elevated Railway came to the front, and by means of legislative sanction of a broad plan the future was provided for. The important legislative act in the history of street transportation in Boston is the latest act governing the Boston Elevated Railway Company, chapter 500 of the acts of the year 1897. Some of the features of this act will be of interest. First and foremost is the question of fares, always a vital point of interest to the public at large. The act provides that the fare upon the road shall not exceed five cents, and that this shall not be reduced for a term of twenty-five years, provided, however, that it may be reduced by the Board of Railroad Commissioners on condition that the reduced fare shall not reduce the earnings of the company to a point where the return on the cash capital of the company shall be less than 8 per cent., after taking out all charges including a reasonable amount for depreciation. It may be noted here that the statutes give the Board of Railroad Commissioners the power to order an appraisal of the property of any street railway company, for the purpose of determining the value of its property, and ascertaining whether there has been any impairment of its capital, and that this has always been done prior to the authorization of any increase of capital or bonds, or determination of the proper charge for fares.

This statute of 1897 governing the Boston Elevated Company goes further and provides a special method for taxing this property. The statute, drawn in the form of a contract, provides that for a term of twenty-five years no other taxes than those then in force at that time shall be laid upon the railway, but that as compensation for the privileges granted, and for the use and occupation of the streets, the company shall pay a tax of $\frac{7}{8}$ of 1 per cent. on its gross income, provided the dividend on its shares does not exceed 6 per cent., but if the dividend should exceed 6 per cent. then there shall be an additional amount paid in taxes equal to the excess above 6 per cent. The tax thus assessed on gross earnings is to be distributed among the cities and towns in which the railway operates, on the basis of the mileage of tracks located in each municipality. The question of transfers, a very important one, in a system of the character of the Boston Company, is to be left in the hands of the Railroad Commissioners. The same act provides for a tunnel to connect Boston proper with the island upon which East Boston is situated.

This tunnel, which has now been completed, was, by the terms of the statute, to be built at the expense of the city of Boston, but was to be leased to the Elevated Company for a rental of $\frac{3}{8}$ of 1 per cent. on the gross earnings of the entire system. There was to be charged also a toll of one cent for each passenger using the tunnel. The tolls and the rental were expected to be sufficient to meet the interest and sinking fund charges on the cost of the tunnel, and it was provided in the act that if these combined payments should be in excess of these charges the Railroad Commissioners might reduce the tolls. Up to the present time no agreement has been reached between the railway company and the city of Cambridge in regard to a subway and elevated structure for that city, although negotiations looking towards the accomplishment of that object are pending.

The question of the future relation of the electric street railways to the steam railroads is forging rapidly to the front and is apparently to be the subject of legislative action in the immediate future.

The railroads at the start missed the opportunity to make the electric railways their feeders. They opposed their development at every turn, and forced these interurban roads to make alliances among themselves, which, with the inevitable consolidation brought about by natural conditions, resulted in the building up of street railway systems which in certain sections rivalled the steam railroads in extent. Such systems, by means of their flexible form of operation and low rates of fare, soon made inroads into the suburban and interurban traffic of the steam roads, and caused them to take active measures towards meeting this competition.

As a concrete example of the results of this competition let us take the passenger traffic in and out of Boston on the steam railroads. In 1893 over 56,500,000 passengers were carried in and out of Boston. This traffic began to diminish in the following year, and in 1898 it fell to less than 49,000,000, a loss of about 13 per cent., from this time on it grew again until in 1904 it reached a figure of 56,400,000, or practically the traffic of 1893. To put this in another way—the entire natural increase in population and in the use of means of transportation went for a period of eleven years to the street railways.

The steam railroads in Massachusetts have at last awakened to the importance to them of the question of the electric railway. This may be due to a broader point of view, or it may have been forced

upon them by the larger powers granted the street railways in respect of freight. There is no question but what the legislation of the past few years has been distinctly favorable to the street railways as against the steam railroads. The grants of location in the public highways, the right to carry freight, the right to create a practically continuous grade crossing at the very time when the steam railroads were being forced to do away with these, all constituted an advantage. At the same time physical advantages contributed to the success of the street railway as a competitor of the steam railroad. Improved engineering, resulting in decreased cost of electric current, more permanent construction, reducing maintenance charges, and, above all things, the flexible form of operation by which single cars dispatched as often as the development of the traffic demanded, were substituted for the train of cars and the locomotive dispatched as many times a day as the railroad felt the cost of such trains would justify, all tended to give the electric railways great advantages.

This condition of affairs, which has been taking shape for the last fifteen years, has at last stirred the steam railroads. The completion and successful operation of an electric railway connecting Boston with Worcester, a distance of forty-four miles, and the prospect of a similar road between Boston and Providence, R. I., the same distance, seem to have awakened the steam railroads to the fact that their profitable passenger traffic was deserting them and incited them to efforts to counteract the drift.

One of the most hotly debated measures presented to the legislature of 1905 was one allowing the absorption of electric street railways by steam railroads, and while no conclusion was reached, and the question was referred to the special committee sitting during the recess, it is inevitable that there must be some form of consolidation of these two forms of passenger transportation. The financial results of the operation of many of the interurban street railways show that something must be done in the interest of the investors in these securities, and the inroads made upon the traffic of the steam railroads show the need of action on their part.

Having lost the opportunity of directing the development of the electric railways throughout the rural districts in such a way as to make them feeders of the steam railroads, the future policy of the steam roads must be in the direction of undoing the evils now existing.

The public fears the result of the consolidation of the two rival systems of passenger transportation, and there is a strong opposition to the desired legislation, but the logic of the situation and the economics of transportation must inevitably force the consolidation. It may be done under the authority of the statutes or it may be done outside of the statutes under the pressure of economic facts, but it is inevitable. The public may feel that their rights are not sufficiently safeguarded by the Railroad Commissioners, and the steam railroads and the electric street railways may feel that they are oppressed by the statutes as interpreted by the board, but so far as Massachusetts is concerned there is no evidence to show that the drift of legislation and its administration has not been equitable.

The whole trend of legislation in Massachusetts has been to give the public and the street railways a fair show and to leave disputed questions to the judgment of an expert tribunal—the Board of Railroad Commissioners—but even with this qualification the great growth of this method of street transportation has raised questions ahead of legislation, and there are many problems still to be solved. Taken all in all, there is little question but what the conditions as they exist to-day in Massachusetts come nearer to an equitable solution of the problems involved than they do in other states. There is no doubt a tendency to overtax the street railway companies at the expense of the people they serve, but this arises from the misconception of the incidence of such taxes. The principle of a perpetual revocable franchise seems absurd but in practice it works exceedingly well. It holds the companies to good service under penalty of revocation, and yet by the safeguards placed around the revocation it insures the investor reasonable security for his money. The working of this apparently illogical form of franchise is in practice far better than the popular one of limited franchises. Nothing is more disturbing to the systematic, logical development of a system of street transportation than a limited franchise. It is poor business policy to put money into a street transportation plant which, at the end of a short term of years, may be rendered useless by a refusal to renew the grants of location. Good business policy demands that a company possessing a franchise for a street railway system which expires in a short time shall put aside enough from its income to reimburse its stockholders for the money they have ventured in this plan to supply the public with facilities for transportation, so

that they may be secured against loss at the expiration of the franchise term. This enforced setting aside of a fund for the payment to the stockholders of the money they have invested hampers the company in many ways. It prevents extensions during the last years of the life of the franchise; causes during the entire life of the franchise the question to be raised whether any given improvement will yield enough to provide a sinking fund and a fair return on the money expended, and forbids any improvement which cannot meet these requirements. The problem of street transportation in the United States is of vital importance, and Massachusetts, early in the field, has tried out many of the questions involved. It would be folly to claim that Massachusetts has solved all the complex problems presented by the rapid urban growth of the past twenty years, and the still more rapid growth of suburban localities, but there is no question but that in practice Massachusetts methods have proven themselves sufficiently flexible to meet the rapid growth of urban and interurban street railway conditions as shown in a state distinctly urban in character.

The question of the municipal operation of street railways has not been seriously considered in Massachusetts, although the special committee of 1897 favored municipal ownership of tracks and private operation, but this has never taken practical shape either in legislation or in actual practice. It is a large problem to consider—is a municipality justified in spending the money of the taxpayers on a speculative investment, for, considered from the point of the actual results of street railway operation, such an investment must be considered speculative. The Massachusetts plan of protecting the public and the stockholders by rigid supervision by a competent tribunal certainly deserves consideration in all parts of the country, and its actual operation seems to prove its efficiency in that state at least.

THE GAS, ELECTRIC LIGHT, WATER AND STREET RAIL- WAY SERVICES IN NEW YORK CITY

BY ROBERT GRIER MONROE,
New York City.

New York is wholly dependent upon private corporations for gas and electric light. Private companies own and operate the surface and elevated railways and also operate the subway or underground railway as far as constructed. The water supply is owned and managed by the municipality.

Water Supply.

In 1832 the city undertook the construction of an aqueduct along the eastern bank of the Hudson to the Croton River, thirty-three miles to the north. The Croton watershed is the main source of New York's supply to-day. For the borough of Brooklyn part of the supply is taken from surface streams on the southern slope of Long Island and part drawn from wells. Water is sold by the city for domestic use to householders upon frontage rates—charges proportioned to the size of the dwelling and number of fixtures. To factories, hotels and commercial buildings water is sold by meter at ten cents a hundred cubic feet. Frontage rates come to about half the meter charge. Most of the water consumed is drawn for domestic use and most of the revenue is derived from the water sold for manufacturing and business purposes. The management of the water department is neither highly efficient nor marked with careful economy. It is a fair example of municipal operation. More than one hundred and twenty-five millions have been borrowed from time to time by the city for the construction of water works but less than two-thirds of the debt is now outstanding. Municipal bonds and corporate stock bear low rates of interest. The city has used what water was needed for public purposes and has sold enough to consumers to pay not only the running expenses and interest charges

but also to furnish a fund to retire a portion of the bonds from year to year. The water revenue to-day provides for interest charges and running expenses and at the same time an annual surplus of between three and a half and four millions to be applied to a sinking fund or used for the general reduction of taxes.

Municipal ownership of the water supply is the fixed and settled policy of the city of New York. To meet increasing needs the city is about to enter upon an expenditure estimated to exceed one hundred and fifty millions for building aqueducts and developing the Catskill watershed as a new and greater source of supply. A commission of three appointed by the mayor upon nomination by the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association and the Board of Fire Underwriters will have charge of this public work, and there is every confidence that the public funds will be properly and honestly expended.

Gas Service.

The first gas light company in New York was incorporated in 1823. In succeeding years one company after another was chartered on the theory that the public would benefit by competition. In 1884 the Consolidated Gas Company of New York was organized as a consolidation of six competing or independent gas companies. The consolidation was intended to embrace all the companies at that time selling gas in the then city of New York, but at the last moment one company had to be left out of the combination on account of a specific prohibition in its charter. The Consolidated Gas Company now owns the stock of the one company omitted at the time from the original combination, and also owns the stock of every company chartered since 1884 to distribute illuminating gas on Manhattan Island. This ownership continues in spite of certain seemingly definite statutory prohibitions. In 1900 the Consolidated Gas Company took over the combination of electric companies in the borough of Manhattan.

In 1895 the gas companies in Brooklyn were brought together and the Brooklyn Union Gas Company organized. Brooklyn also has its electrical combination. For some years there has been no competition in the sale of light in the city of New York. The companies are all over-capitalized. That is, the issues of securities are out of all proportion to the intrinsic value of their plants. Stock

and bonds have been issued on earning capacity based upon prices only to be sustained under a monopoly.

Notwithstanding the fact that successive combinations and consolidations have done away with any possibility of competition, the city charter continues to direct that all public lighting shall be let upon contract after public bidding and for a period not exceeding one year. In December, 1902, the first year of Mayor Low's term of office, the usual advertisements were inserted asking for bids for lighting the streets and public buildings for the ensuing year—1903. In due course the regular bids were submitted by the monopoly, but instead of being promptly accepted as in previous years the prices named were examined and compared and the proposals finally rejected. The prices offered for open flame gas lamps ranged from \$12 per lamp per year to \$25 for the same class of light. The price in each district seemed to be fixed arbitrarily by the particular company there in control. In the past twenty years the cost of gas had dropped one-half, but the charge for city lamps remained unchanged. In certain instances the bids for 1903 corresponded exactly with the bids of 1883. Two thousand candle power arc lamps were fixed at \$146 per lamp per year. The average price in other American cities is below ninety dollars.

Mayor Low took the position that the lighting companies as quasi-public corporations occupying public land were bound to render the service for which special privileges had been granted them, and could only exact reasonable compensation for such service. He further held that when a fair price for an article cannot be reached or even indicated by actual competition, the sum the city should pay should be settled after investigation into the cost of production and delivery of the commodity supplied. The monopoly, on the other hand, took the position that unless controlled by specific statutory enactment the seller alone had the right to fix the price. New York could take the goods or not; if she took them she must pay the price imposed. The issue involved disputed questions of both law and fact. The city insisted that gas and electricity be provided for lighting the streets and public buildings, but refused to make contracts on the monopoly's terms and declined to pay the monthly bills when presented, awaiting suit on *quantum meruit* for services rendered or for goods sold and delivered. There was talk of compromise, but the managers of the companies were men of great influence and

wealth and accustomed to overcome any opposition. One company threatened to cut off the light, but an application to the court promptly stopped that performance. Mandamus proceedings were instituted to compel the city to accept the bids and execute contracts, but such proceedings were never pressed. No suits were brought during Mayor Low's administration to collect public lighting bills. His administration stood ready to join in a reasonable settlement, but at the same time it was prepared to protect the municipality—to inquire into the status of important franchises and even to question the legality of the monopoly itself.

Counsel for the companies saw that danger lurked in immediate litigation. There are times when it is well to sue and there are times when it is better to refrain from suit. Appeal to the courts was postponed to await the results of the coming election. New guardians of the public interests might be substituted for the men then in charge.

In the election of 1903 the public service corporations of New York City were able to throw sufficient strength to Tammany to elect Colonel McClellan and defeat Mr. Low. The victory of the lighting monopoly appeared at first to be complete, but the administration it had overcome at the polls had taken steps to safeguard the city's interest with a view to just such a contingency. Precautions had been carefully adopted to make future abandonment of the city's rights difficult and dangerous. In the first place, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment had put itself on record by the adoption of a clear and explicit report approving every step taken by the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity with regard to public lighting for the year 1903. The Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the real governing body of the city of New York, is composed of the mayor, comptroller, president of the Board of Aldermen and the presidents of the five boroughs, and several of these officials were to continue in office with the new administration. It was therefore impossible to have that body reverse itself without embarrassing individual members. Detailed departmental reports were published from time to time during the year 1903 informing the public fully as to what was done and why it had been done. Finally, before the end of Mr. Low's term of office, suits were instituted on behalf of the city against the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company and against

the Empire City Subway Company for an accounting and forfeiture of their charters, and with the definite purpose of acquiring the electrical subway ducts. Control of the subway ducts is the basis of the electrical monopoly on Manhattan Island. The lighting trust only became complete when it covered both illuminants—gas and electricity.

In 1886, when overhead wires were outlawed, the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company was formed to receive the wires of all electrical companies. It was to be entirely independent and to accept all as tenants on equal terms. It was organized under special act of the legislature to construct and maintain electrical subways in accordance with the terms of a contract entered into between the company and the city,—a contract which provides that when the net annual profits after paying expenses of maintenance and operation "shall exceed 10 per cent. upon the actual cash capital invested" then "the excess of such profit over the 10 per cent. shall be paid into the treasury of the city of New York." Another stipulation in the contract is that after January, 1897, the city through its Commissioners of the Sinking Fund may acquire the electrical subways by paying the actual cost thereof, and in case the earnings have not amounted to 10 per cent. per annum a further payment is to be made in addition to the cost not to exceed 10 per cent. on such cost. The company is required to keep full books and accounts and to file annual statements of costs, earnings and expenses with the Comptroller. At first the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company provided space in its subways for electrical conductors of all kinds. Later, the Empire City Subway Company was organized by like act and under similar contract with the city for the purpose of providing space for low tension and signal wires. The Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company is owned by the Edison Company, the electrical combination covering the borough of Manhattan, which company is in turn owned by the Consolidated Gas Company which is under control of the Standard Oil interests. The Empire City Subway Company is owned or controlled by the New York (Bell) Telephone Company. As long as the Edison Company owns the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company no competitor of that company will be able to sell and distribute electric current on the Island of Manhattan. As long as the Bell Telephone Company owns the

Empire City Subway Company effective obstacles will be interposed in the installation of the plant of any corporation that conflicts with the Bell Telephone, the Western Union Telegraph, their subsidiaries or allies. Interference with the present status of these two subway companies therefore involves the active opposition of the most powerful financial interests in this country.

The annual statements showing cost of construction and income which the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company and the Empire City Subway Company have filed since their organization display an evident intent to defraud. If they are able to mislead the city as to the actual cost of construction a greater sum must be paid to acquire the property and a larger proportion of the annual profits may be retained before 10 per cent. is reached, the point where the city shares in the earnings. Moreover, the city has an interest only in the net earnings. Cost of maintenance and operation is to be deducted before net earnings are arrived at, and consequently the companies have an incentive to pile up running expenses. Before the suits previously referred to were commenced the books of the companies were examined. The construction account, according to the books of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company in January, 1903, amounted to \$7,492,291.62. The construction account is, however, charged with \$1,875,000, the face value of the total outstanding issue of capital stock, while the actual cash received by the company for the sale of the stock was only \$40,000. There were other items equally improper to include in a construction account which, according to contract, was limited to *actual cash* invested. The statement showing the cost to be seven and a half millions was as a matter of fact inflated to the extent of three millions. The Empire City Subway Company, the younger sister of the Consolidated Company, appeared also an adept bookkeeper. The Empire Company reported its gross earnings for 1902 at \$839,204.77; operating expenses and maintenance, \$350,441; net earnings, \$503,762.84. It also came out that this Company in 1884 entered into contracts with two other companies for keeping in repair its subways. Under such sub-contracts for maintenance during the year 1902 there was paid the sum of \$224,210. This is more per mile of subway than it costs per mile to maintain an average western railroad. Of course, the actual cost to maintain a permanent underground structure like an electrical subway is trifling. The

bookkeeping of the two electrical subway companies affords an example of private corporate management. The two companies are in the hands of leading financiers and business methods should surely prevail. Nevertheless, the books have been kept in a way to defraud the city with which they have contracted, and agreements have been made to divert earnings from their own stockholders.

Municipal bookkeeping is often criticised and condemned, but it would be hard to find a parallel in the books of any municipality to the sworn statements of officers of the subway companies filed with the comptroller of the city of New York.

When Colonel McClellan assumed office on January 1, 1904, there were twelve months of unsettled bills, no existing contracts for city lighting and some inconvenient litigation. But the monopoly was in the hands of friends and Tammany recognizes its obligations. Those interested on either side patiently awaited the outcome. It was a long wait. For eight months matters remained in *statu quo*. At last, in October a year ago, the deadlock was broken and the commissioner in charge abjectly surrendered to the monopoly. Tammany had kept faith and had done its utmost to pay its political debt. But an injunction prevented the settlement from being immediately carried out. Public indignation rose. There was a change all along the line and Mayor McClellan promptly assumed the position occupied by his predecessor. Commissioner Oakley's action was, however, so unaccountable that the state legislature determined to take a hand and named a committee to investigate the whole subject.

The Legislative Committee found a "gross abuse of legal privilege in over-capitalization and in the manipulation of securities, for the purpose of unifying control and eliminating all possible competition" and also "the investment of millions in securities earning no dividends and intrinsically worthless solely for the purpose of securing monopoly of control." The committee further reported that the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company had violated both the letter and the spirit of its contract with the city. The committee also questioned the validity of franchises and doubted the extent to which the companies are entitled to use the streets of the city.

The important recommendations made by the committee were for (a) the creation of a state commission to supervise gas and elec-

tric companies; (b) the reduction of the price of gas to consumers from a dollar to seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet; (c) the reduction in price of electric current to ten cents per kilowatt hour, and (d) the reduction of the price of street arc lamps from \$146 to \$100 per lamp per year. The committee upon submitting their report introduced bills in accordance with their recommendations. The main fight was made on the price of gas to general consumers. The test of strength came in the end on a bill for eighty cent gas. The lobby won after a close vote. Senator McCarren, the head of the Democratic organization in Brooklyn, delivered his forces in a body; Mr. Murphy, the leader of Tammany Hall, allowed his representatives to be picked up one by one as needed. The Democratic mercenaries supplemented the vote of bolting up-state Republicans whose constituencies are not affected by public opinion in the city of New York and who can always act against the interest of the city without fear of just retribution.

The bill reducing the price of electric current became law. The Edison Company now advertises to its customers that prices have been reduced thirty-three and a third per cent. The maximum price for gas sold to the city for public purposes was fixed at seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet. The price was formerly ninety cents. Street arc lamps were brought down from \$146 to \$100 per lamp per year. As far as street lighting is concerned, the prices now fixed by the legislature are substantially what were offered to the lighting companies during the Low administration and contemptuously declined by the corporations. In addition a state lighting commission has been brought into existence and the price of gas to general consumers throughout the city will undoubtedly be lowered. Plans have been prepared for a municipal electric plant for lighting the streets and public buildings and the real estate has already been purchased upon which to erect the necessary power houses.

The 1905 election has been significant in New York as elsewhere and it is not likely that proceedings to acquire the electrical subways will be longer halted. Action may also be taken looking to the erection of municipal gas plants. However, the public will not be satisfied until every franchise has been examined into and its restrictions and limitations noted and enforced. Three years ago New York was at the mercy of a monopoly and to all appearances did not

care. Public sentiment has been effectively aroused by the way it has been defied and disregarded and now it seems that the city intends to be master of the situation.

Street Railways.

In 1884, after repeated effort lasting over thirty years, Jacob Sharp succeeded in obtaining control of New York's main highway, and Sharp and his associates were given a perpetual franchise to operate surface cars on Broadway. Sharp did not live long enough to pay the penalty exacted for the methods he had employed or personally to benefit from the grant, never afterwards overthrown, which he had obtained. But what Sharp filched from the public fell into able hands. About the celebrated Broadway franchise have been joined earlier and later grants for less important though necessary thoroughfares until there has developed a surface railway system under one management extending over the boroughs of Manhattan and The Bronx. The consolidation of surface lines in these two boroughs is, however, in competition with a combination of elevated and underground roads and in the subway development which has but commenced the city will gain by reason of the fact that two powerful rivals are competing for local transportation. The underground will also come in competition in Brooklyn where the elevated and surface roads have been brought together under one control. Perpetual franchises and the fact that franchises that might be redeemed are too costly for the city to buy back relieve the existing elevated and surface roads from danger of invasion of their immediate field by municipal lines; but the title to land beneath the surface has not yet been parted with and the community at large has even at this late day opportunity to benefit to the utmost in the direction and control of further underground construction.

MADRID: ITS GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL SERVICES

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The activities of the government of the Spanish capital are a peculiar composite of ancient and modern institutions. The strong contrasts met on every side in local commercial life are mirrored in the conditions of the public service. In the former, motor wagons and oxen share the work of delivering merchandise, and in the latter we find a paid civil service in charge of one part of the administrative work of the municipality, while another—the collection of imposts—is farmed out to a private company.

Administrative Organization.

The central organ of the municipality—the *Ayuntamiento*—is elective but unsalaried. For representation in this council the city is divided into ten districts, in each of which five members are chosen by universal suffrage, making a council of fifty besides the mayor, who has a deciding vote only. The representatives are elected for a term of four years, one-half being retired at every biennial election, thus making the council a permanent body. Under its final supervision must nominally come all projects affecting the municipality. Sessions are held at the call of the mayor. The office of the mayor is the only one which is officially a charge upon the public treasury, and even the sum assigned to this office is not received as a salary, but as a "supplemental allowance" due to the extraordinary expenses necessary as the chief magistrate of the capital. The city provides for his use a stable and coaches, for the maintenance of which a yearly appropriation of over 35,000 pesetas¹ is

¹ Presupuesto del año, 1905. The peseta, at the present rate of exchange, is worth slightly more than fifteen cents.

required. In addition, a cash credit is granted amounting to 25,000 pesetas. Even with the allowance, however, the "honor" of becoming the city's chief magistrate is so expensive that it can be accepted only by the wealthy.

The lesser offices in the municipal government constitute a permanent service. The salary is generally low, but is supplemented by an allowance for house rent or by furnishing the houses directly. Further, due to the short department hours, those who wish are able to supplement their earnings by work taken outside their official duties. The official day is never more than five hours and in actual practice much shorter. Curiously enough a considerable number of clerks are able so to arrange their work that they can hold two offices under the government at the same time. Such a practice is strictly prohibited both by royal decrees and by the city regulations, but the objection is regularly avoided by having the second salary credited under the name of a "gratification for service," a subterfuge which has not been questioned by the Spanish courts. The permanent city official also acquires a right to a pension based upon the highest salary received, at any time after twenty years of service.

Street Cleaning.

With the exception of the protection of persons and property, the only one of the greater public services undertaken directly by the city of Madrid, is the cleaning of the streets. Up to 1894 the work was done in the most primitive manner and so small was the force employed that even in that year it was asserted that not one-tenth of the work assigned to a man for a day could be accomplished.² The general dissatisfaction induced the council to attempt the introduction of modern methods and a large investment was made in mechanical brooms and similar appliances.³ This also did not satisfy the public, for though the conditions of the streets improved, the charge upon the treasury was altogether out of proportion to the actual service. In 1895 the service was placed in the hands of a Belgian company. The change brought admittedly the best service the city has ever had, but two years later, owing to alleged failure to fulfill some of its obligations, the company was

² Hauser: *Madrid bajo el punto de vista Medico-Social*, Madrid, 1902. Volume I, p 208 et seq.

³ *Ibid.*

forced to surrender its charter to the city council. The administration by the council since that time has gradually improved, though even as late as 1899, 450 broommen formed the entire force and the conditions were far from satisfactory. Under the present city management the use of mechanical appliances has almost disappeared. On a few of the boulevards skirting the parks, horse-power sweepers are still regularly used, but with this exception the usual implements are hand brooms. In the work of sweeping there are employed a little over 700 men for the entire city. The brooms used are made by the men themselves from faggots supplied by the municipal authorities. In the greater portion of the city, after the first sweeping is finished, the streets are flooded with water every day to carry away the remaining dust. In the chief business district the care of the public ways is at present quite up to the modern standard, but in the poorer and newer quarters the badly paved and sometimes entirely unpaved highways make difficult proper cleaning and the small number of men assigned to these portions makes it impossible to do the work thoroughly.

The entire cost of the sweeping and flooding of the streets is only 574,875 pesetas (\$86,215)⁴ or a little over 15 cents per year per inhabitant. The small expenditure is due both to the neglect of the outlying quarters and to the cheapness of the manual labor employed. In the entire force of 949 men in the service there are but two—the paymasters—who receive a salary as high as fifty cents a day. Six hundred and fifty, including all the overseers, timekeepers and broommen receive 37½ cents or less and the 100 men who attend to the flooding of the streets receive but 22½ cents⁵ per day. This wage represents the entire income, as these men are but day laborers and do not receive houses at the city's expense or a pension after a period of service.

The wages paid by the city for street cleaning are rather higher than those given in general for manual labor, as the average wage for unskilled labor is one peseta (15 cents) a day. The low wages are not, however, at least to the same extent as in other parts of Europe, counterbalanced by a low cost of food for partly due to the *octroi* the price of even the staples is relatively high. Potatoes, for example, cannot be bought for less than \$1.00 a bushel, and "gar-

⁴ Population of Madrid, 1905, 533,286.

⁵ Budget for 1905.

banzas," the sort of chick pea which forms the chief ingredient of the daily food of the working classes, cost six cents a pound.⁶ Meat, too, is so expensive that it is practically absent from the table of the laborer.

Disposal of Garbage.

The disposal of the garbage of the city is divided among two forces,—one public the other private. First there is the force administered by the city, which is charged with the disposal of both the street sweepings and the garbage. In practice, however, almost all of the latter is disposed of through people who adopt the collection of garbage as an industry. To engage in this business a special license must be purchased from the city, which allows the holder to ply his trade within a specified district. The service is rendered to the householders gratuitously, the only pay received for the work being the garbage itself. Those who engage in the business are generally aged men and women, who take the refuse away by means of donkeys carrying woven baskets. Only the absolutely worthless is thrown away, which, to these people, means a very small portion. Every rag is carefully saved, washed and dried; all the bones, scraps of paper and bits of straw find their way to different piles, all of which are marketed separately. Every scrap of bread or vegetable which can be made to serve as food for man or beast is put to use. Finally, what is left is sold as fertilizer. This is indeed an unusual state of affairs, for the disposal of the garbage, instead of becoming a charge upon the city treasury or upon the inhabitants directly, actually becomes the means of gaining a livelihood for a large number of people, and at the same time becomes a source of public income. The extent to which what may be called the "garbage business," has developed in the city may be seen from the fact that, in 1905, there were issued 600 licenses to engage in the work, contributing fees to the city amounting to 6,000 pesetas.

The relief, direct and indirect, thus afforded the public finances by this method of collection, is its only recommendation, for the refuse is uniformly carried in open baskets, from which the smaller particles are easily blown by the wind, and the disposal made of the vegetable parts is far from conducive to public health. The

⁶ Compiled from the market quotations, for the year 1904, of the *Heraldo de Madrid*. Rent, however, is low. Out of the 101,077 habitations in Madrid in 1902, the rent of 40,325, or almost 40 per cent. was equivalent to \$3.00 or less per month. Hauser, page 494, Vol. I.

better portion serves as food for the collectors themselves, and the rest is regularly fed to chickens, rabbits and hogs kept in the small courts of the poorer districts of the city.⁷ Such a method of disposal, it is needless to say, "constitutes a constant menace to sanitary conditions in normal times, and an excellent means of spreading disease in times of infection."⁸

Public Lighting.

The system of public lighting in the Spanish capital shows traces of the different stages of its development. It is still provided that in the courts of houses, and before the doors of all private dwellings, lamps "shall be kept lighted during those hours of the night in which the doors opening on the streets are unlocked."⁹ In the poorer districts, too, the public streets are still lighted by kerosene lanterns. In fact, in all the outlying quarters, the lighting is in very poor condition, and the lamps so far apart as sometimes to make it impossible to see two from the same spot. The characteristic means of lighting in the more settled districts is gas, the expenditure for which constitutes almost four-fifths of the entire appropriation for the purpose. Electricity is as yet a comparatively new departure as a means of public lighting, indeed the latest edition of the public ordinances contains no regulations for its installation or use, either in private houses or on public property. The number of arc lamps on the principal streets is being rapidly increased, however, and plans are already in execution to introduce electric lighting in all the business portion of the city within the next two years. The fittings for all lighting are purchased and installed at the city's expense, but the supplies of both gas and electricity are furnished to the city through private companies, paid at a rate fixed by contract, and by special subsidies for terms of years.

Water Supply.

The water supply of Madrid is not, as in most cities, a service performed by the city or those licensed by it, but is a joint work

⁷ The regulations of the city are commonly disregarded in this respect. See *Ordenanzas Municipales*, Madrid, 1903, p. 90.

⁸ Hauser: Vol. I, p. 210; also preceding pages.

⁹ *Ordenanzas Municipales de la Villa de Madrid*; 2d ed., 1903, Madrid, p. 35. The rule is uniformly disobeyed, however. Indeed, in the better streets, lamps over the doors would be wholly superfluous.

of the municipality and the central government. The local government indeed simply maintains the delivery of the water within the city limits. From the time of its foundation to the middle of the last century Madrid suffered under a constant scarcity of water. Even at that date there were only fifty-nine public pumps and watering places within the city.¹⁰ The *Ayuntamiento* had "seriously considered" increasing the water supply for over a quarter of a century, but the plans never got any further than the paper stage. In this state of affairs the central government undertook to supply water to the city, and irrigation to a large stretch of country at the same time, by a canal designed to conduct the waters of the Lozoya, a snow-fed river of the Guadarrama Mountains. The first project was completed in 1858, and Madrid received, for the first time in her history, an adequate water supply. Since then the growing demands of the rapidly increasing population of the capital, and the increased use of water for irrigation in the surrounding fields, have necessitated additional reservoirs, greatly increasing the supply of water. But even so the capacity has not always been sufficient for the needs in times of drought, and in 1896 and 1899 the government had to recommend that the use of the water for flooding the streets be discontinued.¹¹ The quality of the water, as tested at the reservoirs and rivers in the mountains, is said by chemists to be excellent. At its source it contains hardly any animal matter, and less than one-sixteenth of the amount of solids which are considered allowable in drinking water.¹² By the time the water gets to Madrid, however, although the amount of solids is still low,¹³ there is an objectionable amount of animal and vegetable matter, due to the fact that the canal is uncovered for a great part of its length. This necessitates its purification by the usual methods of filtration, which renders the water of Madrid "safe and wholesome under ordinary conditions."¹⁴

From the first the method of adjusting water rates was open to many abuses, some of which continue even to the present day. The city government was granted a certain amount free, but under this

¹⁰ Hauser, 228, also states. In 1854 there were besides 421 private wells in the city.

¹¹ Ruiz Jiménez, *Interpelacion al Ministro de Fomento*, 11 Nov., 1899. See also Hauser chapter on water supply; *Incharraundieta*, *Revista de Obras Publicas*, 13 Feb., 1891, on the Canal of Lozoya.

¹² See Horacio Bentabo y Ureta *Las Aguas de España*, 2d ed., p. 183.

¹³ Chemical analysis, in 1902, by Dr. César Chicote, Chief of the Chemical Laboratory Madrid, gave solid content as about 1.8 of that allowable.

¹⁴ See *Passim* Chapter on Canal. Hauser.

permit it has used, and still uses, all it needs, which, with the development that has taken place, is now many times the amount to which it is entitled.¹⁵ Many private persons were allowed to acquire free use of the water, an abuse against which steps were first taken only two years ago.¹⁶ Until recently the water rates were regulated according to the number of faucets, no matter what the quantity used. A change to the meter system is being made at the present time, the charges being from five to seven and a half centavos per cubic meter. Where meters are not in use the water rate is based on the yearly rental of the dwelling.¹⁷

Street Railways.

Originally the tramway system of Madrid was in the hands of ten distinct companies, who furnished a mule-car service from the outlying quarters to the central plaza of the town—the Puerta del Sol. The radial plan of the system, which came to be a feature of the organization in the early days, is still maintained, almost without exception, in spite of the fact that in some cases a different organization would much better serve the needs of traffic. At present all the lines converging in the centre of the city are managed by one company, the only remnant of their former independence being the charters regulating the relations of the different divisions with the city. Only one small company serving the outer quarters still maintains a real independence. The charters under which the street cars are operated at present are the same as were formerly granted for running the lines of mule cars, except that they have additional clauses allowing the owners to change the motive power. Electricity has not indeed superseded mule power entirely, and even on the central line the old-fashioned cars are used to supplement the more modern service on occasions when large crowds must be accommodated, such as the days of the bull fights or the more popular church festivals. The maximum fares are fixed in the charters, and range from five to thirty centavos. None of the concessions are held in perpetuity, the longest being for a term of sixty years. In all cases a small annual payment is made to the city, but the amounts in most

¹⁵ Sr. Incharraundieta, *Revista de Obras Publicas*, Feb., 1902.

¹⁶ Royal Decree of 6th Feb., 1903. The regulations of 1903 also prohibited the granting of any free water rights in the future. *Reglamento para el Servicio y Distribution de las Aguas del Canal de Isabel II*, Madrid, 1903.

¹⁷ Royal Decree of the 14th of July, 1905.

cases are the same as specified in the original contracts when mule power was used, and the entire income of the city from all the lines amounts to but very little over \$10,000 per year.¹⁸ The city has uniformly reserved to itself numerous rights of control over the tramways. Among these may be mentioned, the setting of the time of departure for each car, the speed at which those drawn by mules may go, and the determination of the number of persons to be carried in each car, including a provision that when all the places are filled no more passengers must be allowed to enter.¹⁹

Food Inspection.

To provide for the purity of the food of the inhabitants, the city council has greatly extended public supervision. For testing the quality of all food entering the city a special inspection service is kept at all the gates, and a public laboratory is charged with the analysis of all suspected products. As an example of the minutiae into which the regulations enter in some cases, the rules affecting the sale of bread may be taken. First, a special license must be secured from the council. All bread destined for sale must contain only wheat flour, yeast, common salt and water. The addition of anything else, even though it in no way alters the nutritive qualities of the product, is punished by fine. The loaves must be made in standard sizes, and the third report of short weight results in the revocation of the license. Ovens must have a certain size and location. All bread must have the name of the manufacturer stamped upon it, and the price at which it is to be sold. Finally, a regulation which is explained by the political history of the capital provides that "a supply of flour must be kept on hand sufficient for six days, with the object of tiding over any conflict that may occur."²⁰

The supervision of the meat supply extends not only to the inspection of the quality at the gates, but all slaughtering in the city must be done in the municipal slaughter houses. The private slaughter of animals to be offered for sale subjects the offender to fine and confiscation of the animals killed. The publicly administered slaughter house is by no means an institution of recent origin in Madrid. An establishment of a similar character is said to

¹⁸ Presupuesto del Año 1905.

¹⁹ Ordenanzas Municipales. Pp. 29-33.

²⁰ Ordenanzas Municipales, 53-59.

have been maintained as early as the fifteenth century,²¹ but its development on a large scale, to the exclusion of private undertakings, dates from 1855. At present two separate establishments are maintained, one for cattle, sheep and goats, the other for hogs. It may be mentioned that the meat of horses and mules, in contrast to the practice in many cities in Northern Europe, cannot legally be sold for food in Madrid.²² The purchase and sale of the animals to be killed is entirely free and independent of any supervision on the part of the government, which confines itself to the inspection of the animals and to the killing, and dressing of the meat. For this service there is a permanent force of employees. The charges for killing vary from four pesetas for cows to 1½ pesetas for goats. The inspection of the animals by the government is thorough, and the entire establishment for handling cows, sheep and goats is thoroughly modern in sanitary arrangements and administration. As much cannot be said of the department for hogs,²³ which is located in a building far from suited to the purpose. A curious regulation limits the slaughter of hogs to a definite season—the one hundred and forty-two days following the 30th of October. It is considered that the consumption of fresh pork at other times is “dangerous to the health of the community.”

Municipal Pawn Shop and Savings Bank.

Two very interesting and successful municipal establishments now placed under one management are the municipal pawn shop and savings bank. In the pawn shop two classes of loans are issued, on clothes and jewels and on public securities. The rate of interest charged is but one-half of 1 per cent. per month, as contrasted with 2, 4 and even 6 per cent. charged by private houses. If the goods are not redeemed they pass to the salesrooms, where they are sold by public auction, and if more than the amount of the loan is realized the balance is returned. The loans on public securities are only made with the balance not demanded by the other business and never exceed 80 per cent. of the market value. The plan has been of great assistance to the classes for which it is intended—the poor in

²¹ Hauser, p. 306.

²² Hauser and Ordenanzas Municipales.

²³ Hauser, 306: “It is an anachronism of our time and a menace to the health of the inhabitants.”

temporary distress, and the goods are redeemed in over 90 per cent. of the cases.²⁴

No less successful is the municipal savings bank. So popular has the institution become that on account of the unsatisfactory condition of the national finances it has become impossible to find a satisfactory use for the money offered to its care. The rate of interest to be guaranteed has had to be reduced and the amounts of individual deposits limited to 5,000 pesetas. Notwithstanding the restrictions the number of depositors has grown steadily and during 1904 reached 497,295.²⁵

Taxation.

Undoubtedly the most remarkable feature of the government of Madrid is the method of collection of the municipal taxes. Under the existing laws only the central government can levy taxes on real and personal property, so the city has but a limited field from which to draw its income. Practically all the city taxes, now amounting to about \$4,800,000 a year, are derived from fines, commercial licenses and taxes on fuel and food. Commercial licenses are extended over almost every branch of business, even down to permits to sell small articles in the streets, permits to collect rags, and taxes on business signs and extent of window display. All such imposts together, however, constitute but 12 per cent. of the yearly income and the chief reliance must be the tax on food stuffs.²⁶ The history

²⁴ ——— "Segundo Centenario de la fundacion del Monte de Piedad de Madrid." Madrid, 1902.

²⁵ ——— "Memoria y cuenta general del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros, Madrid, 1905.

²⁶ It is, perhaps, needless to point out the inequality of such a method of taxation. In a city like Madrid, where, it is asserted, almost one-tenth* of the population live in a state of almost hopeless poverty, the results of any *octroi* system must be especially bad. Up to the present, however, even the bare necessities of life have been subject to the imposts. The rates have been very high, as may be judged from the following quotations: "Imposts to be exacted by the Compañia Arrendataria" (the money is given in American equivalents). Chickens, 5 cents each; veal, 4 cents pound; fish, 3½ cents; flour, ½ cent; "Garbanzas" (chick peas), ½ cent pound; milk, 1 cent quart. The rate on live animals is: Goats and sheep, 70 cents each; hogs, \$5.20; cattle, 2-4 years old, \$11.20; cattle over 4 years, \$15.00.† In the near future it is proposed to remove from the list a few of the necessities of life, chief among which are milk, flour, bran and sugar. The effect of such taxes on the food of the poorer classes may be judged from the following statistics for 1904: The total consumption of prepared and salted meats in the city amounted to 1,200,000 kilograms, or about four pounds per inhabitant, while the average consumption of fresh meats of all classes reached only 98 grams per person.‡ The

* Hauser, Vol. I, p. 297. 52,000 in 1902.

† Compiled from Presupuesto del Año, 1905.

‡ Compiled from the Report of the Compañia Arrendataria by Fisher, Representative in the Ayuntamiento.

of the management of these imposts in Madrid is anything but a creditable one. Up to 1897 the city was engaged in a futile attempt to secure honest administration of the imposts by public officials. Every year loud protests were raised against the management because favored persons, especially influential members of the city council, were allowed to bring in goods without paying the legal dues. In this way such decided advantages were given to a few merchants that competition with them in the market was practically impossible. Further, at the end of the administrative year, the city was invariably confronted by a shortage in the returns which no raising of the imposts was able to overcome. As a consequence the city debt was steadily growing in spite of the increased tax rate on businesses and food stuffs. The situation finally became so intolerable that it was decided to give over the management of the municipal taxes on food and fuel into the hands of a private company. This form of management has been in use since 1897 and the question of its continuation for another period of five years is now the subject of a vigorous campaign in all parts of the city.²⁷

The system amounts in fact to no less than a reappearance of the old Roman method of farming the taxes, with the exception that the *rate* of taxation is fixed. The right to collect the imposts is sold at public auction, and the bidder makes all he can by instituting a minute system of examination and a rigorous enforcement of the limit of the imposts allowed in his contract with the government. The management has been so inquisitorial that all classes are united in the opinion that a change at least in details must be made. Against the renewal of the contract protests have been raised by almost all the organizations of Madrid, including the Mercantile Union, Chamber of Commerce and all the trade unions. There is, however, a large conservative class which, though it realizes the exasperating character of the present regulations, still hesitates to take the step which might plunge the city finances into the chaotic state in which they were when the taxes were managed by public officials. It is insisted that the present expedient has proved a success in one way at least; it

high tax on milk, too, brought in its train lamentable conditions. The price of that brought into the city was so high that it made it profitable to keep the animals in the city and feed them on food hauled in from the country. In 1902 there were 232 such stables maintained in Madrid. The effects of the necessary confinement of the animals was revealed by an investigation of 215 samples of milk among which 170 were found to be impure.[§]

[§] Boletín del Laboratorio Municipal de Madrid, 15 Jan., 1902.

²⁷ The date set for the beginning of the next term is Jan. 1, 1906.

gives the council a reasonably fixed basis upon which to calculate the municipal income, and the city has received much more in actual cash through means of the *Compañía Arrendataria* than it ever did during the public management, notwithstanding that the rate of imposts has been lower. On the other hand, the public treasury has admittedly paid very dearly for the management of its finances by the private company, the earnings of which, though not made public, are admitted to be very large.

The introduction of the use of the *Arrendataria* in municipal government gives Madrid a distinctive but hardly enviable position among modern cities. At best, the solution brought in this way can be justified only under the head of political expediency, but the repeated failure to organize a public service capable of honestly administering the local taxes cannot help but throw a strange and unpleasant sidelight on the civic life of the Spanish capital.

Further, the method of taxation in use hampers the development of all the services of the city. At present taxation does not reach the real wealth of the city except by insignificant indirect imposts. Therefore, by a process of exclusion, the city is forced to rely upon the taxes on articles of daily consumption, and every increase in the appropriations for public services must be overwhelmingly at the expense of the laboring population. The evils resulting from such a situation are not confined to Madrid alone, but are felt generally throughout the peninsula. One of the changes most generally advocated by the press of the country is the passage of laws which shall provide for greater municipal independence in matters of taxation. Until such action is taken it cannot be expected that Madrid can command the resources to bring her public services up to the standard demanded by her population and her position as the capital of the kingdom.

THE PROBLEMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE POINT OF VIEW

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Much has been written during recent years about the defects of American municipal government. And all sorts of remedies have been proposed, and many of them put to the test of experience. Discussion and agitation, followed by legislation and the election of better officials, have wrought great improvement in many communities; and even the most recent disclosures of intolerable conditions have been signs of an awakened public opinion and the direct cause of uprooting some evils. But no one has suggested that we have as yet reached a state of perfection in municipal government, or that we are in any immediate danger of attaining such a state.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss all of the problems that have arisen in connection with our municipal affairs, nor to propose remedies for all of the difficulties and evils that still exist. No attention will be given to such questions as the scope of municipal functions or the political substructure underlying the organization of government. The task here undertaken is to consider only those features of the complex municipal situation on which a student of public administration may be supposed to be able to throw some light.

These features may be considered under two main heads: (1) the problems connected with the local machinery of municipal organization and the inter-relations of local officials; and (2) the problems connected with the relations of the city to the government of the state. Under each division, the existing arrangements will be briefly summarized, their defects will be pointed out and the various remedies hitherto applied, and plans will be suggested for future action. It will be admitted frankly that no scheme of purely ad-

ministrative reform will offer a complete solution of all the municipal problems; but it is a false logic which deduces from this the belief that administrative reform is of no importance; and this paper is written in the conviction that some of the fundamental difficulties are administrative in character, and that administrative reforms are among the essential conditions of successful municipal government in this country. The basis for the discussion of administrative reforms will be found in a municipal program, adopted by the National Municipal League; but amendments to this plan as seem desirable will also be suggested.

I. Local Organization.

One of the first facts that becomes obvious to any student of municipal government in the United States is the confused and complicated variety of local administrative arrangements, and the lack of consistent principles of municipal organization, not only in the cities as a whole, but even in most of the cities taken individually. Starting with a simple system of council government, this was first altered about 1820 by a limited application of the theory of the separation of legislative and executive powers in the popular election of mayors; while subsequently (since 1850) the division of municipal powers in the hands of separate and largely independent authorities has been developed to a remarkable degree, without any guiding principle and in a way that defies generalization or classification. In more recent years, some of our cities have secured a system of municipal organization based in part at least on some fundamental ideas. These have been for the most part a stricter application of the theory of separation of the legislative and executive powers, with the concentration of the latter in the hands of the chief executive, as in the national administration; but in a few cases the centralization of authority in the hands of the mayor has tended towards the abandonment of the theory of separation.

There are two factors in American municipal organization which are practically universal, and may therefore be taken as the necessary bases for any systematic scheme. These are a council and a mayor, both elected directly by popular vote. Washington, D. C., is the only city which has been an exception to this rule for any considerable length of time; and the administrative arrangements

there could not be well applied elsewhere, even if they formed in themselves a correlated and consistent scheme of organization.

The Council.

When we turn to examine the structure and powers of these two common factors, we find ourselves at once in the midst of diversity and often of confusion. The typical form of the council is that of a single body elected by wards or districts for a one or two year term. Many of the large cities—six out of the twelve with over 300,000 population—have a bicameral council. In many of these the smaller branch of the council is elected from the whole city instead of by districts; the cities in Ohio, Indiana and Iowa and some others have a small number of councilmen elected at large, in addition to the ward representatives; and in San Francisco and a few other cities the whole membership of the council is chosen at large. In most American cities council members now receive some compensation; but the older rule of gratuitous service still prevails in New England, Pennsylvania, and is frequently found in Southern cities and occasionally in other parts of the country.

Almost every one of these elements of council organization has been the subject of criticism. It is pointed out that a single council elected by wards, even if successful in representing the local interests of the various districts, makes no adequate provision for the general interest of the whole city. In addition the district system offers other difficulties in cities, and especially in large cities. The ward limits are artificial and seldom represent any natural social grouping of the population. Frequent changes of boundaries and the constant changes of residence on the part of the people hinder the development of a common social life within the political district. While even in the face of readjustments of boundaries, population movements go on so rapidly that there is seldom even the crudest approximation to representation in proportion to population; and in the largest cities at least the districts over-represented are those in the control of the worst elements in the population.

A bicameral council with one house elected at large might seem to meet some of these objections; but in fact, as generally established, it simply adds another body chosen in a way which prevents the representation of different interests, and thus weakens the de-

liberative character of the council. In practical experience, too, it has not been found that the bicameral system is in any way necessary, or that it secures any improvement in the management of municipal affairs.

In reference to salaries, it is urged on the one hand that no payment induces aldermen to accept or to demand compensation for their services in an irregular way, which often becomes either a system of bribery or blackmail; and on the other hand it is said that any salary makes the post one for which impecunious politicians will enter into active competition.

The plan of the National Municipal League recommends the election of a single chambered city council on a general ticket, although providing for the possible retention of the district system in cities of over 25,000. Does not this go too far in ignoring the idea of local representation? It may be admitted that the present ward system is usually unsatisfactory; but are there not in every city sectional divisions with tolerably distinct municipal interests and some elements of common social life? Such divisions ought to be recognized and emphasized in the political system. They should have fairly permanent boundaries; and the district for electing council members should be also a district for other municipal purposes, such as schools, police, fire brigade and the like, and indeed still further for larger political interests, such as the election of members of the state legislature. By thus concentrating the political interests of the same people in a common district, the germ of social unity and local spirit could be highly developed. Such districts would ordinarily be larger than city wards at the present time, and the internal transfers of population within the city would be more largely within the district, and would thus more often be made without requiring any readjustment of political relations. Moreover, as each district would have several members in the council, the exact number could be adjusted at frequent intervals in proportion to the changes in population, without changing district boundaries.

Besides such a district system, the plan now in use in several states of the Middle West, of electing a small number of members of the council at large also seems desirable. Such members would probably be more widely known throughout the city, and likely on this account to be men of large ability and character, and also likely to secure better consideration for the questions where local interests

should give way to more general views. It may further be noted that these arrangements are adapted to various forms of minority and proportional representation; but even without this feature the district members will undoubtedly include representatives of different shades of political opinion on various questions of public policy, and the council will thus continue to be a body adapted to deliberation and discussion.

A system of council organization somewhat similar to that outlined was in operation in New York City from 1873 to 1882. And it is perhaps worthy of note that during this decade there was less criticism of municipal government in the metropolis than in any other period of equal length for the last fifty years, and that the abandonment of the system was due, not to any public dissatisfaction, but apparently for the sole purpose of strengthening the system of party machinery and increasing partisan influences in the municipal government.

An examination of the powers of municipal councils involves two distinct—or at least distinguishable—topics: the subject matter of council activity, and the methods of council action. In both fields the diversity of detail and the difficulty of generalization is enormous. It may, however, be said, under the first head, that municipal councils generally have some power in reference to the protection of persons and property and the construction and management of local works of public improvement, and often they have some control over public charity; but seldom do they have much direct voice in reference to public education. In any case the authority of the council is strictly limited to the specific grants made by the state legislature. These legislative grants are not given in general terms, but are minutely enumerated, and the courts have uniformly applied the doctrine of strict construction to all such grants. In consequence, while in the smaller cities the councils have ordinarily about as much authority as they wish to exercise, in the larger cities where the need and demand for municipal action is much greater, the councils are constantly appealing to the legislature for larger powers.

Methods of council action may be considered as legislative or administrative. In their constitution, municipal councils are organized on similar principles to our legislatures; and this idea has been retained in the plan proposed in this paper. And in a vague sense the councils have been considered as the body in the municipal gov-

ernment corresponding to the legislatures in the state and national governments. But it must be said that the law-makers have never thoroughly recognized this. Indeed, the judicial doctrine laid down as a general rule, that all legislative power not granted to Congress is vested in the state legislatures and may not be delegated, is in direct contradiction to the idea that the councils are legislative bodies. Nevertheless, some state constitutions have expressly provided that local legislative power may be delegated to local bodies; while the body of statutory legislation on municipal government does in fact give a certain amount of legislative power to municipal councils.

Legislative power as exercised by Congress and the state legislatures seems to consist of three main elements: the power to enact laws applying to the community at large; the power to organize a system of officials and regulate their functions, and the power to levy taxes and appropriate money to maintain the administrative system thus organized. Municipal councils have the first of these to a limited degree, in their power to enact local ordinances and by-laws on specified subjects. But such ordinance power is sometimes given to administrative authorities such as boards of health, police commissioners and park boards. They have the third class of powers also to a more or less limited extent. But they have in most cases only a most restricted authority in reference to powers of the second class.

As to the power over administrative organization, municipal charters usually provide so completely for all the officials of any importance, that the municipal councils find little scope for further action except in the creation of minor positions such as milk inspectors or sealers of weights and measures; and in many of the larger cities this power of establishing minor offices is vested not in the council, but in an authority supposed to be administrative,—while in the new Ohio code such power has been given to the boards of public service in every city in that state. In this respect city charters have carried to an absurd extreme a feature of our state constitutions, where these have departed from the altogether excellent model laid down in the national constitution.

One state stands out as a notable exception to this rule. The municipal corporation act of Illinois, after providing for a comparatively small number of officials in every city, authorizes the municipal council by a two-thirds vote to establish such other offices

as it deems necessary, and to discontinue any of these offices by a like vote at the end of a fiscal year. Thus in the city of Chicago such important offices as that of comptroller and commissioner of public works have been established by council ordinance.

In the exercise of such legislative powers as they have, municipal councils are generally restricted by the veto power of the mayor, in the same way as Congress and most of the state legislatures are restricted by the veto power of the President and governors.

In most of the smaller cities, and in New England and Pennsylvania even in cities of considerable size, municipal councils still retain and exercise many administrative powers. To some extent these powers are exercised by the council as a whole, by the issuance of specific orders to agents and employees, and by the appointment of officials and their subordinates. In other respects, such powers are exercised immediately by council committees, who have direct supervision over the municipal employees. Even in the larger cities where these powers are no longer in the hands of the councils, appointments to office are effective only after being confirmed by them, this control over appointments being sometimes used to secure some patronage for the individual members. In Chicago and many of the large cities, as well as the smaller ones, the council through its Finance Committee is the controlling factor in initiating proposals for expenditure as well as in passing the appropriations; but in the larger cities of New York state and some other cities the budget is prepared by a small administrative board, and the council is not permitted to appropriate more than the sums provided in the budget.

Under the program of the National Municipal League, the scope of municipal action would be vastly increased. The ordinance power is to include general authority in reference to the "good government, order and security of the city and its inhabitants." Broad grants of power to deal with public works, institutions and certain commercial undertakings are given; and these are made effective by a comprehensive grant of taxing power. The council is made the general legislative authority in all matters, subject, however, to the veto power of the mayor; and with detailed restrictions in reference to granting away rights and franchises in the public streets. The council, too, is to have almost complete power in organizing the administrative departments. On the other hand, the council cannot appoint to any office, except that of comptroller; and it seems to

be intended that the council shall have no powers of direct administration.

Several recent municipal charters have provisions along the line of those recommendations. The general law for the four cities of the second class in New York state vests the legislative power and only the legislative power in the city councils. A more emphatic statement is placed in the new charter of Portland, Ore.; and another in the latest (1900) charter of the city of New York. But it would seem that these clauses refer only to the ordinance power; and the equally important power of organizing administrative offices has apparently been effectively granted only in the law of Illinois previously mentioned.¹

It is not entirely clear that all municipal councils should be restrained from exercising any administrative functions. In small cities where the amount of municipal work is limited, there is no absolute necessity for separating legislative and administrative functions, and council committees may well discharge the latter duties and save the expense of additional officials. In large cities, the distinction is much more important; the increased volume of business makes too great a demand on the time of aldermen than can safely be demanded from the kind of men who ought to be members of the councils; and better administrative management can be secured by specializing that work in the hands of experts in the different fields who can be paid to give their whole time to the municipal service.

"With a careful separation of powers the legislative function can be entrusted to typical everyday Americans from middle life who yet have broad enough training to enable them to see the interests of the city as a whole. In most cities strictly legislative duties would not seriously interfere with a man's regular business, and therefore the councilmen need not either be rich or receive high salaries from the city."²

The Mayor.

The mayor has the longest pedigree of any of our American public officers. As far back as the sixth century we hear of the

¹ In Michigan where the state constitution specifically authorizes the legislature to confer local legislative power on city councils, the Supreme Court has held that this applies only to the power of passing general ordinances, and that the legislature may not delegate to city councils the power of organizing administrative departments.

² Wilcox: *The American City*, p. 306.

mayors of the palace in the Frankish kingdoms, the last of whom, Karl Martel, was grandfather to the Emperor Charlemagne. A few centuries later the name appears again both in France and England as the chief officer of a city, and in that capacity it has come down to our own time. American mayors occupy an intermediate position between the purely honorary and social dignity of the English office and the professional public administrator of Germany, with a tendency in recent years to confer on the officer legal powers in some respects analogous to those of a mayor in France. In this country the office is filled by direct popular vote, for terms varying from one to four years. The one year term is too short; it should be at least two. In most cities of over 25,000 population, and in many smaller cities, the incumbent receives a salary,—in cities with over 100,000 population, usually from \$2,000 to \$5,000 a year, and in five cities from \$10,000 to \$15,000.³

Although generally considered as primarily an executive officer, the mayor has always had important duties in relation to the council and legislative matters. In small cities, he is in most cases the presiding officer of the council; and has this position even in such important cities as Chicago, Providence and Grand Rapids. In the last named he also appoints the committees of the council. But in most of the larger cities this connection of the mayor with the council has ceased. On the other hand, in all the larger cities and many small cities, he has a limited veto over the acts of the council, which in many cases includes the power to disapprove items in appropriation bills, sometimes includes the power to disapprove separate provisions of any ordinance, and in a few cities is made more effective than the veto power of the President and state governors by requiring a larger vote than the traditional two-thirds to override his disapproval. In the cities of New York state, the mayors have an additional legislative power to disapprove special acts of the state legislature applying to their cities, this disapproval operating as a veto unless the legislature repasses the bill.

In respect to administrative powers, the principles of executive authority employed in the national government have been but slowly and partially applied to city mayors. In many small cities, and in some of considerable size (the latter mostly in New England and Ohio) the mayor has even yet little or no appointing power and no

³ Racine, Wisconsin, seems to be the largest city where no salary is paid.

effective means of controlling the other officials; and has thus still less relative authority than most of the state governors. In other cities, including most of the larger places, he now generally has powers analogous to those of a state governor: the right to nominate to the council for the principal positions not filled by popular election, and some power of removing officials for cause. In Illinois cities, the scope of this limited power over appointments may be greatly enlarged as the council creates new offices; and in the same state the mayor has also a large power of removal which gives him effective means of control over the other officials and strengthens his influence in appointments. In Chicago the mayor's power of nomination extends to most of the important positions, and in practice has been equivalent to the absolute power of appointment. In Cleveland for twelve years (1891-1903) the mayor had a very extended power of nomination, which in practice operated to give him complete control over most of the important positions.

During the last ten years, in a number of important cities, the mayor's power of appointment and removal has been still further increased. The mayors of the six largest cities in New York state, of Boston, of all cities in Indiana, and of a few other cities have now the sole and absolute power of appointing the heads of most of the municipal departments; and in the same cities, with the addition of the four largest cities in Pennsylvania, mayors have the power of removing at any time the appointed heads of departments. Under this system the executive authority and responsibility is concentrated in the mayor, except for a few officials still elected by popular vote.

In the program of the National Municipal League, this latest development of the mayor's authority is adopted, and indeed strengthened by making the mayor the only elective executive officer, and extending his power of appointment and removal to all administrative officers except the comptroller. At the same time the mayor's limited veto power over council ordinances is retained; and he is also to prepare and submit the annual budget.

This concentration of executive authority in the hands of the mayor has been criticized, as enabling that official to use his power to build up a "political machine." This was the main argument of those who planned the recent Ohio municipal code, which relegates the mayor to a position of "innocuous desuetude," yet the system there established was that which has enabled one of the most notori-

ous "machines" in the country to be maintained in the city of Cincinnati. Every system of appointment or election can be abused in this way, so long as positions in the municipal service are given as rewards for campaign work. The complete plan of the National Municipal League will restrict the possibility of this abuse to small limits by the merit system in filling all subordinate positions; and it is felt that the importance of the principal offices and the responsibility of the mayor's power will in most cases secure the appointment of competent heads of departments.

One writer in a very recent article advocates a still further development of executive authority.⁴ He holds that the organic defect in municipal organization "lies in the fact that the executive and legislative departments, in addition to being separately constituted, are also disconnected, and this very disconnection has prevented in practice the degree of separation in their functions which their integrity requires." His remedy is to give the executive complete legislative initiative, with the right to demand a vote on proposed measures.

Administrative Departments.

Our discussion of the officials who deal with particular branches of municipal administration must be very brief. Any description of existing arrangements is out of the question, for the situation may well be described as chaotic:—a chaos in regard to the forms of organization, the terms of service, the methods of election or appointment, and the relations of the various officials to the council, to the mayor and to each other. A large element of variety in some of these respects is almost inevitable: the number of officials and separate departments must vary with the size of the city and the scope of municipal functions; and the extent to which unsalaried service can be advantageously secured can hardly be fixed by a hard and fast rule. But the existing confusion goes far beyond what is either necessary or excusable; and is the cause of constant friction and dissatisfaction in municipal operations.

Something may be said about conditions in those cities where a more orderly system has been introduced. Most of the cities where the mayor's power has been increased, place single salaried commissioners at the head of the various departments, and

⁴H. J. Ford, in *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1904.

some other large cities, *e. g.*, Detroit, have also partially introduced this same feature. But in every case some branches of administration remain under the supervision of boards, and there is no fixed rule as to which departments are under boards and which under single commissioners.

In most cities the various municipal bureaus form a heterogeneous list, frequently numbering from twenty to thirty or more, with no official connection even between those whose duties are most closely related. But a number of cities have made progress in grouping related offices into important departments. Thus in St. Louis the heads of the various public works bureaus, including the parks, streets, sewers and water bureaus, are brought together in the board of public improvements; and in the larger cities of New York and Pennsylvania the public works department has been made to include most of the bureaus of this kind. In Ohio cities, under the new code, the department of public service embraces not only the management of all the municipal engineering works, but also the charitable and correctional institutions, going too far in combining unrelated offices. Another development has been in establishing departments of public safety, bringing together the police and fire brigades and usually also the offices for sanitary and building inspection. This department is now to be found in some of the larger cities of New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana, in all the Ohio cities, and occasionally in other places.

Most advance in this direction is to be found in the four cities of the second class in New York state. Here practically all the municipal service is organized in seven main departments. This plan seems to have been taken, with some modifications, from the so-called "federal plan" of Cleveland (1891-1903); and another feature of that plan is authorized in the New York cities, *viz*: the periodic meetings of the heads of departments with the mayor, as a cabinet for the discussion of questions of common interest to secure agreement on harmonious lines. In Cleveland the "cabinet" was constituted as a board of control with important legal powers; but in the New York cities it has been left to develop its own place in the municipal system.

In the new municipal code of Indiana (1905) from five to eight departments are established in cities of over 10,000 population, and provision is made for monthly meetings of the mayor and the heads

of departments. This "cabinet" is authorized to adopt rules and regulations for the administration of the departments, including rules governing admission to the subordinate municipal service.

The plan of the National Municipal League does not provide in detail for the administrative departments; but leaves these to be organized by the council or by the special locally framed charters according to the needs of the city. But there is certainly need in most cities for more careful attention to this problem of departmental organization; and the larger cities of the country will find the plans that have been mentioned well worth their attention.

Subordinate positions in the municipal service in most cities are filled and held at the pleasure of the changing heads of departments and bureaus. And one of the most serious abuses in municipal administration has been the frequent changes in such positions for partisan and political purposes. In the cities of Massachusetts and New York, and in Philadelphia, Chicago and New Orleans the system of open competitive examinations has been established. And in some other cities the police and fire departments are recruited under a merit system. There can be no question that the principles of civil service reform should be thoroughly applied to the whole municipal service.

II. *The City and the State.*

Of equal importance with the problem of local organization are the problems of the relations between the city and the state. For in the United States, as in all other countries, cities are not independent political communities, but districts in a larger political area and subordinate in various ways to the higher governmental authorities. In the United States this subordination is to the government of the states. There are many evidences that the prevailing relations between the city and state authorities are unsatisfactory, and the remedy most widely suggested is a demand, usually vague and inarticulate, for municipal "home rule." Some attention may therefore be given to explaining the present arrangements and to presenting a definite plan for a better system.

At the outset it may be noted that in our fundamental political document, the national constitution, cities are in no way recognized as having any existence; and that under the principle of residual powers, the cities are created by the states, which have complete

power of control over them, and may even destroy their political existence.⁵ But the powers of the states are for the most part exercised by the state governments; and these are established and limited by the state constitutions. The more practical question is therefore as to the relations of the cities to the state legislatures, the state executive and administrative authorities and the judiciary.

Legislative Control.

In the absence of specific limitations in the state constitutions, the power of the legislature in most states is held by the courts to be practically co-extensive with the power of the states. A municipal corporation has only such powers as are expressly enumerated or clearly implied in its charter or the general laws; and the legislature "may, where there is no constitutional inhibition, erect, change, divide and even abolish them at pleasure, as it deems the public good to require."⁶

In Michigan, however, and to a less extent in Indiana this doctrine has been somewhat modified; and the courts have held that the legislature may not vest distinctively local powers, such as management of public works, in state officers, and may not compel a city to undertake local improvements without its consent. More generally, too, it has been held that the constitutional guarantees for the protection of private property, prevent the legislature from confiscating the private property of a city. But with these exceptions, restrictions on the power of the legislature must be based on specific constitutional provisions.

State legislatures, in the exercise of this power over cities, have generally granted the authority to elect local officials; but have regulated in minute details the organization of the municipal government and the powers and functions of the municipal officials. In earlier days, and even at the present time for most small cities, statutes on municipal government have usually been enacted only on local initiative and, generally at the request of local members of the legislature without consideration by the whole legislature or any public notice. As a result, there has accumulated a great mass of special legislation in most of the states, overloading the statutes with heterogeneous and conflicting provisions, which make almost

⁵ U. S. v. B. & O. R. R. Co., 17 Wall. 322 (1872).

⁶ Dillon Municipal Corporations, I, 93.

impossible an intelligent understanding of municipal government and dissipate and confuse responsibility for local affairs.

In most of the states containing large cities, legislation for their government has been affected by other considerations. Charters and charter amendments are passed not only without public and local discussion, but also, in many cases, against the wishes of the local officials and local members of the legislature. Sometimes such legislation has had ostensibly at least, the immediate object of remedying some municipal delinquency; but in many cases the most effective motive has been to secure some partisan advantage for those in control of the state government, when the city officers belong to another political organization; while in some instances such legislation has been enacted through the worst sort of political jobbery, to confer privileges which could not be secured from the local authorities. By such means acts have been passed substituting state appointed officials for local officers, compelling cities to carry out expensive and unnecessary undertakings, and granting franchises in the public streets with little or no compensation to the city. The legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Missouri have been most active in these methods of interference; but instances are not lacking in Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan and other states.

It is over fifty years since the attempt was begun to remedy the evils of special municipal legislation by constitutional provisions prohibiting such legislation. The second constitution of Ohio, adopted in 1851, contained several clauses intended to abolish special legislation on municipal government; other states followed this example, at first slowly, but more rapidly since 1870; and at the present time about half of the states forbid the legislature to enact special municipal legislation. These provisions have, however, had only a partial success. The method of detailed legislation enumerating municipal officers and powers was so firmly established, that when it proved difficult to pass laws of that nature applying to cities of all sizes, the lawmakers, instead of changing their method of legislation, devised methods of evading the constitutional provisions. The most successful method was the device of classifying cities; as the courts accepted a statute applying to a class of cities as a general law, even if there were only a single city in a class. The smaller cities were then grouped into one class, and a general law applied to them; but each of the larger cities was usually placed in a class by itself; and

the régime of special legislation with its evils of confusion, partisanship and corruption continued, and indeed became worse than ever with the development of cities in size and population.

In Illinois an effective general municipal law was enacted in 1872, which by granting large powers to all cities has been successful in limiting special legislation in that state. But even there some special legislation has been enacted, mainly because the financial powers granted in the general law are not adequate to the needs of the city of Chicago. In Ohio, too, after fifty years of classified legislation, the Supreme Court of the state felt compelled in 1902 to reverse its previous rulings and to declare that statutes for a class of cities which in fact applied only to a single city were contrary to the state constitution. The result was the enactment of a new municipal code applying to all the cities of that state, which, however, still goes so much into detail that it burdens the smaller cities with a too cumbersome machinery. The new municipal code of Indiana reduces the number of classes of cities in that state to five. And Virginia has a general municipal law, supplemented, however, by some special legislation. In some other states the smaller cities are organized under a general law.

New York state in 1894 adopted another method, in the attempt to reduce the evils of legislative interference in municipal affairs. The revised constitution of that year itself establishes three classes of cities, and provides that any bill applying to less than all the cities in one of these classes must be submitted to the city concerned, and if disapproved by the mayor or the mayor and council must be repassed by the legislature and signed by the governor before it can become a law. These provisions have secured a greater amount of publicity to special legislation and have prevented the enactment of some bills rushed through the legislature without careful consideration. In the case of bills passed towards the end of the session, the mayor's disapproval is also effective until the next session of the legislature. But in many cases the mayor's disapproval has served only to delay the enactment; and partisan or corrupt influences have secured the passage of measures over the local disapproval.

At the session of the Michigan legislature in 1903 a method of procedure was adopted in reference to bills affecting the city of Detroit, which secured the same advantage of publicity. At the request of the Common Council of Detroit, no Detroit bill was placed

on its third reading, until after a public hearing on the measure in the city. Such hearings were held regularly on Saturday mornings during the session, being attended by the local members of the legislature, a committee of the council, the newspaper reporters, and any one interested in particular bills. This procedure could be established in every state, and it ought not to be a difficult matter to secure it. During the year it was in operation in Michigan, it prevented the enactment of all measures to which there was strong local opposition. It has proved, however, inadequate as a means of securing needed legislation, owing to the difficulty of harmonizing the different factors.

Another method which prevents some of the abuses of legislative interference is found in the constitutions of New York and Kentucky, which provide that all local officers must be locally elected. Even this, however, has been evaded by creating special districts with appointive officers for the conduct of functions usually municipal, or by transferring such functions and officers from the city to the county.

Still another method found in several of the states west of the Mississippi river, is that of allowing cities to frame their own charters through a local convention analogous to a state constitutional convention. A constitutional provision authorizing this was first adopted in Missouri in 1875 for cities of over 100,000 population, when it was early applied in the city of St. Louis and more recently in Kansas City. In 1879 California adopted a similar constitutional provision to that of Missouri, which now applies to any city of over 3,500 population; and sixteen cities in that state are operating under charters framed in this way. The same plan was adopted in the constitution of Washington in 1889 for cities of over 20,000 population, in Minnesota by constitutional amendment in 1898; and in Colorado in 1902 for every city of over 2,000 population. A similar procedure was adopted by the legislature of Oregon for the city of Portland in 1901. The same plan is adopted in the program of the National Municipal League for cities of over 25,000 population.

This system of "home rule" charters secures to the cities a large element of freedom from legislative interference. But the experience of St. Louis, where police, excise and election administration has been placed in the hands of state appointed officials, on the ground that these are state and not municipal interests, shows that it may

not altogether abolish it. On the other hand, if these matters are also excluded from legislative action, there is a serious danger that municipal autonomy may be carried so far as to impair the sovereignty of the state, as has been recently urged by Governor Gage, of California. It should also be noted that this system tends to increase the confusion and complexity of the law on municipal government. In practice, too, there has sometimes been a long delay in securing the adoption of a charter under this process. The first charter submitted for Denver was rejected, and a second was framed and adopted with too little consideration. In Minneapolis, three proposed charters have failed of ratification; and the old discredited system continues in operation.

These considerations, and the frequent misrule and corruption in municipal government, make clear that the complete independence of the city from the state is not a satisfactory remedy for legislative interference. And while restrictions on special legislation and local charter conventions for the larger cities are steps in the right direction, the limitation on legislative control which they involve must be supplemented by the fuller development of other methods of control, which will be free from the evils that have accompanied the excessive dependence on the legislature. What these methods should be may be suggested by an examination of other forms of control already in existence.

Judicial Control.

To a considerable extent municipal officials are subject to the control of the judicial authorities. Suits may be brought against municipal corporations to enforce contract rights, and to some extent for damages due to negligence on the part of the agents of the municipality. Suits for damages may also be brought against municipal officials for acts performed without warrant of law. Municipal officials are also subject to criminal prosecution, not only for purely private acts, but also for misconduct in connection with their official duties. In addition to these judicial remedies to redress wrongful acts, the courts also exercise some preventive control over the acts of officials through the issue of writs of *mandamus*, *injunction*, *certiorari*, *habeas corpus*, *quo warranto* and the like by which they enforce statutory provisions governing the powers and duties of these officials.

There is little or no opposition to this judicial control, and almost the only criticism made of it is that it is not always adequate to meet the situation. Criminal prosecutions depend for their success on the action of local prosecuting officers, local juries and local judges, who may have close political relations with the officials under trial; but recent events in different parts of the country speak well for the working of the local machinery of criminal justice. Other difficulties arise from the precautions of our judicial system in favor of persons accused of crime, which add to the difficulties of conviction, and often secure acquittal or a new trial on a technical appeal to a higher court. And in the exercise of control through special writs, judges are extremely careful not to interfere with the discretionary powers of administrative officials, even when these may have been clearly abused. Evidently there is need for some further development of state control. Something may perhaps be done in strengthening the judicial powers in this direction; but something of a different nature must be devised to exercise the supervision heretofore so badly attempted through the detailed legislative control, whose abandonment has been urged.

Administrative Control.

It remains to examine the supervision exercised by executive and administrative officers of the central state governments. Fifty years ago or less no such supervision existed over municipal officials, nor was there any effective administrative supervision even of local officials, such as sheriffs and prosecuting attorneys, who were clearly and directly subordinate agents of the state governments. In England from the time of the Normans to the Tudors the important local officers had been both appointed by the Crown and closely supervised in their actions by the Privy Council. But the internal conflicts of the seventeenth century resulted in breaking up the machinery of administrative control, although the principal local officials continued to be appointed by the central government. This system was brought over to the American colonies; but here it was completely decentralized by substituting local election for central appointment, while the régime of no administrative supervision was continued.

Compared with conditions in continental Europe or with those in Great Britain at the present time, or even with our own national

administration, central administrative control of local officials in the American states is still very limited; and this is particularly so in the case of municipal officials. Nevertheless, there has been some development in this direction from the conditions during the first half of the nineteenth century; and an understanding of this development and the present situation may serve to indicate some features of our future policy. In this examination attention will be given to administrative supervision not only over municipal officials, but over all local officials established and authorized by the states.

Such supervision first appeared and has been furthest developed in connection with educational administration. Here decentralization was carried to the extreme in the petty school district; but over the local school authorities there is now in all of the states a superintendent of public instruction, a board of education, or other central authority. The powers of those state educational officials vary to some extent; but in most states they have control over the distribution of state school funds, direct the county supervision of schools, exercise control over the qualifications and training of teachers, and receive reports from all local school officers. In some states their powers are more extensive, most of all in New York, where the commissioner of education exercises supervision over elementary, secondary and higher education; while everywhere the state officials wield a large advisory influence beyond their compulsory powers.

Another field of state administrative supervision of local officials is that of matters affecting the public health. Most of the states have a state board of health, which act as bureaus of information and advice to local health officers; and in certain cases of delinquency can compel the local officers to take action.

In a similar way local charitable and correctional institutions are, in some of the larger states, brought under the inspection of state boards; which exercise an important advisory influence over both local authorities and the legislature, and in some cases may require the local officials to remedy serious defects or to introduce improvements.

Some steps have also been taken in establishing administrative supervision over local assessing officers. Many of the states now have state boards of equalization, which revise the total assessed valuation of local districts, so as to apportion the state property tax

more equitably. In a number of states, certain property formerly assessed by local officers is now assessed by a state authority. And in a few states, notably Wisconsin and Michigan, state tax commissioners are given effective powers of supervision over local assessing officers in assessing property even for local taxation.

A fairly uniform line of development has been followed in connection with such state officials. When first established they are only authorized to collect information and make recommendations. Then this authority is made more effective by empowering them to require reports and by enlarging their powers and means of inspection. This is followed by some negative or preventive control, by the power to establish regulations, and in some cases by authority to use compulsory processes or remove delinquent local officials.

It is generally recognized that the supervision of such state authorities as have been noted has worked for the improvement of public administration in the fields under their control. Even where they have only informational and advisory functions, something has been accomplished; and more has been done where their powers and means are larger. They have had two distinct advantages over the legislatures and legislative committees. In the first place, by specialization of functions and longer service they become to some extent at least experts in the particular subject; in the second place, partisan influences have been to a large extent excluded, and the control exercised has not been abused for partisan ends.

Would not a further development of such administrative supervision in municipal matters be advisable? Does not the existence of so many associations of municipal officials, for the purpose of collecting and comparing information about their work, show that in this field as in others, while "power may be decentralized, knowledge to be most useful must be centralized."⁷ The collection and publication of municipal information can be more effectively done by an official state authority than by purely voluntary action; and the recommendations of such a central state bureau, based on adequate and accurate data, would serve to solve many of the difficulties of municipal administration.

Besides the work of information and advice, there are some branches of municipal government where further state administrative supervision would operate to the advantage both of the cities

⁷ J. S. Mill: *Representative Government*.

and of the state as a whole. In the field of municipal finances the task of securing satisfactory data can only be accomplished on the basis of scientific and uniform method of keeping accounts in all of the cities. In most American cities municipal accounts and financial reports are still unintelligible to the ordinary citizen; and even where an understandable system is adopted in a particular city it is likely to be of little use in making comparisons with other cities using other systems. It is only on the basis of a uniform system that accurate and comparable information can be secured; and this can be secured only through a general law enforced by state officials. Some progress has been made in this direction in a few states. Wyoming for a number of years has had an examiner of public accounts, exercising powers over the financial accounts and reports of local officials similar to those in most states exercised over the accounts of banking and insurance companies. More recently Massachusetts and New York have enacted statutes providing for uniform financial reports from cities; while Ohio four years ago established an effective law for uniform municipal accounting in that state under the direction of the auditor of the state. Similar measures are being discussed in other states; and should be encouraged.

Another field where there is special need for state administrative supervision is that of the police. The courts have repeatedly recognized that in the control over the police, municipal officials are acting not as local authorities, but as agents of the state. And this view has often been made the excuse for vesting the police administration of some cities completely in state appointed authorities. This special treatment of particular cities cannot be defended on any general principle; but the judicial view of the state's authority and the interests of the state as a whole in an effective and honest police administration do warrant a general system of supervision in this field. This is not introducing any novel idea into our system of government, nor does it require any elaborate system of new officials to put it into effect. All that is necessary is to energise one of the oldest factors in our system of local government. Make it the specific duty of the county sheriffs, the responsible peace officers, to inspect the local police within their jurisdiction, and to report periodically to the governor of the state; and give to the governors in all states a power, now partially given in some,^{*} to remove delinquent sheriffs or other local police officers.

^{*} New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

To summarize: The demand for municipal home rule should be made more specific and more definite. It must be made clear that what is wanted is, not a revolution involving the complete separation of the cities from the state, but a larger freedom in matters of local concern from the restrictions of detailed municipal legislation, while retaining the control of the judiciary and asking for the assistance and supervision of state officers in securing the highest and the best municipal administration in the world.

HOME RULE CHARTER MOVEMENTS IN MISSOURI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KANSAS CITY

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While in the great majority of important matters the citizens of Kansas City have home rule, the schools, police and elections are not subjects of charter regulation, but are managed under state laws. The schools are under control of a board of citizens elected by the voters of the city. Recognizing the importance of keeping the schools free from politics the two political parties by common understanding without statute requiring it, have from the very beginning of the school system established the practice that each convention of the two parties should nominate only one-half the members of this board. The schools are thus freed from the scramble by political parties and the board is never filled by men of one party alone. No contributions for political purposes are, or ever have been, exacted from teachers or other employees of the school board, and the latter has never aided any party, but is as nearly non-partisan as it can be. The same persons are re-elected to the board time and again, serving the city earnestly and without compensation. In consequence the schools and the public library, which is also under charge of the school board, are entirely satisfactory.

In the management of the police, the city has not been equally fortunate. The police department is managed under state law by a board of three police commissioners, the mayor of the city *ex officio*, and two appointed by the governor of the state. The appointees of the governor, being in no way accountable to the city, can do and generally do as they please, or as the dominant party in the state pleases they shall. The city, in Missouri, cannot control the police but the police can, and generally do, control the city.

So long as governors and police commissioners have, and cannot help but have, political predilections, it is difficult to see how

this influence can be avoided when a wink will always be as good and usually more effective than an order. The state law should permit the commissioners to be elected by the people, as is the case with the school board, leaving the citizens to work out a method of insuring and of compelling their non-partisanship.

Although the election commissioners, three in number, having control of all elections, including city elections, are appointed by the governor and regulate the matter of elections under a state law, Kansas City has been free from trouble from this source, as the men appointed on this board, though generally active politicians, and inclined to appoint party workers as judges and clerks of elections, have performed the duties of registration and election control honestly and in such manner as to disarm criticism.

In most other respects than those mentioned, Kansas City has had a large measure of home rule through its charter, framed in 1889 pursuant to provisions of the constitution of Missouri of 1875, which constitution was adopted March 24, 1875, ratified by the people October 30, 1875, and went into effect November 30th of the same year.

Under this law a city of over 100,000 population may cause a board of thirteen freeholders to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. These freeholders must within ninety days after their election submit to the mayor of the city a draft of a charter. Within thirty days thereafter this proposed charter must be submitted to the qualified voters of the city and becomes the organic law of the city if it receives in its favor four-sevenths of all votes cast at the election. Any charter thus adopted can be amended by a three-fifths vote of the qualified voters at a general or special election. Such charter must always be in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of the state.

The Kansas City charter of 1853, modeled after and largely copied from the then existing charter of St. Joseph, was in force, with amendments made thereto, until 1875. In the winter of 1874-5 the citizens of Kansas City, stirred up by some efforts being made by interested parties to foist upon them, through the legislature, charter amendments not to their liking, held a mass meeting of citizens, which appointed a committee of thirteen, with William Warner, then mayor of the city (now United States Senator) as chairman, to draft a new charter to be submitted to the legislature then

in session. Judge F. M. Black, one of the members of the constitutional convention, was a member of this Kansas City committee. The charter proposed was approved March 24, 1875, and was put into operation before the constitution of 1875 took effect. The idea that a committee of citizens might draft a charter for the city, complete in every detail, and submit it to the legislature for passage was a modification of the constitutional idea then being discussed in the daily press, and this charter of 1875 of Kansas City, drafted by a citizens' committee of thirteen and thus adopted, was doubtless the first exercise of this home rule charter idea, and is noteworthy in municipal history. This charter of 1875 with amendments thereto was the charter of Kansas City until 1889.

The state constitution of 1875 was at the time of its adoption much discussed by the press and aroused earnest popular interest. The records of the proceedings and debates of the constitutional convention embrace sixty volumes of about 300 pages each, showing the great care and consideration bestowed on this remarkable instrument. The provisions of the constitution authorizing cities to frame their own charters was first put into operation in St. Louis, as that city was the only one in the state at that time having even approximately the requisite number of inhabitants.

Although the constitution of 1875 gave cities the right to frame their own charters, the chief object sought to be accomplished by the framers was not the emancipation of the city of St. Louis from legislative control but to allow it to enlarge its limits and cut loose from the county, thus exempting its property from taxation for county purposes. Kansas City is still part of a county, and much of the taxation originating in its limits is diverted for county purposes, including the county tax on saloons, amounting to about \$200,000 a year, which fund is used for county roads outside the city limits. Several unsuccessful efforts have been made by Kansas City to divorce itself from the county. This could only be done by legislative enactment, and such legislation invariably meets opposition from the county representatives assisted by the country element of the legislature, always opposed to city encroachments.

August 27, 1876, the citizens of St. Louis ratified a charter proposed to them by thirteen freeholders previously elected to frame such charter for them. James O. Broadhead, who had been chairman of the St. Louis delegation in the constitutional convention, was the president of this board of freeholders.

At the time of the adoption of the constitution of 1875 Kansas City had a population of only about 50,000, and it was not until about 1887 that the city attained the requisite population of over 100,000. In order to avail itself of the constitutional provision, the friends of Kansas City succeeded, on March 10, 1887, in obtaining from the legislature an act known as the Enabling Act, providing specifically how the constitutional method might be carried out. Section 14 of this act provided that any city, for the purpose of ascertaining its population, might take a census which would be binding on all courts of the state without proof. At this time (1887) the city had increased in wealth and volume of business, and the charter of 1875 was too narrow in many ways for its growing needs, especially in matters of public improvements and parks and boulevards. The matter of granting franchises with little thought or consideration had become of importance as the old horse railways had grown into cable systems, having great political power, and earning wealth for their promoters.

Following out a general demand for something new, freeholders were nominated by the mayor and council to frame a new charter under ordinance passed May 24, 1887, and on October 4, 1887, thirteen freeholders were elected by the people. Their work was submitted to the people and rejected January 30, 1888, and by the decisive vote of 1,996 to 2,613. The influence most potent in the defeat of this charter of 1888 was that of the street railway companies. The charter proposed provided for the sale of franchises and renewals thereof at public auction to the highest bidder, and also authorized any street railway company to run its cars over the tracks of any other street railway company in the city by paying reasonable compensation under rules to be prescribed by the common council. Another stand taken by the freeholders was fought bitterly. The people in the southern part of the city were anxious for a bond issue to close up O. K. Creek sewer, a disagreeable and unhealthful open stream; the people at the other end of the city were equally anxious for a bond issue to build a city hall in their part of the city. The freeholders, imbued by the old idea that a municipality should pay as it went, refused to incorporate any bond authorization. One of the freeholders having large property interests in the O. K. Creek sewer district refused to sign the completed document and spoke and worked against it; and although the

freeholders and their advocates maintained that taxes were reduced, public improvements provided for, and a burdensome city debt positively forbidden, the proposed charter was doomed. At a meeting at Turner Hall, January 24, 1888, called by the Central Labor Union, a resolution was passed condemning the charter. Considerable feeling was engendered during the campaign, the newspapers advocating the charter, dubbing the opposition "strikers" and "boodlers," and the opposing press denominating the charter as a "silk stocking" movement and denouncing the "arrogance that would make the people take what they did not want," and commenting on the result as an "indication of the right of criticism and an indication of its power." The mistake made by the freeholders, from a practical standpoint, was their failure to take advantage of the authority given by law to present mooted or debatable questions in the alternative so that the opponents of any particular proposition might vote for or against that proposition without voting against the whole charter. The truth was that the freeholders antagonized selfish interests without inserting into the proposed charter any pet wants of the people or of any particular class. Notwithstanding the fact that the constitution itself required all special charters to provide for a bi-cameral council, this feature was urged as an objection to it. Notwithstanding the defeat of this charter it was generally felt that some more modern instrument was necessary to supplant the old charter of 1875, and an ordinance was passed October 20, 1888, providing for a special election of thirteen freeholders to draft a new charter, and on April 9, 1889, the charter prepared by them was ratified by the people by a vote of 3,493 in favor of the charter and 334 against it. There were four points which made the charter of 1889, which is our present charter, succeed where the charter of 1888 failed:

1st. Unlike the charter of 1888, the freeholders submitted alternative sections on matters concerning which there were wide differences of opinion. The voters were to decide (a) whether they would have \$500,000 of bonds for O. K. Creek sewer and the city hall or no bonds at all, and (b) whether the saloon licenses should be \$250 or \$500 a year. In order that any voter be allowed to vote on either of the above propositions it was necessary that he vote for the rest of the charter. The result was a large vote, and the charter carried with good margin.

2d. The provision of the defeated charter concerning the sale of franchises to the highest bidder and the use of its tracks by other railway companies was quietly dropped.

3d. The interest on special tax bills was reduced from 15 per cent. to 10 per cent. A provision was made for paying special assessments for grading and paving in installments.

4th. One provision that had worked against the rejected charter was the procedure for condemnation of property without due notice to parties interested. This was changed so that no condemnation proceedings could be instituted without apprising the parties in interest.

One of the innovations of the charter was the inauguration of a board of public works to have charge of the city's properties and of public work. This board consists of four members, one the president of the upper house of the common council, the other three to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the upper house in such a manner that not over two members of the board should be of the same political party. The organization of this board expedited public business by allowing the city engineer more time for his routine business.

Before this charter was submitted to the people it was evident that there was little or no opposition to it as it seemed to be favorably considered by all; the Commercial Club endorsed it; the bond and anti-bond people were both eager to vote for it in order to vote for or against bonds; the street railway people were content; and the saloon and brewery element determined to vote for the rest of the charter in order to insure a \$250 saloon tax.

This charter of 1889 has by the vote of the people been somewhat modified by subsequent amendments, chief among which have been the extension of the city limits; the voting of bonds for purchase of water works; and the adoption of an article inaugurating the present park system at an election held June 6, 1895, under ordinance approved April 18, 1895. The provisions of this park article were held constitutional by the Supreme Court in the case of *Kansas City vs. Ward*, 134 Mo. 172. All of these amendments were severely contested before being adopted.

On September 23, 1904, an ordinance was approved by the mayor of Kansas City providing for a special election of another board of thirteen freeholders to draft a new charter, setting the eighth day

of November, 1904, as the date for the election. This charter failed to carry March 7, 1905, by a vote of 11,156 against the charter and 9,979 for the charter. The main reason why a new charter was demanded at this time was because the existing charter failed to give the city many powers urgently needed by it, among these adequate power to condemn property for hospitals, the power to construct "septic" sewers or to furnish money to pay for them; the power to acquire outlets outside of the city for sewer purposes; to levy special assessments against railroad property; to construct viaducts, subways, cuts and tunnels needed to give adequate communication between the two Kansas cities, and between the various parts of Kansas City, Mo. Under the existing charter the city was prohibited from making a contract for more than one year. This prevented it from making satisfactory arrangement for the disposition of its garbage and its street repairs. There was also a general popular demand for local control of the police and of the liquor licenses. Under the charter of 1889 saloons are licensed and controlled by the police board.

When the Kansas City charter of 1889 was adopted by the people there was a provision voluntarily put in that charter to the effect that before an application for a license to keep a saloon should be received there must be endorsed thereon a certificate signed by the Board of Police Commissioners that such applicant had proved himself to be a person of good character. The charter also voluntarily granted to the police commissioners the right to revoke liquor licenses when it was shown that the dramshop keeper was maintaining a disorderly house. The charter of 1889 voluntarily gave over these powers to police commissioners, accountable not to the city but the state, believing at the time that it was for the best interest of the city that the saloons and police should be under one control. But as the courts decided that the propriety of issuing and revoking a license in any given case was a pure matter of discretion of the police commissioners (*ex parte* Joffe, 6 M. A. 360), it was soon discovered that these powers given to the police commission were whips that could be used with astounding effect on the saloon element. Power over the saloons also meant control of the breweries which in Kansas City own and manage a large proportion of the saloons. Recognizing the immense additional political power with which they had endowed this already powerful police commis-

sion, and over which the citizens of the city had no control by their votes either directly or indirectly, the people made urgent demand for some sort of a readjustment of police and saloon management, and when the charter movement in 1904 started, one of the hopes of the people was that the freeholders in framing their charter would separate the police from the saloon management by taking back for the city its right to control the licensing of saloons and vesting it in a local board or commission constituted for that purpose. Under the decision of the courts the charter could not change the control of the police commissioners over the police, as this was held to be the exclusive right of the legislature, the police being held to be state officers under the law.

As both political parties in their latest platforms had declared in favor of civil service, the proposed charter incorporated an article based on the New York Roosevelt Civil Service Act embracing all laborers, employees and officials of the city, except elective officers and specifically named members of boards and heads of departments with their confidential deputies. This department was to be under control of a bi-partisan continuing board of five to be appointed by the mayor. Competitive examinations for city service were required and it was stipulated that the person standing highest on such examination should be certified for appointment. In order to insure discipline absolute right of discharge was given to heads of departments. Provision was made for employment of laborers in the order of their applications.

New articles were also inserted concerning "city hospitals," a matter of present importance as the city is now building a large new hospital. The hospitals were, under regulations taken from the New York City charter governing the allied hospitals, to be placed under the control of a bi-partisan board of five to be appointed by the mayor, no physician or surgeon being allowed to serve on this board. A "Health and Public Charities" Department to have control of "all measures already in force and which may hereafter be adopted having for their purpose the protection of the lives and preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the city," was to be under the charge of another continuing board of five citizens to be appointed by the mayor, two to be licensed physicians, one a veterinary surgeon, and the two remaining members, the mayor and chief of police *ex officio*,

The Hospital Department was to have charge and control of "all provisions which have been made and which may hereafter be made of all property, institutions and instrumentalities which are now owned or controlled and which may hereafter be owned or controlled by the city for the care and treatment of the sick and injured." In addition to these three entirely new articles incorporated into the new charter, a street cleaning article was adopted, providing adequate arrangements for the cleaning of the city's streets by setting apart 7 per cent. of the city's general revenue for that particular purpose, and distributing the work over the city in proportion to the taxes paid by each district of the city.

The charter proposed concentrated responsibility and the appointing power in the mayor instead of requiring the appointments to be confirmed by the upper house of the common council, as is the case in our present charter. Following the best systems of municipal accounting, it corrected the present lack of central direction and control and of correlation in the accounts of the different departments, the lack of proper safeguards in the charging up of assets and revenues, and provided for one account which should exhibit the financial condition of the city at any time. It also introduced uniformity in all the accounts and fixed responsibility on the officer responsible therefor. The whole charter was built on the theory of definitely locating responsibility so that the people might know whom to praise or blame in every department.

The leading reasons why this charter of 1905 was rejected were:

1. While no outspoken opposition was made to the civil service article, on account of the fact that both political parties had previously declared themselves in favor of civil service reform, the charter was quietly and with unanimity opposed by "politicians" of both parties and their "friends." The first board of civil service commissioners was named in the charter itself, which aroused some further opposition.

2. The proposed charter provided a board of three, to be appointed by the mayor, to have charge of the granting and revoking of saloon licenses to supplant the control of saloons then possessed by the Board of Police Commissioners appointed by the governor. It is probable that the police department and saloons were opposed to this provision as a unit.

3. The saloon and brewery element also opposed the charter because of the following provisions:

"It shall be the duty of the board to enter of record an order withdrawing any certificate given by it on which a license has been issued by the city auditor, whenever requested so to do, in writing, filed with the secretary more than twenty days before such license will expire, by two or more resident real estate owners in the block where the saloon so licensed is located, or whenever, for any cause, such board shall see fit to do so; and it shall then be necessary for such licensee to make a new application for license and obtain a new certificate from said board before another license can be issued to him."

The saloon element and the brewery interests claimed that this clause put it into the power of two real estate owners to peremptorily take away their licenses; while the charter advocates maintained that such real estate owners could by virtue of this article only cause the saloon keeper to appear and make his showing that he was conducting a reputable saloon.

4. Many large property owners opposed the charter because it took away the 6 per cent. rebate for prompt payment of taxes that existed in previous charters.

5. The labor unions (not as a body, but as individuals) opposed the charter because they had no representation on the board of freeholders, and for the further reason that the charter did not provide for the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and also for the reason that it granted to the common council "the power to license, tax and regulate all trades, professions, pursuits or employments not hereinbefore enumerated, of whatever name or character, like or unlike, and fix the amount of license tax to be paid thereon," which they maintained would be a tax on the shovel and the dinner pail.

6. A large number of influential lawyers voted and quietly worked against the charter for the reason that it made such extensive changes in the special tax bill system for public improvements, a system which they argued had cost thousands of dollars to have interpreted by the courts, and because the provisions proposed as substitutes or changes in many other sections were "experimental."

7. The charter proposed a system of hospital management, putting this department in charge of a bi-partisan board of five and named the first incumbents in the charter itself. This hospital act

was opposed by some of the physicians for fear lest this or that man or faction might obtain control of the clinics to their disadvantage.

8. Many objected to the proposed charter for the reason that it gave too much power to the mayor, and might assist him in building up a local political machine, and argued that the appointing power in city government should be distributed.

9. The charter of 1889 provided that corner lots as well as inside lots should be taxed for special improvements, such as paving, sidewalks, etc., according to frontages on the improvements. An attempt to relieve these corner lots from part of this taxation received opposition from owners of lots not so situated and also from corner lot owners who had already paid for similar improvements on the old plan.

10. Objections were made to the charter because it provided for too many boards. In addition to the board of public works and of parks and boulevards in the existing charter, the proposed charter provided for boards of citizens to have charge of hospitals, fire departments, civil service, health and public charities and dramshops respectively. As in the case of the existing park board, all of the members of these boards were to serve without compensation except the members of the boards of public works, of dramshops and of civil service. To safeguard these boards from being used as political machines, the charter provided for representation on these boards of more than one political party, and in the case of the dramshop board, it was provided that not more than one of the three members should be of the same political party as the appointing mayor. All of the boards except the dramshop board were to be continuing boards so that there should always be on the board some old members having knowledge of its duties when a new member superseded an old.

In presenting this proposed charter to the people, the freeholders did not offer any alternative sections, as they were authorized to do under the law. It is probable that if the changes concerning saloon management and the civil service article had been so put that the voter might accept or reject either of these questions without voting against the whole charter, not only the charter, but also these provisions might have carried.

In framing the defeated charter of 1905 the freeholders were

influenced by the "municipal program" or model charter of the National Municipal League. It is probable that a study of the charter proposed by them will show that it approaches more nearly the principles advocated by this body than any other city charter.

After the draft of the charter had been put into the hands of the mayor, over 8,550 copies were distributed to the citizens of Kansas City by a committee of fifty citizens appointed by the freeholders for the purpose of putting the proposed charter properly before the voters. This committee did active and enthusiastic work in favor of the charter.

The charter of 1905 received the unanimous support of the Kansas City press. As the day when the charter was to be submitted to the people approached, the newspapers published from day to day, able editorials covering the whole charter in detail. The provision changing the control of the saloons from the police commissioners and vesting it in a locally appointed board, received the especial support of one of the newspapers. After the defeat of the charter this paper at once actively advocated Sunday closing of the saloons. The police commissioners, newly appointed by our present governor, recognized this popular demand and issued orders to that effect, which have since been strictly observed. The charter was endorsed by the Commercial Club, the Real Estate Exchange and other business organizations. The work done by the opposition was done quietly, and few if any public speeches were made by those chiefly interested in its defeat. Although the charter suffered defeat, its friends refused to accept the result as final. The committee of fifty, who had engineered the charter campaign, on March 15, 1905, determined to confer with the various commercial and industrial associations of the city in furtherance of a new charter movement, endeavoring to bring about a harmonious and united effort for the adoption of the charter which had been proposed with such changes therein as might be advisable for the best interests of all the people of Kansas City. Following this effort various associations of the city appointed representatives to confer with them, and such pressure was brought to bear by these influences that on September 11, 1905, an ordinance was approved setting October 24, 1905, as the date for a special election to select another board of freeholders to frame a charter. While the matter was pending, the city comptroller called attention to the fact that the election incident

to this charter movement would cost approximately \$60,000 and that there were no available funds to meet this outlay. Taking this into consideration in connection with the fact that a general election for city officers will be held next March, the common council, believing it would be inadvisable to inject further charter discussion into the midst of this regular city campaign, on September 23, 1905, repealed the ordinance providing for the election of charter freeholders. Another ordinance providing for the election of thirteen freeholders to frame a charter to be elected at the general city election next March is now pending.

Although the charter of 1905 was defeated, the thirteen freeholders who without compensation gave up their whole time for three months to the drafting of the charter should not feel that their work was in vain. The people have been aroused to questions brought out by charter discussion, the settlement of which in the right way will be of inestimable benefit. A charter embodying in tangible form the ideas of thirteen citizens as to the provisions which they believe will be for the best interests of the city has been worked out to the smallest detail and with the greatest care. On this basis freeholders may build a more satisfactory and better charter. Such charter, when adopted, will doubtless be one both practical and scientific; a valuable aid to the right development not only of Kansas City but also of other American cities.

BALTIMORE UNDER ITS NEW CHARTER

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The new charter of Baltimore city was enacted by the legislature and approved by the governor on March 24, 1898, and by its terms went into effect immediately, but as the new officials and boards created by it were not appointed until February, 1900, the municipal government could not be fully organized under it before March 1, 1900; so that on March 1, 1906, it will have been in full operation just six years—a sufficient period to enable us to pass an intelligent judgment upon its general efficiency. Such a judgment, if fairly rendered, must undoubtedly be a favorable one. Without claiming that the instrument is perfect, it is submitted that no candid person, who is at all familiar with the actual results of its operation since it was passed, can avoid the conclusion that it has already greatly improved the administration of our municipal government and affords the opportunity for much further improvement. In order that the manner in which this has been effected may be intelligible to the average reader who is not already familiar with the provisions of the charter, it will be necessary to refer briefly to a few of the more salient features of that instrument.

The executive functions of the municipality are vested in a mayor, who is elected for a term of four years, and in seven executive departments, known as those of Finance, Law, Public Safety, Public Improvements, Public Parks and Squares, Education, Charities and Corrections, and Review and Assessments, together with certain municipal officers not embraced in any department. Each of these departments has its head, either a municipal officer or a municipal board, and most of them are divided up into two or more sub-departments, each of which also has its own appropriate head. Except the comptroller, who is elected by the people, the heads of all departments and of all sub-departments, and all

municipal officials not embraced in any department, as well as all special commissions or boards, are appointed by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the second branch of the city council, for a term of four years, unless otherwise specially provided. The officials so appointed are removable by the mayor at any time during the first six months after appointment at his pleasure, but thereafter may only be removed for cause upon charges preferred and after trial had thereon before him.

The heads of departments, heads of sub-departments, municipal officers not embraced in a department, and all special boards and commissions, have the sole power of appointment and removal at pleasure of their subordinates. The city engineer, water engineer, harbor engineer, inspector of buildings and commissioner of health, are all required to be experts, who have had at least five years' experience in the active practice of their respective professions with the responsible charge of work during that period.

This method of confining the appointments to office by the mayor to the heads of departments, heads of sub-departments, municipal officials not embraced in a department and special commission or boards, and making these appointments generally for a term of four years, subject to confirmation by the second branch of the city council which has only nine members, is a marked improvement over the former method by which the mayor nominated and with the advice and consent of a convention of the two branches of the city council (thirty-six members in all) appointed for a term of two years "all officers under the corporation except the register of the city and clerks employed by the city—or under its authority." For under it appointments to most of the minor offices were usually made at the dictation of the members of the city council or of the local boss who could make out the best claim to the patronage of that office as his especial perquisite. A mayor who failed to recognize the claims of at least a majority of the members of the city council to what they considered their fair proportion of executive patronage could not ordinarily get any of his appointments confirmed by the joint convention. A former mayor has more than once publicly stated that when in office ten or twelve years ago he had to trade off his appointment of two lamplighters and a constable in order to secure the confirmation of the founder of the Enoch Pratt Free Library as a finance commissioner. Since the new charter has been in operation there has been

no such abuse of the power of confirmation lodged in the second branch nor has any proper appointment of any mayor ever yet been held up or turned down by that body. Now the mayor has, or ought to have, nothing whatever to do with the appointment of minor officers. This power is committed to the discretion of the heads of the various departments who are held responsible for any inefficiency on the part of their subordinates. Of course, a mayor, who chooses to do so, *may*—at least during the first six months after he has appointed the head of a department—exercise great influence in dictating whom that officer shall appoint as his subordinates, but both our late mayor and present mayor have absolutely refused to interfere in any manner with the exercise of the discretion given by the charter to the heads of departments in appointing these subordinates, and if their successors in office are wise and desire to have successful administrations they will do well to follow this example.

It must be admitted, however, that while this system has worked satisfactorily so far, the supreme test as to its practicability has yet to be applied. Mayor Hayes, under whom the new charter first went into full operation, was elected as a Democrat and appointed all his heads of departments from that party. He was succeeded in May, 1903, by Mayor McLane, who was also elected as a Democrat and made his appointments in the following September from the same party, most if not all of them being selected on grounds of fitness and capacity for the discharge of their official duties. Although in making these appointments he confined himself to those affiliated with his own party, except where the law provided for minority representation on boards, he refused to submit to any dictation from the party managers as to what persons he should appoint. In some cases he reappointed the same officials who had served under his predecessor, and in all cases, while holding each departmental head strictly responsible for the proper administration of his department, he refused to interfere in any way to influence the latter's selection of the subordinates through whom it was to be operated. Mayor McLane's sudden death on May 30, 1904, after he had been in office little more than a year, devolved the duties of the office for the remainder of his four years' term upon Hon. E. Clay Timanus, president of the second branch of the city council, who had been elected to that office as a Republican at the same time that Mr. McLane was chosen mayor as a Democrat, so that the various heads

of departments having nearly all been appointed by the latter for terms of four years, which will not expire until after a new mayor shall be elected, and having all been in office over six months, they were not removable by Mayor Timanus except for cause after charges preferred and trial had before him, and no such removals have ever been attempted.

Whether the mayor to be elected in May, 1907, will, after appointing his heads of departments, and during the six months while he will have power to remove them at pleasure, attempt to influence them to appoint their subordinates with a view to promote partisan political aggrandizement rather than the efficiency of the public service, is a matter for the future to determine. But we may expect with reasonable certainty that the longer such an attempt is postponed, the greater opposition will it encounter from public sentiment.

The legislative department of the city government consists of the first and second branches of the city council. The first branch is composed of twenty-four members, one of whom is elected by each ward of the city every two years. The second branch consists of nine members. Its president is elected by the city at large at the same time as the mayor for a term of four years, and in case of vacancy in the office of mayor by death, resignation or permanent disqualification, becomes mayor for the remainder of said term. Of the eight other members, two are elected by each councilmanic district of six wards, each for a term of four years, but so that the terms of four of the members, one from each district, shall expire every second year. Thus municipal elections are held once in every two years for all members of the first branch and half the members of the second branch; and they are held once in four years for mayor, president of the second branch and comptroller. These elections are held in May, six months before the state and federal elections.

One result of the separate municipal spring election was a decided improvement in the character of the men sent to the city council—notably in the members of the second branch, four of whom were elected every second year, one from each legislative district of the city, embracing six wards. There has been also some improvement, although not so much, in the members of the first branch, one of whom is elected every second year from each ward. These elec-

tions have also had the beneficial effect of taking municipal affairs to a considerable extent out of the control of the regular political party managers. While it still remains true that no one can reasonably expect to be elected to any municipal office without getting either a nomination or an endorsement from one or the other of the leading political parties of the state, there is nevertheless so much more independent voting at these spring elections than at those which have to do with state or national politics, that the independent voters hold the balance of power in them by so much wider a margin as frequently to cause the result to be determined by considerations other than purely political ones.

For example, in the spring election of 1903 Mr. McLane, the Democratic candidate for mayor, was elected by a plurality of 564 votes, while Mr. Timanus, the Republican candidate for president of the second branch of the city council, was elected by a plurality of 2,045 and Mr. Heffner, the Republican candidate for comptroller, was elected by a plurality of 795. At the state election in November of the same year all candidates upon the Democratic ticket carried the city of Baltimore by pluralities ranging from 9,640 to 3,765. One result of these elections was the introduction into the next legislature of a bill—which, according to the newspapers, had the support of the managers of both political parties,—abolishing spring elections and going back to the old system by which the mayor's appointments were made subject to the confirmation of a joint convention of both branches of the city council instead of by the second branch only. This bill was rushed through the legislature but happily, for the cause of municipal reform, was vetoed by the governor. But for this, much of the good effect of the new charter would have been lost.

Perhaps the most beneficent feature of the charter is the restriction which it imposes upon the city council in the matter of spending money. Apparently the great object in life of the average city councilman is to have as many people appointed to office from, and as much public money spent in the ward or district he represents as possible, and in order to accomplish this he resorts to that system of give and take which has caused the river and harbor appropriation bill of Congress to be popularly known as "the Great Divide." Formerly when some public improvement was really needed in one of the wards, the councilman from that ward in order

to get it would often have to vote for appropriations for expenditures of a like amount in a majority, at least, of the other wards, many of which were not really needed.

This system has been done away with under the new charter by conferring the sole power of making appropriations upon a Board of Estimates consisting of the mayor, the president of the second branch, the comptroller—all of whom are elected by the people—and the city solicitor and city engineer, both of whom are appointed by the mayor. Prior to October 1st of every year the head of each department is required to furnish this board with his estimate of the money required for his department during the next year, and from these estimates and such other *data* as they can obtain the board prepares and submits to the city council an itemized appropriation bill for all sums of money required to be spent by the city during the coming year (including such public improvements as it may deem necessary or expedient to be made). At the same time it fixes the tax levy for the next year at a rate sufficient to meet the expenditures so recommended, together with a contingent fund of \$50,000 provided to meet any unforeseen emergencies that may arise. When this ordinance comes before the city council for its action it may reduce or strike out, but may not increase any item, nor may it insert any new ones, and it may increase but may not diminish the rate of the tax levy.

The new financial system thus established has so far worked admirably. Its fundamental provision is that no money shall be paid out under any appropriation until the money for that appropriation is actually in the city treasury, and no appropriation can be used for any purpose other than that expressly named in the ordinance. Under the former system whenever money was needed it was raised by temporary loans, which became a floating debt, and when this grew too large to be carried as such it was funded and a bonded indebtedness created. The new system not only prohibited but made absolutely null and void the creation in the future of any temporary loan or floating debt with the single exception of allowing a temporary loan to be met by taxes in the process of collection. That this system is a good practicable working one is demonstrated by the fact that it stood the test of the time of stress following our great fire in February, 1904, so successfully that no changes in it were then found necessary. In the report of Mayor Hayes for the year

ending December 31, 1902, he calls attention to the fact that during the years 1894 to 1898, inclusive, the city paid out as interest on its temporary loans \$553,314.77, and during the years 1898 to 1902, inclusive, it received as interest on its cash balance in banks \$132,262.97, making a saving of \$685,577.74 in the matter of interest alone. The tax rate had in the meantime been steadily reduced as shown by the following table:

Rate for 1896.....	\$2.00	Rate for 1900.....	\$1.67
" 1897.....	2.00	" 1901.....	1.81½
" 1898.....	2.25	" 1902.....	1.95
" 1899.....	1.98	" 1903.....	1.86¾

He also calls attention to the fact that the sinking fund which had been so often plundered and robbed under previous administrations in order to keep down the tax rate is now kept sacred, and during his administration (of a little over three years and a half) had been increased \$8,276,395.61. He further says: "The public money has been honestly and economically expended, and full value has in all cases been received. No jobs or rake-offs on contracts have been tolerated. The lowest responsible bidders, without the necessity of seeking outside aid, have been the ones who have done the work or furnished supplies for the city. Specifications which require the broadest competition have always been required, and favoritism in awarding contracts is unknown in the government of Baltimore." All this I believe to be strictly true, and I also agree with the mayor in his statement that the exercise of the functions and powers of the Board of Estimates has been the principal agency in the improvement of our city government, although I think it no more than just to add that the Board of Awards (consisting of the same officials who compose the Board of Estimates, excepting that the city register is substituted for the city engineer), is an agency second only to the Board of Estimates in its importance. It is made the duty of this board to advertise in two or more daily newspapers for at least ten days for proposals before any contract is made for any public work or the purchase of any supplies or materials for the city involving the expenditure of over \$500, and to award all such contracts under regulations prescribed by law to the lowest responsible bidder. The results of the work of this board have proved most satisfactory.

A striking illustration of these results is to be found in the reforms in the city engineer's department which has charge of all the street paving. In Mayor Hayes' report, already quoted, he mentions that vitrified brick on sand foundation had cost during his administration \$1.45 per square yard, while during previous administrations, from 1881 to 1894, it had varied from \$1.80 to \$3.67 per square yard. He also states that the average cost of Belgian block laid during his administration had been \$1.92 per square yard, while some work on this pavement done by day labor during the years 1889 to 1894, inclusive, had cost from \$3.30 to \$14.97 per square yard. In this connection it may be mentioned that some years ago a story was told about town to the effect that when some man remonstrated with one of his visitors for spitting on his new Brussels carpet which he said had cost him \$3.50 per yard, the visitor retorted that he was accustomed to spit upon the pavement on Gay street which cost \$7.50 per yard. Investigation by officials of the present department has since disclosed the fact that the Gay street paving thus referred to really cost the city over \$14.50 per square yard.

Great improvements have also been made in the management of the city jail. In the year 1898, 649 inmates were there entertained at an average cost of \$47.14 per head. This expense has been gradually reduced until during the year 1904 the cost of 679 persons was only \$29.45 per head, while the inmates appear to be equally comfortable and secure and are given better food.

But the greatest reforms seem to have been accomplished in the Department of Education. Formerly the public school board consisted of twenty-four members, elected annually by the city council, one from each ward, upon the nomination of the councilman from that ward, and it is needless to say that this body ran the public schools mainly upon the patronage system. At present, the school board consists of nine members appointed by the mayor from the city at large and selected for their fitness for the office. They are all appointed for a term of six years, but so that the terms of three of them expire every second year. They conduct the schools wholly upon the merit system, and as a natural consequence have greatly improved them. The following extract from its report to the mayor, dated June 19, 1901, concisely tells the story: "While new schools and new positions have been established—while many salaries have been raised and none decreased—the total cost of

public instruction has not been augmented. The amount estimated by the former board for the year 1900 was \$1,385,309; the amount actually appropriated for that year by the mayor and city council was \$1,298,870. This board entered upon its duties March 1, 1900, two months after the appropriation for that year had become available. At the end of the year there were unexpended balances amounting to \$39,104.63, which were paid into the sinking fund." To this may be added that the amounts expended for the day schools (exclusive of salaries) were, in 1898, \$187,936.13; in 1899, \$162,552.61; in 1900, \$98,968.15; 1901, \$89,314.70; in 1902, \$110,939.70; the increase of over \$20,000 in the latter year being owing to the great rise in the price of coal. But even then the money spent was \$5,860.30 less than the appropriation made.

The expenses for the year 1903 were \$127,432.13; for the year 1904, \$136,822.50; and there has been appropriated for the expenses of the current year 1905 the sum of \$144,747.50. This increase during the last three years includes some \$15,000 spent for portable school houses which have but recently been introduced into our system, and also the cost of an extensive laboratory equipment and books of reference provided for the City College and the five high schools, besides the establishment of manual training centers and cooking schools. But it will be noted that with all these additional outlays the appropriation for the current year is still some \$43,000 less than the amount expended in 1898 under the old régime, when the number of pupils actually attending the schools was 1,734 less than last year. The amount paid for salaries in the year 1899 was \$1,121,407; the amount appropriated for that purpose for the present year 1905 is \$1,214,360. In 1899 there were 1,802 teachers employed, with an average attendance of 53,728 pupils; while in 1904 there were only 1,737 teachers employed, although the average attendance of pupils had increased to 55,462.

This greater effectiveness of the teaching force has not been accomplished by any falling off in the character or amount of instruction given to pupils, but merely by declining to fill positions which were unnecessary and by reducing the number of teachers employed as principals. The improvement of the schools has been marked in every particular ever since the new board was organized, and their whole management can now be truly said to be entirely

removed from the domain of political influence and conducted upon the most approved modern methods.

The limits of this article preclude the discussion of the great improvements made within the last few years in the administration of the Department of Charities and Corrections which embraces the care of the city poor and the management of the city jail and the various juvenile reformatories, because many of the reforms are partly attributable to influences which had been in active operation for some time before the new charter was enacted, although it is largely through the agencies provided by that instrument that these influences could be effectively exerted.

But one result actually obtained, which it is believed was only made possible by the reformed method adopted in this department, is too striking to be omitted. After the great fire of February 7 and 8, 1904, the legislature appropriated \$250,000 as a contingent fund to relieve cases of destitution and need caused by that fire. The administration of this relief fund was confided to a committee of twenty-seven citizens appointed by the mayor and known as the Mayor's Advisory Relief Committee, the chairman of which was the president of the Board of Supervisors of City Charities. This committee administered relief largely through the various charitable institutions and churches in the city and after expending \$23,212.39 in the relief of every case brought to its attention which the officers considered to be within the purview of the act, returned the remainder of the appropriation to the state treasury. While a similar course might possibly have been followed before the days of the new charter, comparatively few persons can be found who would have deemed it at all likely.

For its great advances made in municipal reforms within the four years, Baltimore is much indebted to the pertinacity and zeal with which the Hon. Thomas G. Hayes, the first mayor elected under the new charter, during the three years and a half of his term of office always insisted upon the rigid observance of the requirements of that instrument in most of its particulars—especially those relating to financial matters. Could he have combined a little more of the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re* which he so constantly exhibited, his administration would doubtless have been even more successful than it was.

In conclusion, should I be asked how the various municipal

reforms above enumerated have been obtained, my answer would be: By recognizing and for a number of years taking advantage of the following facts: 1. That in large cities elections can rarely if ever be carried except through the instrumentality of one of the two great political parties. 2. That whenever there are in any city enough of the voters to hold the balance of power between these two parties, who have been educated to know what municipal reforms are really needed, and who are so impressed with their need that in order to obtain these reforms they are always ready to vote for the candidates for municipal office, irrespective of their political affiliations, whose election will most tend to promote those reforms, and if these voters do not hesitate to let it be publicly known for whom they vote and why they do so, such voters always can and generally will succeed, sooner or later, in obtaining those reforms. How a sufficient number of voters can be best educated as to the need of any particular reform up to the point that will induce them to take the steps required to obtain it must depend upon the exigency of the occasion, but it can always be safely assumed that before any election the result of which appears to be at all doubtful, whenever the politicians know that there is an independent vote large enough to turn the scale either way, the party managers will always be ready to sacrifice much and to promise more in order to capture that vote. Although party pledges made before election cannot always be implicitly relied on, experience has shown that no party can safely afford to ignore them altogether. As an illustration of the permanent character of reforms obtained by the method above indicated, it may be mentioned that although Mayor Hayes by his course in various matters—notably by his firm refusal to permit the city officials and employees under him to be assessed for party purposes—had aroused the hostility of the managers of the Democratic party to such an extent that they determined to defeat his renomination at all hazards, yet the effect produced upon public opinion by the reforms accomplished under the new charter was so great that in order to succeed in their purpose of defeating him they felt obliged to put up as a candidate against him at the primaries our late mayor, the Hon. Robert M. McLane, who in his canvass not only publicly avowed his thorough sympathy with these reforms, but declared his purpose, if elected, to do all in his power to maintain them, and whose high personal character as well as his excellent record during four years'

service in the office of state's attorney furnished a satisfactory guarantee that all promises made by him would be faithfully carried out—as, in fact, they were down to the time of his sudden and lamented death in May, 1904. His successor, Hon. E. Clay Timanus, has up to the present time been discharging the duties of his office in the same spirit and along the same general lines of policy.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT REFORM MOVEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

BY FRANKLIN S. EDMONDS, ESQ.,
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The saying is attributed to Macaulay that "nothing is more humorous than the British public in one of its periodic fits of morality." The thinking people of Philadelphia are now considering whether the recent reform wave, which has reached what is probably its most complete expression in their own city, is a mere periodic fit, or a movement toward higher things with deep-abiding causes and permanent results. For some years the low condition of the political morale in this city has been the cause of widespread comment and criticism; nowhere has the censure been more strong than among the Philadelphians themselves, who may be suspected fairly of a large share in the responsibility for the then existing condition of affairs. The recent election resulted in a sweeping popular condemnation of government by the "Organization," and in order to understand the problem thoroughly, some explanation of this political machine is necessary.

The Organization is the term popularly applied to the irresponsible governing agency which, unknown to either law or constitution, has absolutely controlled the political destinies of Philadelphia during the past decade. Its backbone consisted of the fifteen thousand office-holders—municipal, state and federal—who in one way or another draw salaries from the public purse in exchange for public service. With the election to the Mayoralty of Hon. Samuel H. Ashbridge in 1899, every department was made tributary to its influence; its representatives and agents were to be found in every one of the eleven hundred election divisions of the city. No one could hope to receive public employment unless his application was viséed by his division leader and ward boss. Business men applying to the city authorities for the performance of those services

which the law imposes upon the municipality found in many ways that their applications were treated with scant courtesy unless they were in harmony with the Organization's representatives. The average citizen had been accustomed to follow the line of least resistance in politics; if he adhered to the cardinal maxims of the Organization, "stand pat" and "go along," he was sure of its help in obtaining for himself consideration for his requests and those petty favors such as railroad passes, transfers at schools, complimentary tickets to public entertainments, etc., for which the public have so long depended upon the politicians and which have become the politician's stock in trade in dealing with the non-office-seeking class. The Organization had thus become a vast business system in which the officeholders were the active agents, whose cardinal object was to perpetuate the system in power and themselves in office through their common action and influence.

That this system was dangerous to political independence was thoroughly recognized; that the result might be the establishment of an un-American political dynasty, which might in time lose sight of its responsibility to the people and of its accountability for the use of public purse, was nowhere denied; but in the years of the recent prosperity which Philadelphia, in common with the entire nation, has been enjoying, the average man of business was content to live under an autocratic government, since it left him absolutely free to devote the time to his own private enterprises. Occasionally there were protests heard, but these seemed of no effect. The newspapers of the city have performed a mighty task in keeping awake and prodding public sentiment at a time when even the most optimistic had lost heart. For many years a small group of men, chiefly college graduates, maintained the Municipal League, which was an honest and sincere attempt to organize a permanent municipal party in Philadelphia; but, although the League at one time succeeded in electing a few minority magistrates, yet it had no real strength with the mass of the people. The Democratic party, as the minority national party, might have done much to arouse public sentiment on municipal questions, but through the judicious use of minority patronage, the Organization seemed to be as securely entrenched in one party as in the other. Presently, however, secure in the possession of unlimited power, the Organization threw caution to the winds and entered upon a series of political blunders, of

which its recent repudiation by the people of Philadelphia was the only logical outcome.

Some years ago when the leader of the Organization and his associates were acquiring control of the city it had been their practice to select as candidates for public office business men of high personal repute, and to give to these officials a free hand in the conduct of their offices so long as the subordinates were brought into harmony with the Organization. In the flower of its strength, however, this policy was changed and in place of business men, ward leaders, whose only title to public confidence was the loyalty of their service to the Organization, were placed in power. At the time of the recent election the following important offices were in the hands of men who had received their reward for this cause and no other: Sheriff, County Commissioner, Recorder of Deeds, Register of Wills, City Treasurer, Receiver of Taxes, Harbor Master, Collector of Internal Revenue, Collector of the Port, and several of the magistrates. Coincident with this change in policy came the systematic debauchery of the political life of the city. There was little need of the registry of phantoms as voters, the padding and stuffing of ballot boxes, etc., as the overwhelming Republican majority was quite sufficient under ordinary circumstances to insure the success of any candidates on its ticket. The leaders of the Organization in private have always disclaimed the responsibility for fraud, claiming that it was due to the overzealousness of subordinates, many of whom manufactured majorities in their divisions with the hope of promotion or an increase in salary at the next distribution of municipal patronage. It would be difficult to prove, with the certainty which is required by the law, that these crimes were directly inspired by the leaders of the Organization, but the recent investigations have determined beyond the possibility of doubt that this evil was so widespread that it was inherent in the system and that the perpetrators of wrongdoing were directly encouraged and in many cases rewarded by the Organization which they served.

With this debasement of political morality, there went hand in hand an extraordinary decline in political ideals, especially among the younger men. The custom of the times and the environment suggested a cynical attitude toward political life. Ordinarily it might be expected that leadership in political thought will be recruited largely from among the attorneys whose profession places them in

a position of special responsibility toward the public. All opportunities for public service, however, were closed to the members of this profession, and the other learned professions as well, unless they were willing to sacrifice every shred of independence of thought and action. The rewards for the worship of mammon were most tempting, and those who accepted of them were only too eloquent in justifying themselves by pointing out that the Organization was the necessary result of the logic of the times, and that those who advocated reform were not only morally insincere, but mentally deficient.

Such was the condition of things when in November, 1904, following upon the triumphant re-election of President Roosevelt, who received in Pennsylvania and in Philadelphia majorities unequaled in American political history, the Municipal League disbanded, first calling, however, a meeting of representative citizens at the Bourse, before whom the problem of municipal reform was laid and to whom the question was submitted. This meeting was attended by a large number of representative professional and business men, many of whom had taken no part in former political movements. Especially strong was the element which had hitherto been deterred from political action by the fear that in so doing they would unsettle the system of protective tariffs, which has been a potent factor in the development of Pennsylvania's industrial resources. The re-election of Mr. Roosevelt, however, convinced many honest Republicans that an attack could be made upon the local machine without in any way disturbing the economic policies of the nation. After a preliminary inquiry into the nature of the evils from which Philadelphia was suffering, a Committee of Seventy was organized for the purpose of leading in the fight for higher things. In the preliminary report, which became the basis for the future action of this committee, it was pointed out that the primal source of the misgovernment of Philadelphia lay in the existence of a thoroughly organized, but absolutely irresponsible, political association, which had complete control of the executive, administrative and legislative departments of the government, and which was even then engaged in reaching out its covetous hand toward the judiciary. To fight this Organization effectively, since no appeal could be made to any of the minority parties then existing in Philadelphia, a new party was brought into existence, called

the City Party. A preliminary skirmish was fought in February, when the City Party nominated candidates for offices in several wards, and also placed a magisterial ticket in the field. In order to prevent this new combatant from obtaining some of the minority positions in the magistracy the Organization determined to throw fifty thousand votes of its overwhelming majority to the support of the Democratic candidates. Such was the perfection of political discipline that this plan was carried out with absolute success, and as a result the city party ticket failed everywhere, with the exception of a few school directorships.

But although the first campaign culminated in catastrophe, yet there were many signs that public sentiment was awakening. Public meetings by the score had been held during this campaign, including noonday meetings for business people, and they had been attended with interest and enthusiasm by a large group of people who had previously been absolutely inattentive to their civic responsibilities. Moreover the policy of the Organization in throwing a large quota of its votes to the support of the Democratic candidates, alienated thousands of men who had hitherto tolerated its errors because of their opposition to the principles of the Democratic party. Scarcely had the smoke blown away from this battlefield, however, than the Committee of Seventy, under the guidance of unusually sagacious counsel, commenced a series of prosecutions of election frauds which definitely and conclusively exposed a condition of things which had previously been deemed impossible. It was proven that many election officers were pure myths, and that upon the occasion of an election, men with criminal records had been brought in as impostors from other divisions to serve as election officers, and then after the fraud was accomplished, had disappeared, leaving no trace of their identity. It was proven that when a ballot box was stuffed it was customary to enter upon the list of voters, which the election officers are required to keep, the names of assumed voters, copied alphabetically from the division list; it was proven that names had been voted upon, although their bearers had been dead for a long period of years, or when their owners were not naturalized citizens or had removed to other localities. It had long been suspected that such frauds were practiced in Philadelphia, but with proverbial conservatism the average Philadelphian was unwilling to give credence to suspicions that reflected discredit upon his rulers, until these facts

were made clear even to the dullest and most reluctant comprehension by testimony in the courts of justice. Moreover, the newspapers, with but a single important exception, gave time and space to the examination of municipal wrong-doing, and their admirable work thus paved the way for political revolution.

The passage of the Ripper Bill by the legislature whereby, after 1907, the control of the departments of public safety and public works was vested in councils rather than in the mayor, and the introduction of the proposed extension of the lease of the Philadelphia Gas Works brought public sentiment to a climax. For some months it had been apparent that the mayor of the city, Hon. John Weaver, was not in sympathy with the policy of the Organization, and when, in the desperation of his fight against the gas lease, the mayor dismissed his directors of public safety and public works and appointed men who were loyal to him and to the people, rather than to some outside political authority, it was apparent to all that the opportunity for the people of Philadelphia to regain their freedom had come.

During the summer months political leaders and reformers alike had reached the conclusion that reform was inevitable, but there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the method by which this reform should be accomplished. Upon the one side was a group of honest, well-intentioned men, who regarded Pennsylvania and Philadelphia as so overwhelmingly Republican in their national politics, as to render it necessary that the reform should take place by a movement within the party lines. This sentiment was assiduously encouraged by the leaders of the Organization, who withdrew their own ticket for the county offices to be filled at the November election, and offered to make terms with the Mayor by allowing him to replace a number of the ward leaders with men of his own selection. Upon the other side, was the independent sentiment of the community which regarded the City Party as providentially in position to espouse the people's cause. During the summer months the leaders of this latter party had entrenched themselves in a very strong position. Recognizing the weakness of the Municipal League, they had gone down into the divisions and wherever possible had organized an executive committee of seven men, representative of the best political sentiment in the division. From time to time public meetings were held and a campaign of political education on the

widest possible lines was inaugurated. It is to the eternal credit of Mayor Weaver and his advisers that they refused peremptorily the overtures of the Organization, recognizing clearly that there was no advance in principle in the mere replacement of one set of ward leaders who had been nominated in a large degree by one mayor with a second set to be named in turn by his successor. In the third week of September the Mayor announced his determination to oppose the Organization, and a few days later the City Party held its first primaries and its county convention. A full ticket was put in the field, and during the seven weeks of the campaign the fight was waged with unabated enthusiasm and vigor. In the heat of the battle it is probable that forty to fifty meetings were held nightly, ranging in size from a division meeting of neighbors called at a private house to mass meetings held in the largest halls of the city. It is probable that there never has been a local campaign in which so much literature was circulated. It may happen that the orator will appeal to prejudice and passion, but the wide circulation of statements of cold facts is the best possible proof that, after all, it was the reason of the voters which decided the issue. Noonday meetings were held at all of the large industrial establishments of the city, and thus the arguments reached the working classes.

And now that the campaign has been fought and won, there are a few general reflections which it suggests and which may be of value to other communities struggling for the "square deal" in government.

First. The value of the services rendered by the Committee of Seventy would indicate the necessity of a permanent non-partisan organization to perform the useful and necessary duties of public criticism upon the acts and policies of municipal servants. The office of censor, however distasteful it may be, is just as necessary under the conditions of modern life as in the days of the Roman Republic. If the business of the government is to be committed absolutely to the officeholders, it is to be expected that in time they will learn to disregard public sentiment. Moreover, the average citizen is very unwilling to bring to the attention of the public, evils that come within the scope of his own observation, when he must act alone without the support of any organized body. Under these circumstances, that which is the duty of every one is performed by no one,

and the public suffers. Moreover, it is a truism to-day that municipal questions are essentially non-partisan, and in order that this principle may be properly asserted it is indispensable that there should be some association containing representatives of all the partisan opinions in the community. It is much to be desired that, unlike its prototype, the Committee of One Hundred, the Committee of Seventy will continue in existence permanently.

Second. This election has demonstrated, more than any other which has ever been held in the United States, the independence of the average voter of partisan control when moral issues are presented. The disclosures which had been made to the public relative to the dishonest conduct of the elections and the jobbing in municipal contracts whereby the leaders of the Organization had personally profited, had aroused the spirit of righteousness in the community. While it would be absolutely untrue to state that no honest man voted the Organization ticket, or that the candidates on that ticket were personally in favor of graft or fraud, yet nevertheless the public mind saw clearly that the endorsement of the Organization ticket meant the continuation in power of the political leaders who had encouraged wrongdoing and had profited by it. In spite of tremendous pressure in favor of the personal prestige of the national party, whose leader, President Roosevelt, is deservedly most popular and esteemed in Philadelphia, as throughout the nation, disregarding the pressure which the Organization was able to bring to bear through corporation and other influences, and spurning the most blatant use of money for open bribery which has ever been attempted, the average voter was true to his convictions of right and voted accordingly. In this fact alone there must be profound encouragement for the student of American institutions. Surely many signs in business and financial life, as well as in politics, indicate a re-awakening of the puritanic sentiment in American life. Henceforth, no one can doubt but that in the long run the American people desire honesty in public as well as in private life, and will fight to secure it.

Third. The conditions in Philadelphia suggest the dangers of an office-holding oligarchy not only to the general public but to the office-holders themselves. Those who performed the bidding of the system were immeasurably the worst sufferers under it. When a municipal employee learned that his efficiency was measured by

his ability to carry his division by a round majority for the Organization, the service of the city suffered. When a municipal employee learned that the slightest evidence of political independence on his part would result in the loss of his position, his character suffered. Nor were these the only detriments. Gradually, as the Organization grew in power, the office-holders were assessed for political purposes, and many were compelled to pay dues for the maintenance of political clubs without receiving any return. Presently they were mulcted in a variety of ways for marching clubs, benefits, barbecues, and everything else which was necessary to maintain the prestige of the Organization. It has been demonstrated that many were accustomed to pay a percentage of their annual salary to the ward leader in return for his influence in securing for them their positions. Since the office-holders in the executive departments have been emancipated from this petty tyranny some have stated that their political assessments in one way and another had taken upwards of ten per centum of their annual income, while others have confessed that under the same influence they were dragooned into the commission of crimes from which their own right-thinking souls revolted. There is only one remedy for such a condition, and that is by municipal civil service, which shall be as rigid and as efficient as that which is in vogue in the federal service. Anything short of this may result in a temporary gain, but a permanent and lasting benefit will be impossible.

Fourth. This campaign has brought to the front a large group of young men in whom to-day is the chief hope for the future. In the early months of the City Party struggle the prosperous business man was conservative as to the outcome; the demands of his business made him prudent, and the failure of earlier reform movements rendered him doubly cautious. From the outset the fight has been forced by young men who were not looking for office, and hence were not susceptible to the usual inducement which the Organization has had to offer to placate its opponents. To my mind the most serious error of the Organization, in an examination of its political history, was the absolute neglect of this group. The truculent flatterer was always welcome to its entertainments, and the office-seeker, whose quest made him subservient without limit, was always known to its advisors; but the young man of independence and spirit, whose ideals of political life have been formed

largely upon the models suggested by Theodore Roosevelt and Joseph W. Folk, found all the doors to political activity closed by the Organization and its agents. Indeed for many years in Philadelphia at the average primary election only the office-holders have voted; the party machinery in divisions has been controlled by the office-holders; the nominating conventions have been attended by the office-holders, and the independent has been told that he must either "go along" or be impotent as a political factor. It was only a question of time when the independent would discover his power, but it is now an evident fact in Philadelphia that the Organization and its methods are doomed, and that even the overwhelming Republican sentiment of the city will not give success to the candidates of the Republican Organization unless the party rules are so liberalized as to admit those who desire freedom from party control on municipal questions.

Fifth. The relation of the public service corporations to the municipality was one of the burning issues of the campaign, and there is much reason to believe that Philadelphia is now in position to attempt the solution of this problem. One of the essential characteristics of the City Party movement was its absolute sanity. While the voice of the demagogue was occasionally heard and sometimes his hand could be seen, yet at no time was his influence in control of the movement. It was an organization composed of the more conservative and honest citizens of the community, and as a result the city is now in position to attempt the solution of the corporation problem, without the danger of the radical action which has sometimes accompanied a popular triumph. It is the spirit of Lincoln rather than that of William Lloyd Garrison which has been moving in our midst. All thinking men recognize that the public service corporations perform an indispensable service to the community. The vast majority are agreed in demanding some adequate business return. It will be infinitely better for the corporations to render a proportion of their income in the form of legal taxation to the community which makes them profitable than to submit to illegal extortions in the way of tribute or blackmail to a dominant political machine.

Sixth. The final conclusion is, that the prevailing notion that the average citizen is not interested in the details of the political world whereby he is governed is now an exploded illusion arising

out of former conditions. The average citizen was negligent of his duties, largely because the Organization encouraged his negligence. It was the policy of the Organization to encourage the impression that politics was a fine art in which only the absolute masters of its technique could engage. In the brief space of nine months the people organized a new party, perfected over one thousand division associations, elected their own division officers, held a primary election which was attended by over forty thousand citizens, recorded their convictions through a convention which was absolutely free and untrammelled and forever disposed of the Organization charge that an unbossed convention would be a disorderly mob. In addition to this wonderful interest in the details of politics, the campaign was absolutely supported by popular subscription. More than one hundred and twenty thousand dollars passed through the treasury of the City Party, and of this amount not one cent was collected by political assessment upon office-holders or by contribution from corporations. Nor was this sum contributed by the beneficence of a few millionaires. The largest single contribution was five thousand dollars, and more than three thousand individuals contributed in sums ranging from this figure to twenty-five cents, in order that they might show their interest in the cause. It is probable, therefore, that the historian of the future, in estimating the benefits of this unique campaign, will conclude that the chief good was educational; that the people of Philadelphia manifested an interest in the reform of their government, which led thousands to make sacrifices of time and money in order that they might raise their city from the obloquy into which it had fallen.

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS: 1904-1905

BY HON. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.
Secretary National Municipal League.

For some years there has been a slowly growing conviction that the trend in municipal affairs in our American cities is toward improvement—a conviction which was materially strengthened by the results of the elections of November, 1905.

In New York, District Attorney Jerome was re-elected by a substantial plurality, although he was not the nominee of either of the three parties in the field and had no permanent or far-reaching organization at his command. This demonstration of the power of the people was most impressive and illustrates what can be accomplished when they are thoroughly aroused, but it is not to be concluded that it will be possible to repeat the experiment successfully year after year, because the conditions surrounding our municipal elections are such as to make independent demonstrations most difficult.

The Jerome vote is significant, however, of the voters' growing independence of party lines and of their dissatisfaction with existing conditions. The large vote for William R. Hearst and his colleagues of the Municipal Ownership ticket tells the same story. No one in the summer months of 1905 anticipated that there would be any great amount of interest in the New York mayoralty campaign. The renomination of Mayor McClellan was a foregone conclusion. The fact that his administration had been free from conspicuous scandals and was generally conceded to be one of the most, if not the most, efficient under Tammany rule, and the further fact that New York was normally Democratic, created the impression that Tammany would prevail by a safe majority and elect its whole ticket. The subsequent failure of the opposition forces to fuse tended to strengthen the belief in McClellan's easy re-election.

Political leaders failed to take into consideration, however, the great and spreading discontent of the masses with "boss" rule and with the prevailing conditions which, in their minds, were responsible for the insurance and similar scandals. Moreover, the sentiment in favor of the municipal ownership and operation of municipal monopolies had grown more rapidly than even the most careful and competent observers appreciated.

Mr. Hearst's nomination happened at a propitious moment, and from that time on to election day his adherents increased in number and his campaign in effectiveness, and at this writing it is generally believed that he actually secured a plurality of the votes cast in New York on November 7th.

The significant facts, then, in New York are the substantial plurality given Mr. Jerome in New York County without the aid of any political organization, except one hastily formed for the campaign and disbanded after election, and the vote for Mr. Hearst with the support of an organization, hastily gathered together and inadequately equipped.

In Philadelphia the independent canvass took an entirely different form, but the lesson is no less obvious. The City Party, organized last winter by the Committee of Seventy, was designed to afford the opponents of the "Organization" an opportunity to give voice and effect to their opposition.

At the February election it failed to elect its candidates on the minority ticket because of the help afforded the Democratic candidates by the Republicans. This defeat, however, failed to dampen the ardor of the City Party or to lessen the interest in its purpose. Composed as it was in good part of men who for years had been identified with its predecessor, the Municipal League, and who were enlisted for the fight, whether it required one campaign or many, it pressed forward to defeat the "Organization." When Mayor Weaver's break with the Republican machine brought on the municipal revolution which has startled and commanded the attention of the country, the City Party was in the field, ready to give organized expression to the aroused public sentiment.

The summer months were used in perfecting and extending the work of organization, so that by September there was a fully-equipped municipal party with candidates representative of the widespread demand for a radical change in local political conditions.

The issue between the City (or municipal) Party and the Republican "Organization" was made all the clearer and more distinct by the withdrawal of the original Republican candidates and the substitution of clean men in their place. It was therefore possible to conduct the campaign on the principles involved without any personal issues to complicate the situation. The fact that the voters of Philadelphia, after a long campaign, clearly and unmistakably endorsed the course of Mayor Weaver and emphasized their rejection of the Republican "Organization" and its autocratic and arbitrary rule of municipal affairs is significant because it plainly showed that the people of Philadelphia could be aroused and could prevail. Doubt on both these lines had been created because of long years of apparent apathy and indifference.

In Cincinnati there were no special revelations of scandals and no sensational exposures of corruption, but the voters, on the sole issue of "boss" rule, defeated the candidates of the Republican organization. Republican Cleveland for the third successive time elected Mayor Johnson, a Democrat, because of its approval of his municipal policy. Toledo elected an independent candidate for Mayor and all his colleagues on the ticket. Boston, or, more properly speaking, the County of Suffolk, elected a District Attorney on an independent ticket against a candidate who was on both the Republican and Democratic tickets. James G. Cutler, who had made an admirable record as Mayor in Rochester, N. Y., was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. Other cities recorded victories of equal significance, if less importance.

I have cited these several instances of independent victories at the November election to show how general was the repudiation of "boss rule," how widespread was the unrest of the people under existing conditions and how strong was the growth of independent municipal sentiment. These instances would be of but limited significance and importance, however, were it not for the fact that they represent the culmination of a series of similar instances. During the year preceding the November (1905) election there had been a very considerable number of important and striking evidences of the independence of the people, of their restlessness under machine rule, and of their desire for a change.

Chicago, which went strongly Republican in November, 1904, swung over to the Democratic side in the mayoralty election in

April, and in the following November went back to the Republican side on local issues.

In the local elections in Iowa in 1904 the returns from fifty-seven cities showed that in three there was no opposition to the re-election of the incumbents; that in seventeen cities the candidates on independent ticket were elected, and that in nine others the independent tickets were in whole or in part elected. Some of the returns gave no clue as to the partisan character of the nominations, as in Marshalltown, where all the candidates were nominated by petition.

The story of the elections in Indiana in 1904 is equally remarkable. Crawfordsville and Warsaw went Democratic for the first time. In Terre Haute the Republicans defeated the Democratic incumbent. Fifteen cities ordinarily Republican, were carried by the Democrats. These local victories had no important effect on the national elections, as the various communities helped to swell the large Republican vote in the Presidential election.

The local elections in Kansas in 1905 witnessed the election of a number of Democratic mayors in Republican cities. For instance, Kansas City, which gave Roosevelt a plurality of 4,000 in the preceding November, elected a Democratic mayor by 300. Ottawa, a Republican city, elected a mayor on the municipal ownership issue.

In Pennsylvania the usually Republican cities of Reading, Allentown, Williamsport, Wilkes-Barre, Erie, Titusville, Chester, Johnstown and Monongahela elected Democratic officials. Portland, Ore., in the November election of 1904, gave Mr. Roosevelt an unprecedented majority and elected a Democratic Sheriff by 6,000 plurality.

The Minneapolis election of November, 1904, was, perhaps, the closest in the history of the city, but the result, although the margin was very small, was eminently satisfactory in that it resulted in the election of David P. Jones, the Republican candidate. Although nominated by the Republicans on a direct primary vote, Mr. Jones was distinctly a candidate of the independent element of the city. The things which he stood for in the way of municipal reform were not entirely endorsed by the business men, but the common people understood that he was primarily interested in the welfare of the city and looked first of all to that. It is conceded that his victory was one of the moral forces over the aggregation of the forces of unlawfulness and the saloon men and gamblers and those seeking franchises on inadequate terms. The same campaign committee

which worked for the Republican candidate for Governor, who was defeated, was hostile to Mr. Jones's election; the result was that the political machine in Hennepin County was completely defeated in that it failed to elect its Republican Governor and failed to defeat Mr. Jones.

The instances recited covering, as they do, nearly two years of time and a large number of communities located in various parts of our country, all point to the conclusion that people are beginning to act upon the doctrine long preached by municipal reformers that municipal affairs must be divorced from state and national issues, and that local questions must be considered without reference to state or national politics.

It does not necessarily follow, however, because the people are to an increasing degree manifesting political independence that there is an accompanying improvement in administrative efficiency. We must look for other evidences to justify the contention that our municipalities are much better governed now than they were thirty, twenty, or even ten years ago. Very often an independent victory results in a temporary loss of efficiency, because of the introduction of new men into public service unacquainted with the detailed needs of a community and unfamiliar with the administration of public affairs. Communities, however, are usually willing to pay this price if they can be assured of the honesty and public spirit of those whom they have put into office. Chicago affords the most striking illustration of the fact that it is possible to have a very large measure of representative government and municipal reform and yet a comparatively inefficient administration.

The functions discharged by the average American municipality have very greatly increased during the past generation. A comparison of the budgets of the present year with those of the early 70's, let us say, in any American city would disclose the fact that the cities are now engaged not only in more extensive undertakings along already established lines, but are entering into many new fields of endeavor unthought of at that time. So rapid and engrossing has been municipal development in the last few decades that the average man, even the student, has failed to appreciate how important a factor in our daily life the city has become.

This tendency has unconsciously, but none the less effectively, worked mightily for improvement in the administration of municipal

affairs, so that it is not an uncommon thing to find recorded, as has been recorded in New York City during the past year, a denunciation of political methods and an appreciation of the improvement in the administrative service of the city.

To be sure, improvement along these lines cannot be measured with a yardstick, nor weighed on the scales, but must be gathered from a multiplicity of facts and expressions of those possessed of a gift of comparison and of a sufficiently long memory. For some months past I have followed with much interest the change in the tone of commentators on municipal affairs and the titles given to magazine articles and editorials. All tend to confirm the conclusion I have long held that a new spirit is abroad in our cities and that the average worker for municipal improvement is disposed to take a hopeful view of the situation, and that conditions really are improving.

As indicating the present day view of municipal conditions, I might quote the titles of some recent editorials and articles: "The Day Dawns," "Conditions are Getting Better," "The Growing Improvement in Municipal and State Government," "A Municipal Easter at Hand," "The Rising City Tide," "Municipal Housecleaning Elsewhere," "The General War on Machines," "The New Note in Politics," "A Year of Municipal Advances," "City Government Growing Better." Moreover, within the past year I have sought the views of a number of observers located in different parts of the country, asking them specifically whether my own conviction that there was a slow but steady improvement in American municipal conditions was justified by their own observation and experience.

The replies were uniformly in the affirmative. While it is true many felt that the local conditions with which they were most familiar showed little or no change, nevertheless their judgment was that conditions elsewhere were improving. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that as to their local conditions they lacked the necessary perspective; as to events in other communities than their own, they saw things in a more correct perspective.

There is no denying, even if one were disposed to do so, that President Roosevelt's attitude, as Mayor Weaver, of Philadelphia, pointed out in a recent speech, has helped mightily in creating a public sentiment intolerant of dishonesty and chicanery in public affairs. I have been surprised at the unanimity of expression on the part

of those from whom I have inquired that the activity of the governors in the Central West, along what are commonly called "good government" lines are primarily and directly due to the President's example.

The attitude of Secretary Root in the Philadelphia campaign, of Secretary Taft in the Ohio campaign and of Secretary Bonaparte in the Maryland campaign afford additional evidence of the growth of independent thought in the consideration of local matters. Until within the past few years were a Cabinet officer to attack, even by indirection, his party organization in any community, no matter how corrupt or malodorous it might have become, it would have been considered heresy. Now it seems to be a popular move for them and for others high in office to throw their influence upon the side of decency and honesty.

Municipal progress is manifested in still a different direction, namely, that of concrete reforms. As never before our municipalities are giving thoughtful and careful consideration to their charters. We are passing through a period of widespread dissatisfaction with the existing inadequate legislation governing our American cities. The demand for home rule grows apace. One by one our cities are achieving it. Where this is not possible because of constitutional limitations, improved charters are coming to be adopted and amendments to them resisted because of disinclination to state interference. To mention only by name the various cities during the past two or three years that have had under consideration either a new charter or amendments to existing instruments would be to fill two or three pages of this volume. It is true that not all the changes have been for the better, but our communities are feeling the need for change, and as this grows there will be steady improvement, with only such setbacks as the desire for experimentation or inexperience may cause.

Ballot reform has become an issue of far-reaching importance. The last election served to give it renewed force and prominence. The demand is becoming general that each voter shall mark the name of each candidate he desires to vote for. Hand in hand with the demand for ballot reform is the growth of interest in nomination reform. The conviction is very general that the present systems of nomination prevailing in the majority of the states are antiquated and better adapted to giving expression to the wishes of

the few than to expressing the will of the majority. In some states new primary election laws have been enacted and will go into force during the coming year, notably in Illinois and Wisconsin. Nomination reform is also a prominent question before the voters of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan; and most of the Western States have already made some tentative effort in the solution of the problem.

The whole subject of the municipal ownership and operation of municipal monopolies has become a paramount issue in nearly all of our larger communities. The Chicago election of 1905 turned upon the attitude of the candidates on this question. Mr. Hearst's phenomenal campaign in New York was largely based on the demand for municipal ownership, and was unquestionably helped by the rapidly growing conviction that municipal monopolies should be administered for the benefit of the many rather than for the profit of the few. Mayor Johnson's repeated successes in Cleveland are largely due to the same cause; also to the additional fact that he is giving the people of that city an increasingly efficient government.

Just what is to be the outcome of this demand for municipal ownership it is impossible to forecast, but there can be no question of the interests of the people in it and of the further fact that it is destined to increase still further their interest in municipal problems.

Another evidence of municipal progress is the growth in the number of courses in municipal government offered not only in our institutions of higher learning but in our high, secondary and elementary schools. A decade ago practically no instruction in these subjects was given. Now at least twenty colleges and universities offer more or less elaborate courses, and the subject is treated more or less fully in as many more. Instruction in civics is becoming a pressing question among educators, and the interest manifested in the report of the National Municipal League Committee on Instruction in Secondary and Elementary Schools may be taken as a fair index of the interest in the subject.

I have omitted, up to this point, making any reference to the growth in numbers and influence of the organizations wholly or in part interested in the considerations of municipal questions. Now, more than ever, this subject is receiving consideration at the hands of chambers of commerce, boards of trade and other similar bodies, as well as from a rapidly-lengthening list of municipal leagues, good government and city clubs, and civic associations.

As I have already said, the progress of interest and activity in municipal affairs cannot be measured by any ordinary standard; but those who have given the subject thoughtful attention during the past fifteen or twenty years are strongly of the opinion that public interest is being developed along wholesome and encouraging lines and that the years 1904 and 1905 may properly be considered as recording wider and more substantial progress than any two preceding years.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The Relation of the American Municipalities to the Gas and Electric Light Service

A SYMPOSIUM

City of New York.—ROBERT GRIER MONROE, former Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity.

Chicago.—HUGO S. GROSSER, City Statistician, Chicago, Illinois.

St. Louis.—

Boston.—EDWARD M. HARTWELL, Secretary Statistics Department, Boston

Cleveland.—F. E. STEVENS, Secretary Municipal Association of Cleveland.

Buffalo.—

New Orleans.—JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

Milwaukee.—JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

District of Columbia.—

Newark.—

Providence.—SIDNEY A. SHERMAN, Providence, R. I.

St. Paul.—

Grand Rapids.—DELOS F. WILCOX.

Seattle.—PROFESSOR J. ALLEN SMITH, University of Washington, Seattle.

Duluth.—W. G. JOERNS, Duluth, Minn.

CITY OF NEW YORK

By ROBERT GRIER MONROE, Former Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity.

Gas and electric service in the city of New York is furnished by private corporations. The New York Gas Light Company was incorporated in 1823. That was the first. The Manhattan Gas Light Company followed in 1830. In succeeding years one company after another was chartered to make and distribute gas and later electricity. Franchises have been freely given by the legislature on the theory that the public would benefit by competition. To insure competition some of the charters contained clauses prohibiting combinations and transfers of franchises. Rival companies have, however, found it more advantageous to combine than compete, and consolidations exist irrespective of specific prohibitions. In the borough of Manhattan both illuminants have been absorbed by a single corporation, and there is no rivalry

even between producers of gas and producers of electricity. The Consolidated Gas Company of New York controls all the gas and electric light facilities in the borough of Manhattan, as well as all gas and electric light facilities in the more important sections of the borough of the Bronx. The Brooklyn Union Gas Company, another consolidation, covers the borough of Brooklyn, the second largest borough and so through the city.

Public lighting is one of the heaviest yearly charges the municipality has to meet. For sometime the cost has exceeded \$3,000,000 annually. On the supposition that independent competing companies operated throughout the city, section 530 of the Greater New York Charter directs that all contracts for city lighting have to be made after public bidding. In December, 1902, near the close of the year, customary advertisements were published in accordance with the provisions of the city charter, asking for bids for lighting the streets and public buildings of the city for the ensuing year, 1903. When the bids were opened, it was found that the same prices that had been offered in previous years were again submitted, and that throughout the five boroughs, there were no opposing bidders for supplying the same class of light to the same district. The statutory provisions as to public advertisement had been complied with, but as there was no real competition, such bids afforded no practical test of what was a fair and reasonable price. The city officials then in power, not being satisfied after investigation that the prices offered by the monopoly were fair and reasonable, rejected all bids.

For two years and a half the streets have been lighted and public buildings supplied with gas and electricity without contracts between the city and the lighting companies; nor for this period have bills presented for city lights been paid or adjusted. When the 1903 bids were originally rejected, the city did offer to make substantial payments, without prejudice, from month to month, as the service was rendered, leaving the companies in position to bring suit for whatever balance they thought due them, in order that what was a fair and reasonable price might be judicially determined. The monopoly has not been willing to sue on a *quantum meruit*. The lighting companies let the year 1903 go by without suit, with the expectation that if the fusion administration, then in control, could be beaten at the polls, the succeeding Tammany administration would pay their claims in full. But later, difficulties arose in the way of settlement even under the Tammany administration. In October, last, an adjustment was practically arrived at by the comptroller and the commissioner of water supply, gas and electricity, with the managers of the monopoly, and arrangements made for paying all claims of the companies in full, less interest. The proposed settlement was, however, so obviously against the interest of the city that it aroused public sentiment, a sentiment so strong that it not only prevented the "compromise" as it was called, from being carried out, but also induced a reluctant legislature to appoint a committee to investigate the entire light situation.

By joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly a legislative committee was directed to examine into the organization and operation of the gas and electric lighting companies, the reasonableness of their charges, the circum-

stances connected with the recent negotiations between the companies and the city officials, and to report the "result of their investigation with such remedial measures as it may deem proper." After an investigation, conducted with entire fairness and marked ability, the committee reported back to the legislature on April 29, 1905. Evidence brought out by the committee showed clearly that the companies holding a monopoly, which extended over the entire city, were largely over-capitalized. Referring to the Consolidated Gas Company, the committee said:

"The fact that the company, by rendering competition impossible, has been able to earn large dividends does not justify it in adding to the value of its plant an additional amount for good-will or earning capacity and thereby justify a continuance of excessive charges. If this were permitted it would be able to secure in perpetuity the maintenance of exorbitant rates. Extortion for a series of years would be the sufficient excuse for further extortion. Indeed, there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that successful imposition upon the public would warrant increased charges upon the ground of enhanced good-will. The company is entitled to a fair return upon its capital actually invested, but it is not entitled to capitalize its grip upon the public."

The committee recommended that the price of gas for the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn and part of the Bronx be fixed at a maximum of \$0.75 per thousand cubic feet; that in the same boroughs the price of electric current be fixed at a maximum of \$0.10 per Kilo-Watt hour, and that the price for 2,000 c. p. arc lamps be fixed at \$100 per lamp per year. This was a reduction from the then prevailing price of gas of 25 per cent. and 33½ per cent. on charges for electricity. The committee also recommended the appointment of a permanent state commission with power to regulate the supply and price of gas and electricity. The legislature enacted laws reducing the price of electricity as recommended by the committee. A bill reducing the price of gas to general consumers was defeated, but a bill was passed reducing the price of gas sold the city. A law providing for a permanent commission was also passed. The commission has not yet entered upon the performance of its duties, but it has power to render the public effective service.

To further guard against extortion, the city is now deciding upon plans for the construction of a municipal electric lighting plant for lighting the streets and public buildings.

CHICAGO.

By HUGO S. GROSSER, City Statistician, Chicago, Ill.

The Gas Service.

The gas service in the city of Chicago is furnished entirely by private enterprise which rests in the hands of one of the most powerful monopolies in this country; the People's Gas Light and Coke Company. This company, which obtained its grant in 1858, has the most all-embracing blanket-franchise ever granted to any corporation at any place. It merely grants to the company the right to lay their gas mains and sell gas in all Chicago without any limitation whatsoever of time or of place. It does not contain any pro-

vision as to the quality and the price of gas, as to the extension of its mains, or payments to the city treasury, nor any obligation to furnish light for public purposes.

Originally, this company started with a capital of \$500,000, which in 1865 was increased to \$4,000,000. To-day they have a total capitalization of more than \$68,000,000, consisting of about \$33,000,000 of stock, and \$35,000,000 of bonds outstanding. They pay a dividend of 6 per cent., and the only contribution to the public treasury is their regular property tax. Some of the companies that had obtained their franchises in territory outside of the city of Chicago were in some instances regulated as to the quality and the price of gas; and in 1891 a contract was made between the various companies originally merged in the People's Gas Light and Coke Company and the city of Chicago, providing that the price of gas to private consumers should be one dollar net per thousand after 1896, and that the companies should pay the city $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their gross receipts from the sale of manufactured gas.

In 1901 a new contract was made providing that the People's Company should furnish gas to the city at a price for the year of \$350,000, the city agreeing, at its own expense, to attend to the lighting, cleaning, extinguishing and furnishing the lamps.

The compensation to be paid the city by the People's Company was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the gross receipts from the sale of manufactured gas during the year, together with an additional 5 per cent. to be paid by the Fuel Gas Company, a company also part and parcel of the People's, said percentages in the aggregate not to be less than \$375,000, leaving a balance to the city's credit of \$25,000 for the year.

This balance was to be expended toward the equipment of 25,000 street lamps with incandescent burners and mantles. The agreement provided for the examination of accounts by either of the parties, and also that the obligation of the People's Company to pay the city should terminate upon any attack by the city upon the rights, privileges or franchises exercised at that time by the company.

October 15, 1900, the City Council passed an ordinance regulating and fixing the price of gas at a maximum rate of seventy-five cents per thousand cubic feet. The People's Gas Company, of course, strenuously resisted this ordinance, and fought it in the courts. The United States Supreme Court finally (last December) decided that the company had no contract rights in the premises, and that rate and other regulations could be ordained by city or state legislative bodies as may be the case. In order to remedy a doubt as to whether the city has the power to regulate gas rates, not having been especially authorized to do so, the last legislature passed a law conferring upon the city of Chicago power and authority to fix the rates and charges for the supply of gas by any company in the city. This law will be submitted for approval to the voters of the city next November, and will, no doubt, receive an immense majority, giving a rate of seventy-five cents as against \$1.00.

Meanwhile, however, the People's Company cancelled the contract entered into with the city in 1901, upon the claim that contrary to its provisions the

city had attacked its rights and privileges. Since then there has been no agreement between the city and the company; the city has paid nothing to the gas company on account of gas furnished for street lamps, etc.; the company has not paid any compensation to the city, and the present relation of the city of Chicago to the People's Gas Light and Coke Company is in every way not only unpleasant, but amounts to veritable warfare.

The Electric Light Service.

Entirely different from the gas situation are the conditions in the electric light service. This at least, so far as public lighting is concerned, is furnished by the city itself, while private lighting is furnished by private enterprise. Up to the present time the city was not authorized to sell electric light to private consumers, but last winter the state legislature embodied in the law referred to before, a provision empowering the city to sell surplus electricity for light and power, without enlarging its present power to own, construct, or acquire electric lighting plants. It has been estimated that the city will be enabled to sell a considerable amount of electricity, its plants being sufficiently large to produce much more than actually needed for municipal purposes.

The city began to manufacture electricity for lighting streets as early as 1887. At that time the work was under the supervision of the commissioner of public works, and the lighting bureau remained in that department until 1898, when the present department of electricity was created by ordinance of the council, and placed in charge of the city electrician, an officer appointed for two years by the mayor with the consent of the city council. This department has also charge of the police and fire alarm telegraph. All its employees, with the exception of the city electrician, are absolutely under civil service.

The capital needed for the enterprise was entirely raised by taxation in the general appropriation bill. In the first year, the total expenditure amounted to only \$39,976.25, which was sufficient to erect a power house and place 105 arc lights in operation. At the end of the first ten years, the city had expended for construction and operation a total of \$1,693,222.51, and operated 1,054 arc lights. At the beginning of this year, the city has three power plants, and operates 5,034 arc lights. The total net expenditures for construction and operation until and including December 31, 1904, were \$4,098,837.38. This does not include interest on the money expended, which must be added to the actual expenditures, and amounts to \$1,274,000.27, making the total amount involved \$5,372,837.65.

The average yearly cost per light was \$55.16 in 1904, and during the last five years varied but little, depending upon the price of coal. In this cost, of course, all expenses are included except interest. The city still rents a few arc lights—698—from private companies at a rate of \$103 per light per year. Since 1887, when the rental was not less than \$200 per light per year, the price has been steadily reduced year by year, but is still almost twice as great as the price of the municipality operated lights. If the city had rented all its lights during the entire time at the rate paid for each year, it would have

expended a total amount of \$4,677,345.50. The total interest of the cost of the rented service would have been \$1,142,513.28, making the total amount involved \$5,819,858.78, showing an amount saved by the city of \$447,021.13, and the city has its plants as an additional profit or asset, representing a value of \$3,207,179.94.

There were in operation December 31, 1904, a total number of lights of every kind of 37,222, of which 24,951 were gas lights, 6,478 gasoline lights, 5,098 electric lights operated by the city and 695 rented electric lights. All these lights produced 12,858,000 estimated candle power, at a total cost including all expenses for city lighting of \$936,482.20.

The private light service is furnished, as stated before, by private enterprise, and is in the hands of several companies, the largest of which is the Chicago Edison Company, controlling the greater part of the electric business in the city. Its relation to the city of Chicago is much like that of the People's Gas Light and Coke Company. It obtained its franchise piece-meal in the various towns afterwards annexed to the city of Chicago, almost without condition. Municipal authorities have no control over the accounts of the company; it pays no compensation to the city, and can do almost what it pleases except as to the physical conditions in the streets, etc. It owns four central electrical power stations, with an indicated horse-power of more than 40,000. It was organized in 1887, and holds a perpetual license from the Edison Light Company of New York to use all its present and future patents in consideration of the parent company being given a percentage of all issues of securities representing new capital.

The Edison Company has an authorized capital stock of \$15,000,000, and has outstanding bonds of \$6,983,000. Since 1889 it has paid 8 per cent. in quarterly dividends. Its gross revenues during the fiscal year 1904-05 were \$4,051,082; its operating expenses, \$2,627,468.

The Commonwealth Electric Company, which practically is part of the Edison Company, having the same president and almost identically the same directors, is capitalized at \$13,250,000, and obtained its franchise in 1897 for a term of fifty years. The franchise contains a provision as to charges, prohibiting a charge exceeding 1 per cent. per hour. A maximum charge is provided of \$10.50 per month for each arc light of 1,600-candle power when operated the entire night, and of \$7.50 per month when operated until 12.30.

The company is held to pay a compensation to the city treasury of 3 per cent. of the gross revenues after the expiration of five years, and since it began operations it has paid into the city treasury the sum of \$93,134.95.

Another of the larger public service companies is the Cosmopolitan Electric Company, which obtained its franchise in 1895 under similar conditions. In order to show the character of franchises granted to electric light companies during the last few years, I quote that of the Dearborn Power Company which obtained its franchise in March, 1903, and an amendatory franchise in April, 1905. The franchise is "For the purpose of supplying electricity for light, heat and power" within a limited territory. The rights are granted for a period of ten years, and may be terminated at any time prior at the discretion of the mayor. During the life of the ordinance the

company pays to the city of Chicago 10 per cent. of its gross receipts, and the city authorities have access to the books and accounts of all fiscal operations.

The company is prohibited from selling, transferring, assigning or leasing, or entering into any agreement so to do, any of the rights granted without first obtaining the consent of the city of Chicago thereto. The city reserves the right at any time prior to the expiration of the term to take over the property, and operate the same as a municipal enterprise, paying therefor the then cost of duplication less depreciation of the property, but nothing for earning power or franchise values, the purchase price to be determined by appraisement. There are about twenty of these smaller companies furnishing electrical light within greatly limited territory, whose franchises are of nearly the same character as the one quoted.

ST. LOUIS

The Gas Service.

The gas lighting service of the city of St. Louis is furnished by a single private enterprise, the Laclede Gas Light Company. From 1846 to 1873 there was only one company, the St. Louis Gas Light Company. The territory of the city was then divided; the Laclede Company supplied the northern, and the St. Louis the southern district. In 1890 the Laclede Company bought out all the stock of the other company and is now operating under its charter. This company has no exclusive franchise, and any other company may organize under state laws and obtain permission from the city to lay pipe lines, etc. The acts of the legislature simply authorize the gas company to lay pipes and appurtenances, and to enter into contract with the city or others for furnishing gas. The city makes a contract for lighting the streets, public places and public buildings, with gas, gasoline and electricity, prescribing the districts in which the different methods are used. The contractor obtains gas from the gas company under private arrangement with this company.

The general taxes are assessed on the valuation of property and effects the same as on all other property. The amount for 1904 was \$1,441,783.15. Under contract of February 28, 1873, the maximum price per thousand cubic feet was fixed. This contract expired May 1, 1890, and at that time the municipal assembly tried to fix a maximum price for gas furnished to private consumers. In the litigation which followed, the Supreme Court held that the municipal assembly had no right to fix this price. At present the prices charged for gas furnished the city and to private consumers are: Light, \$1.10 per thousand cubic feet; fuel, 90 cents per thousand cubic feet with 10 per cent. discount if the bill is paid within ten days after its date. There are no free lights. The board of public improvements, under the contract for public lighting, fixes the location of all lamps and in that way fixes the number of lamps per mile. If necessary to remove the lamps, the cost is paid by the city at contract price. The city at present does not have the right to purchase the gas plant.

The Electric Light Service.

The electric light service is also furnished by private enterprise, though some of the public buildings are supplied from plants in or near these buildings. The general taxes on the valuation of property and effects are the same as on all other property and effects. Practically all the electric light and power companies are consolidated; that is, the capital stock of the company is held by the stockholders of the controlling company or plants, and franchises are leased by said company. The amount of taxes paid in 1904 was \$12,310.36, also 5 per cent. of the gross receipts of each company. The aggregate amount received during the last fiscal year was \$73,300.04. The prices charged for public and private service are not controlled by the city. The standard price at which the companies contract to furnish current for lighting and motor service is two Kilo-Watt hours per sixteen c. p. lamp, or equivalent at ten to twelve cents; but in special cases other rates are made. Under the contract for lighting the streets, alleys and public places, the board of public improvements designates the location and number of lamps. The city has reserved the right to purchase the conduits under grant of franchises, but no rights have been reserved to purchase the plants. The companies are liable on penal bond filed with the city register in the sum of \$20,000 with approved securities. The officials are also liable for violation of the provisions of the franchise, subjecting them to fines of not more than \$500. There are also penalties for illegal use of the wires, removal of wires, stringing of wires without permission, etc.

BOSTON

By EDWARD M. HARTWELL, Secretary Statistics Department, Boston.

The history of the Boston gas companies as regards their charters, quarrels and consolidations, is a tortuous and intricate one. At present the city of Boston has no gas works or electric lighting works of its own, and exercises no special control of the companies from which it purchases gas or electric light for lighting its streets, parks and public buildings. Such companies pay nothing to the city for the right to do business, and stand in the same relation to the city with respect to taxation as other business corporations. They make no special reports to the city government, which has no jurisdiction over their accounts or reports. Gas and electric light companies, however, are subject to oversight and control by the Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In accordance with legislation passed last winter, gas is now furnished in those sections served by the newly consolidated companies for 95 cents to private consumers, and \$0.7930 cents per thousand feet to the city for its public buildings. After January 1, 1906, the Consolidated Company will furnish gas at \$0.90 per thousand to private consumers, and \$0.7430 per thousand to the city for its public buildings.

Street lights are practically furnished by the Rising Sun Light Company, a corporation operating under a charter granted by the State of Maine. This

company owns lamps and posts. In 1904 there were 9,337 Welsbach gas lamps in use, paid for at the rate of \$30 per lamp per annum. In accordance with the contract of the city with the Rising Sun Company, the city derives benefit from any reduction in the cost of gas in Boston; so that the city is now, *i. e.*, since July 1, 1905, paying \$29.40 per lamp per annum, and will pay \$28.80 for the same after January 1, 1906. In 1904, 1,491 open-flame and 538 Welsbach naphtha lamps were in use for public street-lighting, at \$22.81 and \$29.20 per lamp per annum respectively, and the same rates for naphtha lamps obtain in 1905.

In 1904 there were 3,699 electric arc lights in use for public lighting against 3,731 now in use (1905). Then, as now, the price per lamp varied from 33 to 35 cents per night, or \$120.45 to \$127.75 per annum. Of incandescent lamps there were thirty-eight in 1904, at prices varying from \$2.50 to \$3.00 for some, and one cent per lamp per hour, less 25 per cent. for others.

CLEVELAND

By F. E. STEVENS, Secretary Municipal Association of Cleveland.

The Gas Service.

Two companies furnish the gas supply of the city—the Cleveland Gas Light and Coke Company to that portion of the city east of the Cuyahoga River, and the People's Gas Light Company to the portion west of the river.

The original grant was made to the first of these two companies in 1849. Permission was given to lay pipes under supervision and certain restrictions. The company was required to furnish gas to the city for public lighting at a price not to exceed that paid in Buffalo or Cincinnati, and to citizens at a price not to exceed \$3.00 per thousand cubic feet. The city was to furnish and own the lamps. The city might also extend pipes and connect with mains when the companies refused to do so. For this service the company was to reimburse the city before they could use these pipes to deliver gas to private consumers.

The charter of the second company was granted in 1867. It contained provisions similar to those already stated, except that it was required to furnish gas for public lighting at a price not to exceed \$2.25. After twenty years the city was to have the right to purchase the plant at a fair price to be fixed by five disinterested persons.

In the franchises the right is reserved by the city council to regulate the price of gas for ten-year periods. The last ordinance for this purpose was passed in July, 1900. By the terms of this ordinance the maximum and minimum price to be charged for public and private consumption is fixed at 75 cents per thousand cubic feet. The companies are required to install and maintain meters without charge to the consumer, but a deposit of \$5.00 is required for each meter installed, this deposit to be returned upon discon-

tinuance of the use of gas or removal of the meter. No free lights for public service are provided. The companies are required to pay into the city treasury $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their gross receipts. For the year of 1904 the receipts from this source amounted to \$86,623.98. This amount is additional to the receipts from taxation of the property of the company. The companies are subject to a general property tax the same as any other corporation or individual. Hitherto it has been very much under-assessed. The assessment, however, more than doubled in the last three years, while previously very trifling increases had been made from year to year.

Until recently the gas companies supplied and maintained the equipment of street lighting. A different policy now obtains. The city owns and maintains all of the equipment and lights the lamps. The gas for the lamps is, however, purchased of the companies. By means of frequent tests the value of the gas consumed by each lamp per year is for the present fixed at \$5.43. Nine thousand three hundred and seventy-seven lamps of seventeen-candle power are thus provided. The city also maintains 1,500 gasoline lamps. These latter are being gradually displaced by the gas lamps.

As a means of determining the amount due the city from the receipts of the gas companies the companies are required to submit, semi-annually, sworn statements showing the quantity of gas manufactured and the receipts from its sale. The city is empowered to examine the books and accounts of the companies and this is done by the city auditor. The city has no right under the franchises of the companies to purchase their plants.

Some two years ago a franchise was granted to the East Ohio Gas Company to supply natural gas for fuel purposes. The old gas companies vigorously contested this grant, as a large portion of their business consisted of supplying gas for fuel. The natural gas company supplies gas for 31 cents per thousand feet. That the entry of this company into the field has had a very considerable effect upon the business of the artificial gas companies cannot be doubted.

The Cleveland Gas Light and Coke Company, capitalized at \$4,000,000 has paid dividends of 8 per cent. until recently, when the dividend was reduced to 6 per cent. The People's Gas Light and Coke Company, capitalized at \$1,000,000 maintains its regular 7 per cent. dividend payment, the natural gas company not having as yet encroached greatly upon west side territory.

The Electric Light Service.

The electric light service is supplied entirely by one company—the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. It has a perpetual franchise and the city has no right to purchase the plant. There are no restrictions upon charges and no contract right in the city to regulate service or charges. It supplies the city with 1,238 arc lights, 2,000-candle power, at a cost per annum of \$73.56 each. This charge is a considerable reduction from the figures of former years.

The city uses no incandescent lights on its streets. The charges for private lighting are as follows: For an average use of forty hours per month of the

lamps connected at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per unit; and for any current in excess of said average use of forty hours per month of the *lamps connected* at 5 cents per unit. (A unit is 1,000 Watt hours.)

In consideration of 5 cent rate, consumer agrees that his bill shall not be less in any month than \$—, being a basis of \$2.50 for each arc lamp and \$1.00 for each ten sixteen-candle power lamp or proportion thereof installed. For power, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for each 1,000 Watt hours, less 50 per cent.

The above are the rates charged and published, but wherever there is competition from private power companies in power blocks, etc., secret rates are made. Gas lamps are located at an average distance from each other of 150 feet and arc lights are placed from 300 to 400 feet apart. All streets are not, however, equally well lighted, the above apportionment of lights indicating the average provision for the streets.

BUFFALO

The Gas Service.

The gas lighting service of Buffalo is rendered by a private enterprise under the name of the Buffalo Gas Company. This company, which controls the entire lighting of the city (by gas) was organized in October, 1899, and is a consolidation of the Buffalo City Company and the Buffalo Gas Light Company. It also owns the entire capital stock of the Buffalo United Gas Light Company and about 90 per cent. of the People's Company. The company operates under a perpetual franchise. The requirements as to service are fixed by periodical contracts. The contract now in force covers a five-year period from March 1, 1902, to March 1, 1907. The company is bound to light, extinguish, clean and keep in repair the public street gas lamps, for which service it receives 17 cents per month per lamp. It is required to furnish gas of not less than eighteen-candle power to both the city and the private consumer. The company has a capital stock of \$2,000,000, 6 per cent. non-cumulative preferred, and \$7,000,000 common issued in exchange for the shares of the old companies. There is a bonded indebtedness of \$5,900,000 first mortgage 5 per cent. gold, issued in 1897, due in 1947, secured by all the property of the company and by a pledge of the bonds and stocks of the People's Gas Light and Coke Company owned by the Buffalo Gas Company. A franchise tax has been levied annually since 1900, but no such tax has been paid for any year. The tax for the year 1904-05 is \$39,187.49 plus \$920.95 levied in name against a constituent company.

By the contract already mentioned the prices for lighting are to be as follows:

Public Lighting.—To light not less than 5,500 lamps:

March 1, 1902, to March 1, 1903,	\$0.79 per 1,000 cubic feet.
March 1, 1903, to March 1, 1904,	.78 per 1,000 cubic feet.
March 1, 1904, to March 1, 1905,	.77 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1905, to March 1, 1906, .76 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1906, to March 1, 1907, .75 per 1,000 cubic feet.

There are no free lights.

Private Consumers:

March 1, 1902, to March 1, 1903, \$1.1999 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1903, to March 1, 1904, 1.1998 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1904, to March 1, 1905, 1.1997 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1905, to March 1, 1906, 1.1996 per 1,000 cubic feet.

March 1, 1906, to March 1, 1907, 1.1995 per 1,000 cubic feet.

Twenty cents per 1,000 cubic feet to be deducted if paid on or before the tenth of the month. Notices are sent on the first of each month. The company had in June, 1905, 645 Welsbach lamps and 5,134 others, making a total of 5,779 lamps in operation.

The Electric Light Service.

The electric light service is also furnished by a private enterprise known as the Buffalo General Electrical Company. The relations of the electric company with the city are fixed by periodical contracts. The one now in force, dated March 1, 1902, is for five years. The company was incorporated in 1892. The capital stock authorized was \$5,000,000 and \$2,706,500 of stock was issued. The bonds issued were \$2,375,000 first mortgage 5 per cent. due February 1, 1939. There are no payments to the city in addition to the general property taxes and the state franchise tax. This franchise tax for 1904-05 was \$30,071.94. For public light the company is to provide enclosed series, arc, direct current system. The city is to use not less than 2,500 lights, each of which is to be 2,000 candle power. The maximum price to the city is \$75.00 per lamp per annum during the period of the contract. There are no free lights. There is no requirement as to the maximum price of current for private consumers. The total number of lamps in streets and public places in the city is 2,792 arc lamps and 2,000 incandescent lights. There is no specific right to purchase the plant at the end of a given time; but action, if any, may be taken by the municipality under state law.

NEW ORLEANS

By JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

The city of New Orleans has no municipally owned light service. All streets and public places are illuminated with electric light. A contract with the gas company for lighting purposes is restricted to a few public buildings. The gas company is operating under a monopoly grant from the legislature of Louisiana, under an act passed in 1873 by which the company was given the exclusive privilege of making and vending gas in the city of New Orleans for a period of fifty years beginning with 1875. The sole and only consideration paid for this valuable franchise is an obligation to furnish gas to the

Charity Hospital free. The maximum price allowed to be charged by the company under its charter is \$4.00 per thousand cubic feet.

The city gets no free service whatever, and she pays for the gas consumed by her, at the same rate that private consumers pay. The gas company pays taxes on its real estate and its franchise; the latter being on a very low valuation. Some years ago a corporation, called the New Orleans Railways Company, organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey, gained control of the street railroads, the gas company and the electric companies, and it still operates these public utilities.

The gas company having a monopoly grant from the legislature, it cannot be interfered with. New electric companies are organized every few years, but are always absorbed by the controlling company. The price of gas at present is \$1.40 per thousand cubic feet, subject to cash investment of much less, as a great many shares of it, were issued without payment of bills. The present gas company derives the bulk of its income from fuel gas, as the electric company has practically driven gas out of the field for illuminating purposes, where the electric wires are strung. The capital of the gas company is \$3,750,000—but represents an actual cash investment of much less, as a great many shares of it, were issued without any cash being paid, they being issued in payment of franchise grant. In order to understand this, it is necessary to relate the history of gas illumination in New Orleans.

In 1835, by an act of the legislature, the New Orleans Gas Light Company was granted the exclusive right for forty years, of selling gas in the city of New Orleans. In 1860 this monopoly was extended to expire in 1895. In 1873 the legislature of that year gave the Crescent City Gas Light Company, a new corporation, the monopoly right of making and selling gas, for fifty years from the time that the franchise of the old company expired.

A great deal of litigation followed, which finally resulted in the merging of both the old and the new companies, with a nominally paid-up capital of \$3,750,000, of which, new shares to the amount of \$1,250,000, were given to the holders of the new franchise for the franchise, and the works, etc., were transferred by the old company to the consolidation. The city has no right to purchase the plant, and has no control whatever over the accounts of the company or over its rates. The shares of the gas company are leased by the New Orleans Railways Company which now operates the franchise.

The Electric Light Service.

The electric service used in New Orleans is furnished by private corporations. The franchise rights are not exclusive, as the control of the streets is vested in council. The right to use the streets for purposes of this kind, is usually granted without consideration, with the exception, that some years ago, when the underground conduits were ordered established in the business portion of the city, the company was obliged to reserve for the city enough space to place its fire alarm wires in the company's conduits.

The maximum rate is not fixed in the franchise, and the city has no control whatever over the operation or finances of the electric company. The electric companies now in operation, are all under one control and owned

by the New Orleans Railways Company, which has a contract for lighting the city of New Orleans with electricity, for the period ending September 30, 1905, and a second contract for a period of ten years thereafter.

Under the old contract, about to expire, the city pays \$127 per annum for each arc light, for incandescent lamps it pays the same as private consumers. Under the new contract, which will begin October 1, 1905, the city will pay \$75 per annum per arc light for overhead wires, and \$90 per annum per arc light for underground wires. The underground system comprises a very small portion of New Orleans, and has 476 arc lights, while the overhead system has 1,251 arc lights.

The tariff for private consumers is twenty cents for Kilo-Watt hour for incandescent service, and ten cents for motors or power rates, which are regulated by meters. This tariff for private consumers, although printed in the company's contracts, is not strictly adhered to, as dozens of private consumers have made contracts with the company upon the best terms that are obtainable, which vary greatly in various cases.

A competitor in the electric business has appeared during the last year, and is now taking contracts for light to be furnished after next January. Whether or not this is a permanent institution, is yet to be seen. It may be absorbed by the present company, as has been the fate of all its predecessors.

The consolidation of these companies through the New Orleans Railways Company, has been financed as usual, by the issuance of bonds, and preferred and common stock, in the usual manner of paying the nominal price of about two or three times the cash value of the property.

MILWAUKEE

By JOHN A. BUTLER, Milwaukee, Wis.

There is no municipal gas service in Milwaukee. By an act of the legislature in 1852 the Milwaukee Gas Light Company was given the exclusive right to use the city's streets for the purpose of piping and selling gas for illuminating purposes. The grant of this franchise appears to have been practically unconditional. There are no free lights, and no money payments to the city except taxes which are levied on the assessed valuation of the company's property which includes its franchises. The city has no control of the company other than the usual police powers as to streets and alleys. There is no reserved right to purchase.

The authorized issue of gas company bonds is \$10,000,000. The amount sold is \$7,300,000 and the amount of stock issued is \$4,000,000. The following is the schedule of prices of gas used for illuminating purposes:

First 1,000 cubic feet, \$1.20; discount .20, net \$1.00 for prompt payment.
Next 34,000 cubic feet, \$1.10; discount .20, net .90 for prompt payment.
Over 35,000 cubic feet, \$1.00; discount .20, net .80 for prompt payment.

For Fuel Purposes.—First 10,000 cubic feet (per 1,000 cubic feet), \$1.00; discount .20, net .80 for prompt payment. Next 10,000 cubic feet (per 1,000

cubic feet), .90; discount .20, net .70 for prompt payment. Over 20,000 cubic feet (per 1,000 cubic feet), .80; discount .20, net .60 for prompt payment.

The number of public lights is 2,596 and the annual charge per light \$28.

The number of lights per mile of street varies and cannot be stated.

The streets are lighted by gas and electricity, and by oil in the outlying districts. The latter service is, however, limited.

The electric light is furnished by the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company, which, as a consideration for a grant of valuable additional railway franchises, and the extension of others, sells twenty-five street car tickets for \$1.00, and is required to furnish electricity to swing, elevate and operate all bridges crossed by its lines.

There are no established maximum prices for private lighting. There is a good deal of agitation at present as to uniform rates and a maximum price, and the fact that varying provisions for rates and a maximum price appear in the franchises of the Edison Company, the Badger Company and the Milwaukee Power and Light Company, all of which were absorbed by the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company, may prove to be a means of securing uniform rates and a maximum price from the latter company for lighting.

The number of underground wire lights is 1,108. The annual price per light is \$90. The number of overhead wire lights is 818. The annual price per light is \$81. The number of miles of street occupied is 530.014. The electric lights are supposed to be 2,000-candle-power lights. This is very doubtful. In fact they probably do not exceed 1,200- or 1,500-candle-power. No free electric lights are furnished to the city.

All electric lighting franchises granted up to June 8, 1896, were merged in the Milwaukee Railway and Light Company, but said franchises do not prohibit any person or corporation from producing and selling electric light to private parties. Light is accordingly furnished to many consumers by private individuals and estates, which operate on licenses or permits granted by the common council, subject to the general police control of public thoroughfares.

The city has in the past fifteen years entered into five-year contracts with the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company and the Gas Company to light the streets by electricity and gas. The last contract for electric street lighting will expire on December 20, 1905. The city has no control except as specified in these contracts.

The capitalization of the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company is about \$15,000,000. "All the real estate and personal property, owned and used in the operation of a street railway or electric lighting business, is exempt from general taxation, but in lieu of taxes the corporations operating and maintaining such street railways or electric light systems, pay a license fee of 4 per centum on gross cash receipts, if the same exceeds the sum of \$500,000 per annum; and 2 per centum if such companies' gross cash receipts fall below \$500,000 per annum." (Chapter 354, laws of 1899.) The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company's gross receipts upon railway and lighting system for the year 1904 were \$3,191,908.62, on which a tax of 4 per centum

was paid, which equals \$127,676.34. The Milwaukee Light, Heat and Traction Company's gross cash receipts for the year 1904 were \$456,279.01, on which a tax of 2 per centum was paid, which equals \$9,125.94.

The law (Chapter 354 of the laws of 1899) provides that the taxes or license fees paid by street railway and electric light companies are to be proportioned among the cities, towns and villages through which said railway or light systems are operated, upon the mileage basis of track and wire; but, in making such division the city where the principal portion of such railway or lighting business is maintained, shall receive three portions of such fee per mile within its boundaries to one portion in towns and villages. Twelve per centum of the taxes or license fees thus received by the municipality are to be paid to the county treasurer, the same to be applied as state and county tax. Thus, for instance, the sum of \$127,676.34, above mentioned, does not entirely find its way into the city treasury. There must be deducted the amount which goes to the towns and villages outside of the city through which said systems are operated. Finally, there must be deducted 12 per centum which goes into the county treasury, leaving the net amount which goes into the city treasury, \$98,529.62. Of the \$9,125.94 taxes paid by the Milwaukee Light, Heat and Traction Company under this provision of the law, only \$136.34 finds its way into the city treasury.

Finally, of the public service corporations in this city there is only one—the Milwaukee Gas Light Company—which is now directly taxable by this department. Two years ago, its total assessment was \$1,700,000. This was increased by \$1,550,000, making a total assessment of \$3,250,000, now yielding an annual tax revenue to the city of approximately \$75,000. The balance of the public service corporations located and doing business here, as already shown, are all outside of the province of the local tax authorities.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The gas lighting service in the District of Columbia is rendered by two corporations, styled, "The Washington Gas Light Company" and "The Georgetown Gas Light Company." The former was incorporated by an act approved July 8, 1848.¹ The later incorporated July 20, 1854.²

The price paid for lighting the public streets with gas is controlled by the appropriation law of March 3, 1905, which provides that not more than twenty dollars per annum shall be paid for each gas lamp with a flat flame burner adjusted to consume five cubic feet of gas per hour, and not more than twenty-six dollars per annum for lamps equipped with an incandescent mantle of not less than sixty candle power. This amount includes the entire cost of maintenance. The act further provides that the illuminating power of

¹ 9 Stats. at Large, 722. This charter was amended, see 10th Stats. at Large, pp. 734, 788, 835.

² 10th Stats., 786.

gas shall be equal to twenty-two candles. The average number of street gas lights is about seventy-five per mile. The commissioners are authorized to erect and maintain additional lights, if in their judgment it may be necessary. The charges for gas to private consumers are regulated by an act of Congress, entitled, "An act relating to the sale of gas in the District of Columbia," approved June 6, 1896.*

The electric light service is rendered by a private corporation entitled, "The Potomac Electric Power Company." The price charged by it for public service is fixed by act of Congress and is shown in the appropriation law for the fiscal year 1906, which provides that not more than eighty-five dollars per annum shall be paid for any electric arc light operated wholly by means of underground wire. The amount expended per annum for this purpose, including extensions of the service, must not exceed \$84,400. No part of this appropriation may be used for electric lighting by means of wires over the streets of the city of Washington. The average number of street electric arc lights is about thirty per mile. The street lighting by gas and electricity is generally satisfactory.

The method of assessing gas light and electric light companies for municipal taxes and the taxes derived therefrom are substantially as follows;

The Electric Lighting Companies.

The real estate and conduits, poles, lamps, etc., of such companies are taxed at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per centum per annum on the assessed valuation thereof.

These companies are required to make affidavit through their proper officers to the board of personal tax appraisers on or before the first day of August of each year as to the amount of their gross earnings for the preceding year ending June 30th, and to pay thereon to the collector of taxes 4 per centum.

The payments for the fiscal year 1905 are as follows:

Real estate	\$8,048.57
Personal	26,542.33

The Gas Light Companies.

The real estate and the mains, meters, pipes, etc., of such companies are taxed at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per centum per annum upon the assessed valuation thereof.

These companies are required to make affidavit through their proper officers to the board of personal tax appraisers on or before the first day of August of each year as to the amount of their gross earnings for the preceding year ending June 30th, and to pay thereon to the collector of taxes 5 per centum.

They are also required to take up, lay, and replace all gas mains on any street or avenue to be paved at such time and place as the District authorities

* 29th Stats. 251.

shall direct. The price of gas for both public and private use is regulated by Congress.

The payments for the fiscal year 1905 are as follows:

Real estate	\$24,469.98
Personal	80,977.63

NEWARK, N. J.

The Gas Service.

The gas service in the city of Newark is supplied by private enterprise. The first gas lighting company in the city was incorporated by an act of the legislature in 1845. This charter gave the gas company power to do all things necessary to light the city and the streets and alleys. In fact the gas company claims the right to open any street in the city without a permit. The charter was originally for twenty years, but later was extended to thirty years, and then finally made perpetual. The laws of the state require each company using public streets to pay into the state treasury 2 per cent. of the gross receipts. The state then apportions these gross receipts among the various taxing districts in proportion to the value of the public easement in each district. Ordinary real estate and personal taxes are levied upon the property of the company in the same manner as all other taxes are levied. The apportionment of the 2 per cent. state franchise tax for the city in the year 1904 amounted to \$17,949.59. There is no law of the state or ordinance of the city which fixes the price to be paid by consumers and the public generally for the use of gas. The city, however, has a contract with the gas company whereby it pays \$19.00 for each street lamp burning 4,000 hours per year with a four-foot burner. This contract runs for five years from March 1, 1903. The price paid by private parties generally for gas is \$1.10 per thousand cubic feet with a discount of ten cents if the bill is paid within five days after date. The public buildings of the city are charged at the rate of \$1.00 per thousand cubic feet with no discount or rebate. The gas company has never been required to give any free lights for the public service. The burners used on the lights are generally old fashioned—the gas lamp lights being used largely to supplement the electric light. There are few streets which are lighted solely by gas lamps; nearly all the street corners have electric lights. The total number of gas lamps in the city during 1904 was 2,136.

The Electric Light Service.

A number of electric light companies were organized in the city of Newark during the past twenty years. Their charters are of a general character and conform to the general laws of the state concerning corporations. The companies are required to obtain the consent of property owners before placing their poles in the front of such property. They are also required to

place their wires underground in subways constructed by themselves, but under supervision of the board of public works. The right to use the streets was unconditionally granted in perpetuity. No compensation for the use of the streets was paid to the city directly. However, a 2 per cent. franchise tax upon the gross receipts is paid to the state and is then apportioned by the state board of assessors in the same manner as the gas company's tax is apportioned. The amount received by the city of Newark from the electric companies of the 2 per cent. franchise tax during 1904 was \$11,359.36. There is no limitation in the city ordinances regulating the maximum price of light or power furnished. The standard price for light to private consumers is thirteen cents per Kilo-Watt hour with a sliding scale or discount according to the current used. The city pays for public lighting \$95.00 per year for 2,000-candle power arc lamps burning 4,000 hours. Incandescent lamps of 30-candle power are supplied for public lighting at \$17.00 each per year burning 4,000 hours. There are no free lights furnished for the public service. The city also pays ten cents per Kilo-Watt hour for all lighting current used in the public buildings.

PROVIDENCE

BY SIDNEY A. SHERMAN, Providence, R. I.

Gas and Electric Light System.

In Providence both the gas and electric light service are furnished by private enterprise. The Providence Gas Lighting Company has an exclusive franchise for twenty years from August 8, 1892. It must lay mains in new streets on ninety days' notice and keep those streets in repair for six months. It must maintain the quality of its gas at as high a standard as when the contract was made. There is no provision for testing the gas, and the city depends entirely upon the company for the keeping of the contract. After paying 8 per cent. dividends on capital, and making a "reasonable and prudent provision for carrying on its business," it must apply the balance of net earnings to a reduction of the price of gas.

There is no maximum price which may be charged, and there are no free lights for public service. Gas is almost out of use for street lighting, only \$24,000 being expended for it as against \$253,000 for electric lighting. The company pays taxes of about \$30,000 a year, besides the special franchise tax of 3 per cent. on gross earnings, which tax amounted to \$28,000 for the year ending June 30, 1904. The company has until recently been conservative in its financiering. The United Gas Improvement Company interests being in the field to secure control, the Providence Gas Company applied to the general assembly last winter for power to increase its capital from \$3,000,000 to \$6,000,000. It was given power to raise it to \$5,000,000. Its stock sells in the market for \$101, par \$50.

A reduction in the price of gas from \$1.30 to \$1.20 was made in 1894, and from \$1.20 to \$1.10 in 1896. There has been no reduction since, despite the fact that the receipts increased 38 per cent. in the five years from 1898 to 1903, but, following on the recent inquiry of a city committee as to quality and pressure of gas, a reduction to \$1.05 for prompt payment of bills was made in 1904. The city has no control over the accounts of the company, nor even over the quality of gas. There has come to light no attempt to evade the franchise provisions, and there is no temptation to evade them—they leave the company free. The city has no right of purchase. The present company is the result of some consolidation about fifteen years ago. It bought out its rivals.

Electric Lighting.—The "Act Concerning the Narragansett Electric Lighting Company," passed by the general assembly in January, 1892, gave that company an exclusive franchise of twenty years from July 1, 1892, in the city of Providence. Under authority of that act a contract was made by which the company was to furnish the city 2,000-candle-power lamps, with 10 amperes of current, under an E. M. F. of 45 volts each. The lights were to burn all night and every night. If the cost of light should be cheapened by any new invention the price was to be lowered accordingly. On the other hand, if the city ordered the wires placed underground, the interest on the cost was to be added to the price. There is no provision as to maximum charge, nor are there any free lights. The city pays for about 2,000 lights. The company pays taxes of about \$20,000 a year, besides a special franchise tax of 5 per cent. on gross earnings, which tax amounted to \$36,899 for the year ending June 30, 1904.

Providence is probably the best lighted city in the United States, having approximately 2,000 lights in 238 miles of street. According to the *Bulletin of the Department of Labor* for September, 1901, page 955, Providence pays \$1.71 per capita for street lighting, a sum far in excess of that paid by any other city in the United States, with the single exception of Rochester, N. Y. The capital stock authorized is \$7,000,000; outstanding, \$3,000,000. The company has issued bonds to the amount of \$1,000,000. The stock pays 8 per cent. dividends, and sells at \$100, par \$50. Up to 1897 the price of the public arc lights was \$140.52; from 1897 to 1900 it was \$127.75; from 1900 to 1903, \$118.03; and from 1903 to 1906 it has been \$109.50. These prices are exorbitant, and amount to a bonus to the company of \$75,000 to \$1,000,000 a year. The scheduled charge for private lighting (incandescent) is one cent per hour for a 16-candle-power lamp. There are discounts for large buyers, and complaints are made that the discount is variable and that each buyer must make his own bargain with the company. It is impossible to verify this. The city has no control over the accounts of the company.

In the legislative act it is provided that the city may establish a municipal plant, for public purposes only, on a majority vote of all those elected to each branch of the council, not less than four months before any annual election, and its ratification by a majority of the property voters (we do not have universal suffrage in Rhode Island cities) at that election. Failure bars another attempt for three years. Such a resolution was assured a majority

in the common council in 1896, but lacked one vote in the board of aldermen, and therefore failed to get to the voters. A similar resolution was introduced in the council in June of this year and referred to the committee on lighting, which failed to report, and the time has now passed when it could be voted on in November, even if the council should refer it to the electors.

ST. PAUL

The Gas Service.

Public and private lighting in this city is done by private agencies. All the gas and electric concerns are embodied in the existing grantee, the St. Paul Light Company. This company is required to give good and constant service to the city and all the inhabitants and to furnish, without discrimination, gas or electric current to all persons along its mains and lines. The company pays a tax on real estate and personal property and also 5 per cent. annually of the gross earnings. The maximum price for gas to January, 1905, is fixed at \$1.15 per thousand cubic feet; thereafter, until January 1, 1907, to diminish at the rate of five cents per year, and thereafter during the continuance of the existing franchise not to exceed \$1.00 per thousand cubic feet for private use. For public use to light the city streets, public grounds and buildings, the price shall never exceed \$1.00 per thousand cubic feet of gas actually used. The price charged per lamp per hour for public lamps is \$26.25. There are in all 2,920 lamps, none of which are free.

The Electric Light Service.

In the case of the electric light service the grantee is required to place electric wires on any street within six months after they are ordered to do so by the common council. The grantee is also required to furnish an ample supply for power purposes to persons desiring to use the same, within six months after being so ordered by the council, provided the petitioner agrees to pay for an amount of power equal to or not less than two horse-power per day for one year. The company pays real and personal property taxes, and 5 per cent. of the gross earnings to the city as in the case of the gas service. No maximum price for current is fixed. The city, however, pays from \$90 to \$100 per arc lamp per year. There are no lights supplied free of charge.

GRAND RAPIDS

By DELOS F. WILCOX, Grand Rapids, Mich.

The Gas Service.

There is no public gas plant in this city. Gas is furnished by the Grand Rapids Gas Light Company under a franchise granted May 5, 1890, for a period of thirty years. There is no provision for public lighting and no

limitation as to the price to be charged for gas except that it may not exceed the price charged at the time the franchise was granted. As a matter of fact, however, the price has been voluntarily reduced so that gas is now furnished at \$1.10 per thousand cubic feet with twenty cents discount, if bills are paid before the fifteenth of the following month. The same price is charged whether the gas is used for illuminating or for fuel purposes. The only payment made by the company to the city treasury is in the form of regular taxes. The company is taxed on a valuation of \$1,885,850. Last year the company paid \$28,522.39 in taxes. The city has no control over the accounts of the company and has no right reserved in the franchise to purchase the plant.

The present gas company has a monopoly of gas lighting and there has never been any competition. There is little complaint of evasion of franchise conditions because there are practically no conditions in the franchise ordinance except with reference to the opening of streets and the laying of pipes. However, there has been a great deal of complaint about poor quality of gas, together with varying pressure. It is understood that many of the gas mains are too small for the increasing service, so that extraordinary pressure is required in the downtown district in order to get any at all for the remote service. The city authorities are now considering the passage of an ordinance providing for the testing of gas and the regulation of pressure. Under the new city charter, which goes into effect September 1st, the city will have much greater authority in this matter than it now has.

The Electric Lighting.

Private Plant.—All private electric lighting is done by the Grand Rapids Edison Company, which is operating under a franchise granted September 6, 1893, for a period of thirty years. The Edison Company now owns three franchises which were originally granted to different parties. Consolidation was effected several years ago and now there is no competition in commercial lighting although the council has, within the past two years, granted two other electric lighting franchises for twenty-year periods. Neither of these has as yet been used and the indications are that one at least will be forfeited. The Edison Company franchises contain no requirement as to prices or character of service. The only limitations are with reference to the opening of streets, the stringing of wires and the laying of conduits. There is no provision for public lighting. The municipal lighting plant takes care of all street lighting and plans are now on foot to extend the system to enable the city to light its own public buildings. At present the public buildings are lighted by gas or electricity at the same rates as private establishments. There are no free lights provided for, and there is no payment into the public treasury except taxes upon an assessed valuation of \$830,675 which amounts to approximately \$14,000 a year. The company is capitalized at \$1,641,250, of which \$198,750 is preferred stock and \$602,500 common stock, the bonds outstanding amounting to \$850,000. For the year 1904, the gross earnings are given as \$218,015.18 and the operating expenses as \$123,271.05, leaving \$94,-

744.13 as the net earnings for the year. Out of this \$42,000 was charged to interest. This left \$52,744.13 to be devoted to dividends and reserve. The prices are as follows:

Incandescent Lighting.—For first thirty hours' use of maximum connected load, 12 cents per thousand Watts; for second thirty hours' use, 8 cents per thousand Watts; for all further use, 6 cents per thousand Watts.

Arc Lighting.—For first thirty hours' use, connected load, 10 cents per thousand Watts; for second thirty hours' use, 8 cents per thousand Watts; for all further use, 6 cents per thousand Watts.

Power.—For first thirty hours' use of connected load, 4 cents per horse-power hour; for second thirty hours' use, 3 cents per horse-power hour; for all further use, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per horse-power hour.

A discount of 10 per cent. is allowed from these prices, if bills are paid within ten days.

The city has no control whatever of the accounts of the company and has no right reserved in the franchise to purchase the plant. There is little or no complaint of evasion or franchise conditions, as there are none of importance to be evaded.

Public Plant.—A municipal electric lighting plant was established six years ago. The total original cost of the plant was \$186,253.81, \$125,000 of which was provided by the issue of bonds. The construction to date, including extensions, has cost something over \$200,000. The lighting plant is under the control of the board of public works, appointed by the mayor. There are no civil service rules whatever in that department or any other department of the city government. Recently, however, the board of public works, which has control not only of the lighting plant but also of the water works, repair shops, street construction, bridges and several public buildings, has appointed a general manager to have control of these departments. Mr. Samuel A. Freshney, the gentleman appointed, will receive a salary of \$4,000 a year. The municipal lighting plant does not enter into the commercial field at all. The funds for its expenses are provided from the annual budget. The total expenses for maintenance and operation are about \$30,000 a year. The board of public works figures that the public lighting is furnished at an average cost for operation only of about \$45 per lamp, the average number of lamps being something over 600. When the streets were lighted by contract, the cost per lamp was about \$100 a year. It would be unfair, however, to claim the difference between these prices as net profit, for in the present cost of operation as figured by the city no allowance is made for depreciation, taxes, interest, etc. Nevertheless, the city is well satisfied with its electric lighting plant and now has plans under consideration for extending the service so as to provide for lighting of the city hall, public library, police headquarters and the engine houses from the city plant.

SEATTLE

By PROFESSOR J. ALLEN SMITH, University of Washington, Seattle.

The gas supply of Seattle a few years ago was controlled by a corporation operating under a perpetual franchise. A new company entered the

field in 1901, securing a fifty-year franchise by offering cheaper gas and holding out the prospect of competition in the business. As should have been expected, however, competition was short-lived, the old company soon being absorbed by the new.

Under the charter of the new company the maximum price allowed is \$1.50 per thousand feet for light and \$1.25 for fuel. The company, however, has voluntarily reduced the price to \$1.00 for all purposes and is rapidly extending its mains into every part of the city. At the expiration of its franchise the city has the right to purchase its works at an appraised valuation.

Electric lighting is controlled mainly by two private companies—the Seattle Electric Company and the Seattle-Tacoma Power Company, the former having a plant of 20,000 horse-power at Electron and the latter one of 18,000 at Snoqualmie. The city also has a plant of 6,000 horse-power which could, by the expenditure of perhaps \$1,500,000, be increased to 35,000 horse-power.

The fifty-year franchise under which the Seattle Electric Company supplies light and power to private consumers was granted in 1902. The plant which this company owns, though erected primarily to furnish the power to operate its street car system, supplies the greater part of the light and power consumed by private users. The Seattle-Tacoma Power Company is operating under a thirty-six-year franchise granted in 1903.

The municipal authorities exercise no control over the accounts of the lighting companies and, aside from ordinary taxes, no money payments are required. In the case of the electric light franchise owned by the Seattle Electric Company, however, the company is required to put its wires under ground in a certain designated part of the city which may be described as the downtown business district, and in this same district it is also required to construct conduits which the city may use free of charge for its municipal police and fire alarm wires and its wires for lighting public places and municipal buildings. The city also reserves the right to lay down in the trenches opened by the company such conduits as it may elect to build at its own expense. In the case of the Seattle-Tacoma Power Company the city may require its wires to be put under ground. The franchise of the latter company fixes a maximum of twelve cents per Kilo-Watt hour for light, and six cents for power. The franchise of the other company, however, contains no restriction on the price which may be charged.

The streets and public buildings belonging to the city are all lighted now by the recently constructed municipal plant. When the bonds were voted for the construction of this plant it was generally understood that it was to furnish light and power for all purposes. Every effort has been made, however, by the private corporations engaged in this line of business to prevent the city from supplying light and power to private consumers. But in spite of this opposition the sale of bonds was recently authorized by an overwhelming popular vote to erect poles and wires for the purpose of distributing light and power for private consumers. It is not yet conceded, however, by the opponents of municipal lighting that the city is to become an active competitor of the private lighting companies. It is now contended in the interest of the private corporations that the purpose of the distributing system which

the city is about to construct is not to supply light and power for commercial use, but to prevent the private companies from charging the consumer an excessive price. This view of the matter might temporarily influence our municipal authorities, but the voters of the city want cheap light and power and will have little patience with the cry of vested rights raised for the purpose of protecting the profits of the highly capitalized private corporations.

It is generally believed here that the price charged for electric light by the private companies is unreasonably high and that the system under which the companies give a rating to each consumer affords an opportunity for discrimination. The chief demand, however, is for cheaper light, and the people will not be satisfied until the municipal plant is used for the purpose of reducing the price of light and power to private consumers. The city has an abundance of cheap power in connection with its Cedar River water supply which could be used to furnish light and power for general consumption. In this respect, however, the city has no advantage over the private companies, but the sentiment here is strongly in favor of municipal ownership and the people believe that the price charged for light, whether furnished by a private corporation or by the city, ought not to exceed the price at which the latter could afford to supply it.

DULUTH

By W. G. JOERNS, ESQ., Duluth, Minn.

The Gas Service.

(a) Originally the gas service in Duluth (in conjunction with the water service) was performed by a private company.

This private company, under the name of the Duluth Gas and Water Company, in October, 1883, obtained from the then village of Duluth what on its face was an exclusive franchise to furnish the municipality and its inhabitants with water and gas. The franchise, by its terms, was to run for thirty years and, under stated conditions, was open to renewal for twenty years longer.

Aside from the stated charge of \$28 per annum per lamp for a minimum number of street lamps, the company was authorized to charge the general consumer at the rate of \$2.50 per thousand cubic feet when used for illuminating and \$2.00 per thousand when used for fuel purposes, the respective consumption being registered in separate meters. The average standard of illuminating gas was fixed at "not less than twenty standard candles." Other franchises for water and light were later granted to private companies in outlying subdivisions that subsequently became part and parcel of the city of Duluth; but they were more or less related to the parent company and for the purposes of this communication the history of the parent company may in the main be taken as also the history of the subsidiary companies.

The private company continued in the exercise of its franchise rights until the year 1898, when, after a shameful record of venality, incompetency

and inadequate and discriminating service, its rights and possessions were transferred to the municipality. Since about August, 1898, the gas (and water) plant has been operated by the city.

At the time of this transfer the company had ceased to do any street lighting, but was furnishing gas for interior lighting and for domestic purposes to the amount of about 20,000,000 cubic feet per annum, through twenty-nine miles of mains and 1,111 meters, at the rate of \$1.90 net per thousand for illuminating and \$1.00 net per thousand for fuel purposes. Under municipal management the consumption was rapidly augmented to, in round numbers, 25,000,000 in 1899 32,000,000 in 1900, 39,000,000 in 1901, 49,000,000 in 1902, 72,000,000 in 1903 until in 1904 the consumption reached 85,862,800 feet. The 1904 product was delivered through forty-eight miles of mains and 3,300 meters at the net rate of ninety cents per thousand for all purposes from January to July and from July 1st on at the net rate of *ninety cents for illuminating and seventy-five cents for purposes of use other than light.*

The consumption has increased during the first half of the present year something over 22 per cent., and stands on the basis of an annual consumption of 105,000,000 feet. The total for the year, however, is expected to substantially exceed this amount. The price remains the same as in the latter half of 1904.

In making comparisons the accepted fact should be borne in mind that, under proper management and normal conditions of production and distribution, as the consumption increases the cost of production and distribution should relatively decrease, or nearly so, and that the cost to the consumer should be proportionately reduced. It should also be remembered that on account of topography, large amount and difficult nature of rock work, extent of territory and scattered consumption and perhaps for other reasons Duluth is a more costly territory to serve than the average. Indeed, a prominent New York technical journal stated about three years ago, upon due investigation and comparison, that, owing to these fundamental difficulties, the "cost of construction" in Duluth, in proportion to number served and quantity output, was "*unparalleled.*" Nevertheless, the favorable basis of charge, as stated, has been arrived at under municipal management.

The present rate was reached by gradual reduction. In 1898, both with the company and the city, the rates averaged \$1.52 $\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand. The plant was then far from self-sustaining. In 1899 the rates were reduced to net \$1.30 $\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand. Notwithstanding substantial improvements in management and economies in both production and distribution the operation still showed a deficit, the aggregate cost per thousand for the year being \$1.53. By the very next year, however, the effects of the broader municipal policy and better management began to show themselves and, though the average earnings per thousand were still further reduced to \$1.24 $\frac{1}{4}$, the cost was reduced to \$1.26 $\frac{1}{4}$ and the deficit to less than \$700 for the year. By 1902 the earnings (rates) had been reduced to \$1.11 $\frac{2}{3}$ and the cost to \$1.07 $\frac{1}{2}$, the works thus earning for the year a net SURPLUS of a trifle over \$1,800. In 1903 the earnings (rates) were still further reduced to \$1.02 $\frac{2}{3}$ and the cost to \$0.95 $\frac{4}{5}$ and the surplus for the year was over \$5,000. In 1904 the net rates

were still further reduced to the average of $\$0.89\frac{3}{4}$, the department so far having followed the plan of absorbing anticipated profits, as near as may be, in reduction of rates, but the surplus for the year was still about \$1,500. In the current year, the rate remaining as established in the latter half of 1904, the average rate for the year is estimated at about $\$0.87\frac{1}{2}$ and the year's surplus at \$25.00, or perhaps even in excess of that amount.¹

The substantial saving to the consumers, thus demonstrated, has been still further supplemented by reductions in the price of service extensions, stoves, lamps, etc., which, under the municipal policy, are furnished by the water and light department of the city at a slight margin above cost, enough to protect the city against any possibility of loss, but still at a material reduction from the standard set by private enterprise.

The gas and water plants of the city came into its possession together and have been, more or less, the subject of joint operation. The two plants were purchased by the city for \$1,250,000. This was practically \$1,000,000 less than the price at which it was originally aimed and schemed to unload them upon the city, but was still in excess of the conservatively estimated actual value thereof by several hundred thousand dollars. It was a compromise figure in which the people of Duluth acquiesced in order to get rid of the private management which had become a virulent public ulcer. The city had already begun the building of an independent, so-called "supplemental," system for the purpose of securing and safe-guarding an "unfailing supply of pure and wholesome water" for which was expended upwards of \$1,000,000 and the annual interest charge increased by some \$50,000. There have also been expended by the city since the purchase of the plants in new construction and extensions (including work now in progress) between \$500,000 and \$600,000. For all such capital expenditures, except the sum of \$91,000 contributed thereto out of the surplus earnings of the plants, the "water and light" bonds of the city have been issued to the now sum total of \$2,746,000. Of this bonded indebtedness \$483,000 was at the beginning of the present year charged to the gas plant. To this amount are to be added some \$25,000 more that are provided for in above bond total and are now being expended in gas extensions. It is only proper to add that an additional \$20,000 (over and above the \$91,000 heretofore mentioned) of the surplus earnings of the water and light department have been appropriated and are now being expended in water and gas extensions.

During the six and a half years of municipal operation (to January 1st of the present year) the city has paid \$331,500 as the aggregate of interest on the bonds covering the "supplemental" system for securing and safeguarding a pure water supply. This was a charge that the private company during its operation did not have to meet. Nevertheless, under municipal management, there has been accumulated (to January 1, 1905,) a *surplus* of \$112,000, of which \$91,000 have heretofore and \$20,000 are being now expended in additions to the plants and are properly classed as "investments in construction" for which otherwise it would have been necessary to issue additional bonds of the city; and there has been saved to the consumers, besides, the sub-

¹ Above fractions of a cent are approximately only.

stantial aggregate of not less than \$375,000, \$25,000 of which came in reductions on service extensions, meters, lamps, etc., and the balance from reductions in the water and gas rates during the period named. Extensions, also, are now made on a guarantee, *from the immediate consumer*, of an annual income of twelve cents per lineal foot (being 8 per cent. on the average estimated cost), whereas in the case of the private company, by manipulation of the authorities, a guarantee *by the city* had been brought about of an annual income to the company of fifty cents per lineal foot, to the illegitimate cost to the city of thousands of dollars. In addition a corrupting political influence has all but been removed, the patrons have enjoyed an impartial and absolutely first-class service in every respect and the benefits from the economies of increased production and improved processes will flow into their pockets instead of being diverted into those of a more or less exploiting syndicate for gain. The only offset to this wonderful credit is the amount of the taxes the private company would have paid to the city had the plants remained in private hands. The aggregate of this offset for the six and a half years in question has been computed at \$105,000 (a figure that, I believe, is undisputed) and is barely a fifth of the actual cash savings, to say nothing of the assured pure water supply, better service and the other benefits mentioned.

In their operation of the water and gas plants the water and light board have followed the plan of charging to construction and hence to capital account:

1. The original cost to the city of the several plants.
2. All new work, material and appliances not heretofore part of the plants, the same being additions and not replacements.
3. All replacements of parts of the plants in worn out condition when taken over by the city, with pro-rata charge only for partial depreciation at that time.

All other replacements, in fact many that might properly have gone to construction, have been charged to *operation and maintenance*, the policy and practice of the board having at all times been a broad and liberal one in the direction of keeping the plants in a high state of efficiency out of the earnings thereof with as little encroachment as consistently possible on the capital account. This capital account, except as to the \$91,000 of savings (water and gas) invested in construction prior to January 1, 1905, and the \$20,000 now being expended in extensions, as stated, is represented by the "water and light" bonds issued by the city as heretofore set out.

Inasmuch as, under the policy of the board, the plants have been maintained in a state of full efficiency and, as to the part taken over from the private company, in fact improved since the city took charge thereof, no annual sum or percentage has, in the bookkeeping of the department, as yet been charged off for depreciation. Neither has any sinking fund provision been made to date and this for the reason that, except as the accumulated surplus has been devoted to construction, the policy heretofore has been to absorb, as much as possible, any anticipated surplus in the reduction of rates. Now that rates, in their reduction by practically one-half, have been brought down to a living basis for the consumer, it is among the mooted possibilities that a sinking fund will be established in the near future.

(b) The present price of gas, namely, ninety cents for illuminating purposes and seventy-five cents for other than light, was arrived at under municipal production and distribution. It is the full and fair product of municipal management, and, under well-known rules, meant the continued reduction in the cost of production and distribution as the consumption increased.

In August, 1904, however, the city was prevailed upon, still controlling absolutely the distribution, to enter into a ten-year contract to purchase its gas supply from a newly established local private coking plant which had the gas on hand as a by-product and which, in this way, the people of Duluth sought to aid and stimulate as a new, important and growing industry. The basis of charge, on a sliding scale, was just what the city had demonstrated it could produce the gas for with its own generator, with such future reductions as it was calculated the city could effectuate under stated increased stages of production. The water gas, therefore, furnished by the city was of practically twenty-two-candle power and of 650 heat units. The coal gas now supplied to the city, under the arrangement stated, is only from eighteen to nineteen-candle power but of 700 heat units. The new product is thus less in illuminating power but greater in fuel capacity.

There are those who earnestly regret even this departure from absolutely exclusive municipal production and control, even though apparently safeguarded by rigid contract provisions, and fear that it may pave the way for that undermining of the public enterprise by the private selfish interest which unfortunately has become more or less historic; but the assumed general economic benefits to the community from the special arrangement were pictured in such favorable light that active opposition was practically eliminated. The ultimate wisdom of the step remains, of course, a matter of future determination.

(c) *Management.*—This essential in Duluth is met by several important and more or less unique requirements and has been safe-guarded with much care in the "home rule" charter of the city.

The important features that have made for success in the municipal operation of the water and gas plants in Duluth may briefly be summarized as follows:

1. Absolute divorce from politics, in theory as well as practice.
2. Business management.
3. Charter safe-guards against mismanagement within and against encroachments and attacks for private gain from without, including the barter and sale or other disposition of the public plants.
4. Intelligent public spirit of the people of Duluth.

The management of all public utilities, owned and operated by the city, is by charter provision vested in the so-called board of water and light commissioners. This board is composed of five members who are appointed by the mayor of the city, *one in each year* (except, of course, in case of vacancy), hold office for *five years* and serve without pay. The personnel of the board has from the start been of the highest order. This board employs and fixes the compensation of a general manager or managers and such other officials and subordinates as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the depart-

ment. It also has absolute and uncontrolled management of the public service utilities committed to its care, including the right of contract and of the purchase and sale of supplies, etc., except as its powers may be restricted by the following provisions:

a. Contracts involving an expenditure of more than \$300, whether for material or construction (except in cases of emergency) must be in writing and in duplicate, one copy thereof being filed with the city comptroller who is also the comptroller of the board.

b. All funds on hand, in excess of \$200, shall daily be deposited in the city treasury, the city treasurer also acting as the treasurer of the board.

c. Extensions when ordered by the board can only be made upon approval by resolution of the common council.

d. Water and light bonds can only be issued by the city when authorized by the common council and approved by popular vote.

e. The board must make monthly report of its receipts and expenditures and semi-annual general reports to the common council and its vouchers must be countersigned by the city comptroller.

f. The president of the board is by virtue of his office a member of the "city conference committee," which exercises a general supervision over the affairs and expenditures of the city and its several departments, and must report to such committee in writing, for its use and for the use of the common council of the city, at the first yearly meeting and at each monthly meeting thereafter:

First. The amount of contracts let and of purchases made for material and supplies.

Second. The amount of expenses incurred for labor.

Third. The amount of expenses incurred and contracts made for all other purposes and a synopsis of any contract calling for the payment of money (except bonds).

Fourth. The amount of moneys collected by the board from time to time.

Fifth. The number of employees at the date of the report, working on a fixed salary, in the service of the board and the monthly or annual salary of each.

g. The general civil service provisions of the city have a limited application to the employees of the department.

h. The general charter provisions governing misconduct and removal from office of public officials also apply to the members of the board and its subordinates.

The Electric Light Service.

1. The electric lighting in Duluth (excepting in the unimportant suburb of New Duluth, Fond du Lac, where it is done in a small way is at present furnished by a company called the Duluth General Electric Company. This company, by purchase, absorption and reorganization, is the successor of numerous prior companies that had obtained franchises in the past—in part from the city proper and in part from separate suburban political divisions that later became a part of the city. These franchises have

either expired by limitation or, by their express terms or inherent defects, are now revocable at the pleasure of the city.

The stipulations for rates also, where such are in terms other than that they should be *reasonable*, are now of no practical effect; for the charges of the company have been more or less determined by the competition of the *municipal gas plant* and, so far as public lighting is concerned, by contract provision which the exigency of threatened municipal invasion of the electric lighting field wrung from the private enterprise and the continued danger of municipal activity is likely to maintain.

Under the provisions of Duluth's "home-rule" charter, public service corporations exercising franchises in the city must file with the city comptroller annual sworn statements as to value of plant, indebtedness, capital stock, earnings, expenses, etc. From that of the Duluth General Electric Company filed to cover the year ending December 31, 1904, it appears that (in pursuance of receivership proceedings as to its immediate predecessor, foreclosure and reorganization) the company paid for its property in its own bonds and stock as follows:

Bonds	\$1,175,000
Stock	117,000

and expended in construction since the time of such purchase the sum of \$137,660.47, thus making the total alleged cost to the company on December 31, 1904, \$1,429,660.47.

The bonds outstanding are given, as:

First mortgage bonds	\$596,000
Income bonds	625,000
Total bonds	\$1,221,000
The stock (as above)	117,000

Total outstanding capitalization \$1,338,000

The earnings for 1904 were given as follows:

City of Duluth (public lighting)	\$23,678.48
General consumers	168,708.16
Power	24,406.17
Miscellaneous	6,799.14
	<hr/> \$223,591.95

The expenses:

Taxes paid	\$5,646.06
Interest paid	66,560.00
Maintenance and operation	106,380.35
Depreciation of plant at 3 per cent.	42,889.81
Net income	2,115.73
	<hr/> \$223,591.95

It has been publicly charged that the issue of "first mortgage bonds" aforesaid more than represents the actual present cash value of the plant. There is substantial reason to believe that this claim is well-founded. If so, the company is grossly over-capitalized and the charge, in its method of book-keeping as developed by its report, of 3 per cent. on \$1,429,660.47, or \$42,889.81, for depreciation of plant is vastly in excess of the proper figures. It likewise follows that, under such revised estimate, its earnings would be grossly excessive notwithstanding the acknowledged low rate at which, as we shall see, the public lighting is provided for by contract with the city.

This public lighting contract with the city was made on April 29, 1901, by the immediate predecessor of the present company, and covered a period of five years from August 1, 1901, with right of renewal for another five year period at option of the city.

Under this contract the company agreed to furnish *arc* lights of the so-called "series alternating system of enclosed lamps of practically $6\frac{1}{2}$ amperes and 70 volts rating," all night service, at \$55.00 per annum; also bunches of *incandescent* lights for street lighting (two lights of 16 c. p. each to the bunch) at \$18.00 each per annum. It was stipulated that the city should use and pay for a minimum of 300 arc lamps (a number then already exceeded) and it was provided that arc lamps should not be over 1,000 feet apart and incandescent clusters 400 feet.

In addition the company was obliged to furnish *free of charge*:

1. One arc light for each public park;
2. Lights for City Hall;
3. Twenty-five incandescent lamps of 16 c. p. each in police headquarters.

All other incandescent lights used in the public buildings of the city were further to be furnished at the rate of 7 cents per Kilo-Watt hour or 40 cents per month for each 16 c. p. light. The city also reserved the right to use the poles, etc., of the company for fire alarm, telephone and other municipal service *free of charge*. Under this contract there were in use in the city on December 31, 1904 (last official report), 395 arc and 225 incandescent lights.

The contract in question was urged upon the city notwithstanding the company then held the city's three year contract (from August 1, 1900), *with two years yet to run*, at \$70.00 per lamp per year and no obligation as to incandescent lights whatever. The 1900 contract had, on its part, been a modified renewal of an expired earlier contract providing for the payment of approximately \$100 per arc lamp per annum.

The reason for both the reduction to \$70 and the later one to \$55 is to be found in the public agitation for a municipal electric lighting plant. Indeed, when the \$55 contract was thrust upon the city the people had already regularly voted a bond issue for a public lighting plant. This was immediately prior to the adoption of the city's "home rule" charter and meant that, notwithstanding the specious legislative inhibition intended to prevent just this consummation of the popular desire, the way was open for the construction by the municipality of an electric lighting plant for *public* lighting, which, once constructed, could be added to indefinitely and ultimately made to include the *commercial* lighting field as well. The admittedly low charge for public light-

ing, under the contract referred to, was, however, diligently and effectively used as an argument why the city should not engage in the "electric lighting business" (notwithstanding the brilliant success of the municipal gas plant) and served as an excuse to hypnotized and misguided public servants to disregard the mandate of the people until the bonds they had voted had, through lapse of time, become useless for their intended purpose.

The cost, to the consumer, of private or so-called "commercial" lighting is more difficult of determination. It is not the result of contract or of franchise provision but of a practical condition brought about by the competition, as far as it can apply, of the municipal gas plant in the lighting field. That the charges are discriminatory as between one customer and another is not fairly open to question. This discrimination is exercised in behalf of favorites, public officials and others where, in one way or another, there is an expectation of a *quid pro quo*; but it has been as one of the features of the war on the city gas plant that the most substantial concessions have been made or held out to the captured or coveted consumers of light. In a field in its nature open to more or less uncertainty at best, it is thus doubly difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the basis of charge for private (commercial) lighting. Some six or eight months ago the question of relative charge was reported upon by a committee of a public organization in the city, confessedly upon data furnished exclusively by the special interest in question, to the effect that the maximum rate for private lighting in Duluth was 13.5 cents (15 cents less 10 per cent. for cash discount) per Kilo-Watt hour as against an average maximum of 14.48 cents in cities of the United States of 40,000 population and over—according to the "confidential report of the National Electric Light Association for 1903."

The occasion for the report was an attempt on the part of the electric lighting company to commit the city to a premature renewal of the public lighting contract for another term of years, the present contract, at that time, having still almost two years to run; while the animus for the move was clearly to be found in a renewed agitation for a municipal electric lighting plant and the expressed determination to apply to the state legislature, then shortly to convene, for such legislative enactment as would pave the way for action by the municipality if later a plebiscite in Duluth should so determine.

The contract in question was not renewed at that time nor has the question as yet been again revived. The enabling legislation that the municipality sought through its governing body, for which there was a strong popular local demand and which was considered a vital prerequisite to either the purchase or construction of an electric lighting plant by the municipality, also failed of enactment. Notwithstanding at least the nominal support of an apparently unanimous local legislative delegation, these mysterious influences carried the day and the popular will for the time being was defeated. As a palliative the private company, through a member of the local legislative delegation who acted as its spokesman, offered to renew its public lighting contract with the city for another five or ten year period "at the same rate or less than is paid at present" and, "not later than the expiration of the present

CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS RELATIVE TO MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

R. W. SKINNER, JR., Editor

A study of the forty-five State Constitutions from the standpoint of restrictions placed by the fact that during the past decade there has been a strong tendency to increase the number of such restrictions; the State authorities were left, for the most part, quite free in their organization of local government to take advantage of constitutional revisions in order to curb this freedom. The movement has been general, Delaware, Louisiana, New Hampshire, New York, Minnesota, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia, within the past decade, all but one have incorporated in the new documents numerous important limitations upon the powers of the authorities in relation to municipal affairs.

The appended table, which is intended to indicate by specific article and section, every restriction of some of the important features which it discloses may be summarized as follows:

1. There is an utter lack of uniformity among the various State Constitutions as to the limitations placed upon the powers of the authorities.
2. The New England States show some approximation to uniformity in their comparative provisions in its Constitution whatever, while the whole six New England States put together have fewer limitations than any other group.
3. As regards the other sections of the Union no marked tendency to uniformity is displayed among the various restrictions in its present Constitution, while Indiana, a neighboring State, has very few. South Carolina has the most.
4. In general, constitutional restrictions have increased decade by decade and, for the most part, have been put in date. To this there is, however, one striking exception in the case of New Hampshire which revised its Constitution in 1776, but cut in its Constitution of nearly ninety years ago.
5. The importance of the problem of city government in the United States is reflected unmistakably in the fact that no State Constitution is without some provision relating to the powers of the city authorities.

PROVISIONS IN THE SEVERAL STATE CONSTITUTIONS RELATIVE TO MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

State	Year	How Chartered A-Special Act. B-No Special Act. C-General Laws. D-Consent of the Electors Is Necessary for Incorporation. E-Cities May Frame their Own Charters.	Provisions Regarding Debts.	Contracting of Debt Must Be Authorized by the Electors.	Provisions Regarding Lending of Credit, Etc.	Regulation of the Taxing Power of Cities. A-As to Betterment Taxes.	Provisions Applying to City Officials, Etc.	Limitations of the Power of State Officers, Cities, Towns, etc. A-As to Franchise. B-As to Local Taxation. C-As to Assumption of City Debt.
Alabama	1901	IV 104(B) XII 229(C)	IV 104 XII 222 XII 225	XII 222	IV 94	XI 216 XII 223(A)		XII 220
Arkansas	1874	XII 2(B) XII 3(C)	XVI 1		XII 5 XVI 1	XII 4		XII 12(C)
California	1879	XI 6(B C) XI 8(E)	XI 18	XI 18	IV 31		IV 21 + 32 IV 25 XI 9	XI 12(B)
Colorado	1876	XIV 13(C) XV 2(A)	XI 8	XI 8	XI 1 + 2	VIII 8	XII 3 XIV 12	XV 11(C)
Connecticut	1818	X 3			XXV (1877)		XXIV (1877)	
Delaware	1897	IX A			VIII 8			VIII 4(C)
Florida	1885	VIII 8 Am. 1900(B)			IX 10	IX 5	III 20	
Georgia	1877		VII 7 VII 10	VII 7	VII 6			VII 8 (C)
Idaho	1889	XII 1(C) XI 2 III 19(B)	VIII 3 XII 4		VIII 4 XII 4		III 19	XI 11(A) XII 3(C)
Illinois	1870	IV 22(B) XI 1(B C)	IX 12			IX 9(A) IX 10	IX 11	IV 20(C) IX 10(B) XI 4(A)
Indiana	1851	XI 1 (B C)	XIII 1					X-6(C)
Iowa	1857	III 30(B) VIII 1(C)	XI 3		VIII 4			
Kansas	1859	XII 1(B C) XII 5(C)						
Kentucky	1891	Sec. 59(B) Sec. 156(C)	Sec. 158 Sec. 159	Sec. 157	Sec. 179	Sec. 157 Sec. 181 Am. 1903	Sec. 161 Sec. 167	Sec. 163 Sec. 176 Sec. 181
Louisiana	1898	Art. 48(B)	Art. 281 Art. 270	Art. 281	Art. 58	Art. 224 Art. 229 Art. 232 Art. 233 Art. 243 Art. 270	Art. 210	Art. 48(C)
Maine	1820	IV Part 3 Sec. 14(A)	XXII				IV Part 1 Sec. 5	
Maryland	1867	III 48(A)				III 58		
Massachusetts	1820	Am. II (D)						
Michigan	1850	XV 1 (A)						
Minnesota	1857	IV 33(B) IV 30(C) 1868 X 2 A			IX 15(1879)	IX 1(A)	IV 33	
Mississippi	1890	IV 88(C) VII 178(C)			VII 183			
Missouri	1875	IV 53(B) IX 7(C) IX 10(E) XII 2(C)	X 12	X 12	IV 47 IX 6	X 1 + 11	IV 53 IX 13 + 14	X 10(B)
Montana	1889	XV 2(A)	XIII 6	XIII 6	XIII 1	XII 5	V 36 XVI 6	XII 4(B) XIII 4(C)
Nebraska	1875	III 15(B)	XIV 2	XIV 2	XII 1	IX 6(A)	III 15 + 16	XIII 4(C)

RELATING TO CITIES AND THEIR AFFAIRS.

R., HARVARD COLLEGE.

by them upon State and Municipal authorities in relation to city affairs, reveals very plainly the restrictions. The early State Constitutions contained very few provisions relating to municipal government. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, one may mark a growing dis-
 vement in this direction has evidently strengthened apace, and of the nine States, Alabama, which have substantially revised their old Constitutions, or adopted new ones, during the last
 on the power of the State authorities in relation to city charters and upon the powers of municipal

restriction in every State Constitution relating to cities or their affairs will furnish food for study.

the limitations placed upon State and municipal authorities in their respective dealings with city

the paucity of such limitations. One of these States,—Vermont,—has absolutely no such limitations
 ver limitations than some of the Western or Southern States.

among States geographically allied. Illinois, for example, has a large number of constitutional
 th Carolina, again, has many, while Tennessee has only three in all.

t part, are now most numerous in those States whose Constitutions have been revised at the latest
 revised its Constitution in 1903, yet inserted no larger number of restrictions than did Connecti-

akably in the growing attention which municipal matters demand from constitutional conventions.

NS RELATING TO CITIES OR THEIR AFFAIRS.

Limitation of the Power of the State Over Cities. A—As to Franchises. B—As to Local Taxes. C—As to Assumption City Debt.	Provisions regarding Special Acts.	A—Legisla- ture shall Provide for the Organiza- tion of City Government. B—The Or- ganization of City Government.	Regulation of City's Right. A—To Grant Franchises. B—To Make By-Laws.	Provisions Regarding the Municipal Judiciary.	Provisions Regarding changing a County Seat.	Provisions Relating to Special Cities.	Miscellaneous Provisions
II 220(A)			XII 228(A)	VI 168	IV 104	XI 216 XII 225	XII 227
II 12(C)	V 25	XII 3(A)	XII 4(B)		XIII 3		VII 52 IX 3+5 XVI 10+13 XIX 1
II 12(B)	IV 25		XI 9 B XI 19	VI 14	IV 25 XI 2		XI 7+13+14
V 11(A)	XV 2 V 25				V 25 XIV 2		V 35
							X 2 Am. XV+XVIII
II 4(C)							V 9 XII
		III 24(A)		III 20	VIII 4		
I 8 (C)							
II 11(A) I 3(C)			XII 2(B)		III 19 XVIII 2		XIII 5
20(C) 10(B) 4(A)	IV 22				IV 22 X 4	Am. 1891	
5(C)							
	III 30				III 30		
		XII 5(A)			IX 1		
c. 163(A) c. 176(C) c. 181(B)	Sec. 59 Sec. 156	Sec. 160(B)	Sec. 164(A)		Sec. 59 Sec. 64		
t. 48(A)	Art. 49				Art. 278	Art. 130-158 Art. 309-320	Art. 199 Art. 209 Art. 212 Art. 215 Art. 276
	IV Part 3 Sec. 13			VI 8			
	III 33					XI IV 27	
		Am. II (B)					
		XV 13(A)		XV 14	X 8		X 7
	IV 33				IV 33		XI 2
	IV 87	IV 80(A)			XIV 259		XII 254
10(B)	XII 2	IX 17(B)			IV 53 IX 2	IX 20-25 Am. 1900 VI 12+13	IX 15
I 4(B) II 4(C)				VIII 24	XVI 2		
II 2 (A)	III 15				III 15		III 15

Nebraska	1875	III 15(B)	XIV 2	XIV 2	XII 1	IX 6(A)	III 15+16	XIII 2
Connecticut	1818	X 3			XXV (1877)		XXIV (1877)	
Delaware	1897	IX A			VIII 8			VII
Florida	1885	VIII 8 Am. 1900(B)			IX 10	IX 5	III 20	
Georgia	1877		VII 7 VII 10	VII 7	VII 6			VII
Idaho	1889	XII 1(C) XI 2 III 19(B)	VIII 3 XII 4		VIII 4 XII 4		III 19	XI XII
Illinois	1870	IV 22(B) XI 1(B C)	IX 12			IX 9(A) IX 10	IX 11	IV 2 IX XI
Indiana	1851	XI 1 (B C)	XIII 1					X-6
Iowa	1857	III 30(B) VIII 1(C)	XI 3		VIII 4			
Kansas	1839	XII 1(B C) XII 5(C)						
Kentucky	1891	Sec. 59(B) Sec. 156(C)	Sec. 158 Sec. 159	Sec. 157	Sec. 179	Sec. 157 Sec. 181 Am. 1903	Sec. 161 Sec. 167	Sec. Sec. Sec.
Louisiana	1898	Art. 48(B)	Art. 281 Art. 279	Art. 281	Art. 58	Art. 224 Art. 229 Art. 232 Art. 233 Art. 243 Art. 270	Art. 210	Art.
Maine	1820	IV Part 3 Sec. 14(A)	XXII				IV Part 1 Sec. 5	
Maryland	1867	III 48(A)				III 58		
Massachusetts ..	1820	Am. II (D)						
Michigan	1830	XV I (A)						
Minnesota	1857	IV 33(B) IV 39(C) 13, 8 X 2 A			IX 15(1879)	IX 1(A)	IV 33	
Mississippi	1890	IV 88(C) VII 178(C)			VII 183			
Missouri	1875	IV 53(B) IX 7(C) IX 10(B) XII 2(C)	X 12	X 12	IV 47 IX 6	X 1+11	IV 53 IX 13+14	X 10
Montana	1889	XV 2(A)	XIII 6	XIII 6	XIII 1	XII 5	V 36 XVI 6	XII XII
Nebraska	1875	III 15(B) XIII 1(B C)	XIV 2	XIV 2	XII 1	IX 6(A)	III 15+16	XII
Nevada	1864	VIII 1(A)			VIII 10			IX 4
New Hampshire ..	1903				Part II V			
New Jersey	1875	IV 7(B C)			I 19		IV 7	
New York	1894	III 18(B) VIII 1 (A)	VIII 10		VIII 10		V 9 XII 3	III
North Carolina ..	1875	VIII 1(A)	VII 7	VII 7	VII 7	VII 7		
North Dakota ..	1889	II 69(B) VI 130(C)	XII 183 XII 184		XII 185		II 69	
Ohio	1851	XIII 1(B) XIII 2(C)			VIII 6			VIII
Oregon	1857	XI 2(A)			XI 9			XI 8
Pennsylvania ..	1873	III 7(B) XV 1(C D)	IX 8+10 XV 3	IX 8	IX 7		III 7	IX 6 XVI
Rhode Island ..	1842	Am. IX (C) (1892)						
South Carolina ..	1895	III 34(B) VIII 1(C) VIII 2(D)	VIII 7	II 13		VIII 6 VIII 8		VIII
South Dakota ..	1889	III 23(B) X 1(C)	XIII 4+5 Am. 1896		XIII 1	XI 10(A)	III 26	X 30
Tennessee	1870				II (29)	II (29)		
Texas	1876	III 56(B) XI 4(C) XI 5(A)	XI 5		III 52 XI 3	XI 4 XI 5	III 56	
Utah	1895	VI 26(B) XI 5(B C)	XIV 4 XIV 5	XIV 3	VI 31		VI 29 XII 17 XXI	XII XIII XIV
Vermont	1796							
Virginia	1902	VIII 117(B C)	VIII 127		XIII 185	VIII 128 IX 136 XIII 173+170(A)	IV 63 VIII 120+122	VIII XIII
Washington	1889	II 28(B) XI 10(B C E)	VIII 6	VIII 6	VIII 7	XI 12 VII 9(A)	XI 8	XI 8
West Virginia ..	1872	VI 39(B E) XI 1(B C)	X 8	X 8		X 9	IV 8 VI 27	X 60 XI 5
Wisconsin	1848	[XI 1 A] Am. IV 31(B) Am. IV 32(C)	Am. XI 3				XIII 9	
Wyoming	1889	III 27(B) XIII 1(C) XIII 2(D) X 1(C)	XVI 4+5			XV 6	III 37 VI 15 XIV 1	XIII

Except where otherwise specified, Roman numerals stand for articles, Arabic numerals for sections.

III 2 (A)	III 15				III 15		III 15
							X 2 Am. XV+XVIII
VIII 4(C)							V 9 XII
		III 24(A)		III 20	VIII 4		
VII 8 (C)							
XI 11(A) XII 3(C)			XII 2(B)		III 10 XVIII 2		XIII 5
IV 20(C) IX 10(B) XI 4(A)	IV 22				IV 22 X 4	Am. 1891	
X 6(C)							
	III 30				III 30		
		XII 5(A)			IX 1		
Sec. 163(A) Sec. 176(C) Sec. 181(B)	Sec. 59 Sec. 156	Sec. 160(B)	Sec. 164(A)		Sec. 59 Sec. 64		
Art. 48(A)	Art. 49				Art. 278	Art. 130-158 Art. 300-320	Art. 109 Art. 209 Art. 212 Art. 215 Art. 276
	IV Part 3 Sec. 13			VI 8			
	III 33					XI IV 27	
			Am. II (B)				
		XV 13(A)		XV 14	X 8		X 7
	IV 33				IV 33		XI 2
	IV 87	IV 80(A)			XIV 259		XII 254
X 10(B)	XII 2	IX 17(B)			IV 53 IX 2	IX 20-25 Am. 1900 VI 12+13	IX 15
XII 4(B) XIII 4(L)				VIII 24	XVI 2		
XIII 2 (A)	III 15				III 15		III 15
IX 4(C)	IV 21	VIII 8(A)		VI 9			
							Part I VI Part II IX+X
	IV 7			IV 7			
III 18(A)	III 18 XII 2	XII 1(A)		VI 5+17	III 18		
		VIII 4(A)					
	II 70	VI 130(A)			II 69 X 169		
VIII 5(C)		XIII 6(A)			II 30		
XI 8(C)	I 21	XI 5(A)			I 21		
IX 9(C) XVII 9(A)					III 7		III 7
				X 7			
VIII 4(A)		VIII 3(A)			VII 8	Am. 1901	II 12 VII 11 VIII 5 VIII 10
X 3(A)	III 23	X 1 A		V 23	III 23		Am. 1898
				XI 9			
	III 56				III 56 IX 2	XI 7	XI 8
XII 8(A) XIII 5(B) XIV 6(C)	VI 26	XI 5			VI 26 XI 2		XI 6 XVI 6
VIII 124(A) XIII 185(C)	IV 51+63+64 VIII 120	VIII 120(B) VIII 121(A)	IV 65(B) VIII 125(A)	VI 98+99 VIII 118+119	IV 63		IV 50+51 VIII 123
XI 8(B)			XI 11(B)	IV 10	II 28 XI 2		
X 6(C) XI 5(A)	VI 39			VIII 19	VI 39		IV 4
	Am. IV 32	XI 3(A)		VII 2	Am. IV 31 XIII 8		
XIII 4(A)	III 27	XIII 3(A)		V 1	III 27 XII 3		XIX 1

Letters refer to classification at the head of the column in which they are found.

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lighting contract with the city, namely, August, 1906, "to reduce its rates for private lighting 20 per cent. below the present rate."

2. For the purpose of "harnessing" the water power of the St. Louis River which empties at Duluth, and utilizing this power for electrical and other purposes on a large scale preparatory work was undertaken some years ago and more recently a powerful company was organized and financed. This company is more or less in the hands and under the direction of local capital and prominent citizens of Duluth are among its directing forces. Incidental to the furnishing of power this company sought and succeeded in having included in its general franchise a franchise also for electric lighting in the city of Duluth. This franchise to the Great Northern Power Company was granted on February 9, 1903, and the company has been granted to September, 1907, to get its general power plant in operation. This franchise, by its terms, is to run twenty-five years and the Power Company is to pay annually to the city one-tenth of 1 per cent. of its gross earnings.

That part of the franchise touching upon electric lighting provides that the rate charged shall at all times be "reasonable" and shall not exceed the maximum of twelve cents per Kilo-Watt hour meter measure. There are also provisions protecting the city, as a consumer of electric power, against discrimination in favor of private companies furnishing light for general use and of any consumer of like magnitude and under similar conditions. It is also provided that the city shall be furnished up to 1,000 horse-power for electric lights for streets, parks, public grounds and buildings, and Aerial Bridge on equally favorable terms.

It is also stipulated that if the Power Company fails to exercise its rights under the lighting part of its franchise within five years from the time of the commencement of its operations that part of its franchise may be revoked at the pleasure of the city. If, however, it does erect and place in operation such electric lighting plant, the city has the right, after five years, to purchase the same upon a valuation based upon the actual cost of duplication at time of such estimate plus 10 per cent., provision being made to arrive at such valuation by arbitration. It is specially provided that in such estimate nothing shall be added on account of franchise. The city may also purchase regardless of time limit whenever it is ready to agree to contract with the Power Company for a period of at least five years for power for such electric lighting, and if the city enters into such contract relation with the Power Company before the company shall have erected its lighting plant the city may revoke the Power Company's franchise in that regard.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES.

Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik. Published by J. C. B. Lohr, Tübingen.

American students will enjoy reading in Vol. XXI, No. 3, the continuation of Professor Werner Sombart's "studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des nordamerikanischen Proletariats," sections III, "Die Lebenshaltung des Arbeiters," and IV, "Die soziale Stellung."

Atkinson, F. W. *The Philippine Islands.* Pp. v, 426. Price, \$3.00. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Blackmar, F. W. *The Elements of Sociology.* Pp. xii, 454. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Bourne, H. E. *A History of Mediæval and Modern Europe.* Pp. xxii, 502. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

A conveniently arranged and well illustrated text-book for school. Emphasis is laid upon those facts which help to explain present conditions. The author is a professor in the college for women, Western Reserve University.

Carrera y Justiz, F. *Introducción a la Historia de las Instituciones Locales de Cuba.* Two volumes. Pp. xi, 300; 510. Habana: Lib. E. Imp. "La Moderna Poesía," 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Chapin, Henry D. *Vital Questions.* Pp. ix, 189. Price, \$1.00. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1905.

The author, a well-known New York physician, discusses in a thoughtful and suggestive manner such social problems as the survival of the unfit, poverty, the child, education, health, happiness, closing with a few words upon death. The style is simple, and free from technicalities. Emphasis is laid upon the necessity of considering heredity and physical conditions in all plans of social betterment. Too much of existing charity is but ameliorative. The volume is a good one to put in the hands of one whose interest in matters social needs quickening.

Conant, Charles A. *The Principles of Money and Banking.* Two Vols. Pp. xvi, 437; viii, 488. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Dorsey, George A. *Traditions of the Arikara.* Pp. 202. Price, \$1.00. Publications Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 17, 1905, Washington.

Traditions of the Caddo. Pp. 136. Price, \$1.00. Publications Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 41, 1905, Washington.

The Carnegie Institution, of Washington, has again given evidence of the valuable work it is doing to record the life and belief of the Indians in these two volumes collected by Mr. George A. Dorsey, the curator of anthropology of the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago. One cannot suppress a regret that more such work was not done in the years before white contact had affected—not to say destroyed—native culture. Far better now than never, however.

The Caddo and the Arikara both belong to the Caddoan stock, yet their folk lore is divergent. The tales are told in simple effective language with abstracts of each at end of the volumes. Many of the traditions are very attractive, all are interesting and suggestive. As folk lore alone they are worth preserving, but they also cast many a rich light upon primitive religion. They will be enjoyed by all and will be of value to all interested either in the Indians or in primitive society.

Goodnow, F. J. *The Principles of the Administrative Law of the United States.* Pp. xxvii, 480. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Greene, E. B. *Provincial America.* (American Nation Series. Edited by A. B. Hart. Vol. VI.) Pp. xxii, 356. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Gulick, John T. *Evolution, Racial and Habitual.* Pp. vii, 269. Price, \$1.00. Washington: The Carnegie Institution, 1905.

"The purpose of this volume is to investigate the cause and effects of what I have called 'segregative breeding.'" "Segregation ranks as one of the fundamental principles controlling the relations of organic beings to each other." The theory of natural selection is not sufficient. Isolation has been indispensable. Environment does not control the organism, for variation depends chiefly on the organism. Even with "man, segregation was the leading factor through countless generations." Not merely does an animal from innate sources get adaptation to present environment but: "In the degrees of attainment reached in co-operative action (with the division of labor and community of interest) and in anticipatory and discriminative action (securing adaptation to future conditions), we find a definite test of the stages of evolution reached—a test that is applicable to the lowest as well as to the highest living creatures."

The only original evidence is presented in the author's observations upon the snails of the Hawaiian Islands. Further than this the volume consists of digests of the work of the biologists, and attempts everywhere to show and emphasize the fact of isolation. The style is heavy and involved, the terminology needlessly conspicuous and complex. The author is uncertain whether acquired characteristics are inherited or not. Only the biologist will read the book with pleasure. It is doubtful whether it makes any real contribution to our knowledge of the subject. There are several excellent plates of Hawaiian snail shells.

Guyot, Yves. *La Comédie Protectionniste.* Pp. xii, 466. Price, 3.50 fr. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1905.

Haggard H. Rider. *The Poor and the Land.* Pp. xli, 147. Price, 75 cents. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Blue books are not always widely read nor interesting to read. This volume, a reprint of a blue book, is a report upon the Salvation Army Colonies in this country and England. Mr. Haggard was appointed a commissioner to examine these and suggest some feasible means of getting many of the city poor into the country. He is a strong believer in this policy and has great faith in its practicability and effectiveness. On the whole, he heartily approves the colonies at Fort Amity and Fort Romie, though he points out certain mistakes. He gives an account of these and likewise tells how he interested the Canadian government to the extent of setting aside a very large tract of land for such purposes. The three requisites for success are sufficient capital at low interest; careful selection of the settlers and of the land; skilled and sympathetic management of both after settlement. The policy could well be adopted in England itself, the author thinks. While of greater significance to English readers because the problem there is more acute, the report deserves a wide reading here, and careful consideration. It contains several illustrations of the colonies visited.

Haines, H. S. *Restrictive Railway Legislation.* Pp. x, 355. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Hardy, E. J. *John Chinaman at Home.* Pp. 335. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

The author, for some years chaplain of H. B. M. forces, writes in a very bright and breezy way of his observations in China. The account is rambling, jumping from city to city with no special attempt at system. The author does not hesitate to quote freely from Smith and other writers. Nevertheless, we are told in interesting fashion a good bit about Chinese village life and customs, about houses and clothes, marriage and death, spirits and religion. One chapter is devoted to missionaries, for whom the author speaks a good word. The volume will be enjoyed by all who do not care for a more serious study. There are a number of good illustrations. The book would present a more dignified appearance had the publishers omitted from the cover the statement that the author is "the author of 'How to Be Happy Though Married.'"

Heilprin, Angelo and Louis, Editors. *Lippincott's New Gazetteer.* Pp. 2053. Price, sheep, \$10.50; half Russia, \$12.50. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1906.

See "Book Reviews."

Herzfeld, Elsa G. *Family Monographs.* Pp. 150. Price, \$1.25; paper, 75 cents. New York: for sale by Brentano and by "Charities," 105 East Twenty-second street, New York, 1905.

An exceedingly interesting history of twenty-four families living in the Middle West Side of New York City. The families are of various nationalities. Much information is given relative to economic and social life, standard of living, tables of expenditures, domestic habits. The monograph is valuable

and will be very serviceable to students of city life. Miss Herzfeld has not given a snap judgment upon families which she has just "investigated," but having known them intimately for some time, her words have great weight. Mrs. Elsa Cleaver Parsons contributes an introductory chapter.

Howard, G. E. *Preliminaries of the Revolution.* (American Nation Series, edited by A. B. Hart, Vol VIII.) Pp. xviii, 359. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Howe, F. C. *The City: the Hope of Democracy.* Pp. xiii, 319. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

Dr. Howe announces his new book as "a reversal of method," an attempt at the economic interpretation of the city. While this would lead to the expectation of a dispassionate study, the volume resolves itself into an arraignment of the evils of privilege, a strong argument for municipal ownership, a return to the democracy, and finally into a dream of the ideal city which would follow the author's methods of reform.

The author goes over the familiar advantages and disadvantages of city life, and finds the source of practically all the evils in the control of valuable privileges and immunities by business interests through machine politics which has been extended into state and national life. Dr. Howe sees municipal ownership as the only path by which to lead the business man to the same standard of ethics held by the professional man, and convert his talents to the good of the city instead of to its detriment. The growing solidarity of the city entitles it to self-government, a more responsible executive, and a council elected at large.

Dr. Howe proposes to solve the problem of the slums by cheapened transportation and new building laws, to reform the penology which punishes and does not reform. The resulting growth of civic pride and consciousness will place democracy outside of a class struggle; will purify politics—which must always be corrupt while government offers prizes to those who conspire against it. With home rule secured, the city free to determine its revenues and activities, "the new civilization, which is the hope as well as the problem of democracy, will be open to realization."

Hunt, William, and Poole, R. L. *Political History of England.* Twelve Vols. Vol III. Pp. xviii, 495. Price, \$2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft. Jahrgang xxix, Viertes Heft. Leipzig: Gustav Schmoller, 1905.

Among the articles of interest to American readers in this number are the following: "Skizze der Entwicklung der Arbeiterorganisationen in dem Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," L. von Wiese; "Das Währungswesen in China, auf den Philippinen, in Panama und anderen Silberwährungsländern," Cl. Heisz.

Kelley, Mrs. Florence. *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation.* Pp. x, 341. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.
See "Book Reviews."

Kirkup, Thomas. *Progress and the Fiscal Problem.* Pp. vi, 198. Price, \$1.40. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1905.

This little volume gives us an admirable resumé of the main points or considerations in issue in the fiscal-industrial controversy that has been acute in England during the past three years. Recent industrial developments in England, America and Germany that have brought these great nations into such sharp competition for the world's markets; the entrance into British markets of American and German producers with such adverse results to English manufacturers; the results of free trade and the effects of "dumping"; and the feasibility of tariff reform—these are succinctly discussed. The author is notably free from cant or rant; he is concise and lucid in his style; he exhibits a firm grasp of the elemental facts and forces that have governed the radical changes of the last three decades and that will chiefly determine future developments; and he is sane in his argumentation and withal so considerate that even those who disagree utterly with his conclusions will concede the great force with which he presents the case for the plaintiff in the case of Fair Trade *vs.* Free Trade. This essay is a study in economics and politics and the objective of the author is to demonstrate the part which the state can and must play if England is to hold her own in the world struggle for industrial supremacy. Government in Mr. Kirkup's philosophy is one of the potent agencies that a people must utilize and in the present exigency that confronts England, the chief means to the end sought.

Klein, Abbe Felix. *In the Land of the Strenuous Life.* Pp. xix, 387. Price, \$2.00. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905.

This is one of the most fascinating accounts of a foreigner's visit to America the editor has seen. From a literary standpoint it is a model of simple, direct narrative. The author, a teacher at the Catholic University of Paris, has himself done the book in English (six French editions have been published). The visit was made in 1903, and included stops chiefly in Washington, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Peoria, Philadelphia and New York. He is entertained by his co-religionists and naturally therefore is greatly interested in the development of the Catholic Church about which he gives much interesting information. Everywhere he is impressed by the hopefulness of the people and his criticisms lose their sting by the time he has them written. The account is not to be compared to Bryce's work. It pretends to be nothing except what it is, a journal of a thoughtful man who describes his experiences. In France it has been crowned by the academy and awarded the Montyon prize. It should have a wide circulation here.

La durée légale du travail. *Des modifications à apportu à la loi de 1900.* Rapports de Mm. Fagnot, Millerand et Strohl. Pp. 300. Price, 2.50 fr. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1905.

A very interesting report of the proceedings of the French section of the "Association Internationale pour la Protection légale des Traivailleurs." It is proposed to gradually reduce the legal working day to ten hours, *even for adults*. The arguments presented are well worth reading even if it is impossible to agree with them all.

Lang, Andrew. *The Secret of the Totem.* Pp. x, 215. Price, \$3.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Levy, Hermann. *Die Stahlindustrie der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.* Pp. viii, 364. Price, 7 m. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1905.

The reader is apt to view with some suspicion a book entitled "The Steel Industry of the United States." So many works of a similar title have been issued which either treat of the trust question with its financial bearings or lead one through an account, more or less detailed, on the purely technical developments of the iron and steel industries. Dr. Levy takes a somewhat different view-point, and gives an excellent exposition on the commercial phases of the situation. In the opening chapters he gives a good, clear-cut description of the changes that took place in the location of the iron and steel plants and the causes of these developments. At the same time he shows the other influences which have operated on the steel industry to make the production of the material cheaper. The influences which brought about the trust, and their effect upon price and production, are carefully examined. In the concluding chapters of the work we find considered the American Export problem with its ever allied questions, Tariffs and Trusts. In no part of the treatise does the author fail to lose sight of the distinctly commercial side of the situation, and the whole problem is handled in a most thoroughly scholarly manner.

Loane, M. *The Queen's Poor.* Pp. viii, 312. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co: London: Edward Arnold, 1905.

A readable though rambling account of the life of the poor with illustrations drawn from a long career as a visiting nurse. It abounds in humorous and pathetic incidents.

McLaughlin, A. C. *The Confederation and the Constitution.* (American Nation Series, edited by A. B. Hart, Vol. X.) Pp. xix, 348. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Meyer, H. R. *Government Regulation of Railway Rates.* Pp. xxv, 486. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Minnich, Michael Reed. *A Memoir of the First Treasurer of the United States.* Pp. 87. Philadelphia: Published by the author, 18 South Tenth street, 1905.

The author has given in brief compass a history of the Hillegas family in America and a sketch of Michael Hillegas, the treasurer from 1775-1789, who deserves, it is stated, more attention than has been given him. Evidences of his activity are given in excerpts from the Votes of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania and Journals of Congress.

Monnier, Auguste. *Les Accidents du Travail dans L'Agriculture et la Législation Anglaise.* Pp. 204. Paris: Larose & Forcel, 1905.

In view of recent attention paid to accidents in agriculture in France, the

author has thought it worth while to review English history and the resulting legislation upon the subject. The workmen's compensation acts and employer's liability acts are quoted quite fully.

Monroe, P. *A Text-Book in the History of Education.* Pp. xxiii, 772. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Moore, J. B. *American Diplomacy.* Pp. xii, 257. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper Bros., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Noyes, W. C. *American Railroad Rates.* Pp. viii, 277. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Pope, Jesse Eliphalet. *The Clothing Industry in New York.* Pp. xx, 339. Price, \$1.25. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1905.

This book is Vol. I of the Social Science Series of the University of Missouri, at which the author is professor of economics and finance. The study was made at first hand in New York City and is restricted to men's and children's outside wearing apparel and to women's cloaks.

The history of the clothing industry is traced, showing how the change was gradually made from custom to ready-made work, the development of the sweating and factory systems. The questions of wages, hours of employment, systems of production and of payment are described at length. Then the author turns to the conditions of employment at home, sanitation, income and expenditures, passing to regulation by law, trade unions, etc.

The work has been well done and the result is not merely a good history of a special trade, but it teems with social facts of great value. The minimum income of heads of families is put at \$300—the maximum of skilled men at \$1,000—the average weekly wages being \$16 to \$18 for the men. Credit is given the Jews for the development of the trade which the author believes will remain in New York and in their hands.

The volume will repay careful study.

Rae, John. *The Sociological Theory of Capital.* Edited by Charles W. Mixter. Pp. lii, 485. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Reeves, Jesse S. *The Napoleonic Exiles in America.* Pp. 134. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Studies, Nos. 9-10, 1905.

Reid, G. A. *The Principles of Heredity, with Some Applications.* Pp. xiii, 359. Price, \$3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Ries, H. *Economic Geology of the United States.* Pp. xxi, 435. Price, \$2.60. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

The writer of this note recently wished to know something about coal, in fact he wished to be thoroughly informed about it. He found the information scattered and some of it hard to get or even unobtainable. A few days later Dr. Ries, "Economic Geology of the United States" came to hand, and in

thirty-two pages treated nearly every phase of the coal question that one can expect in a book that was professedly prepared for college Freshmen.

The book covers the whole field of earth resources of the United States, with considerable attention to regional distribution. In this respect it is unfortunate that a great number of the locations go into no greater detail than the naming of the state. The book is necessarily brief in all its work and very brief in much of it, but it is nevertheless one that will prove itself useful to most people who have frequent occasion to acquaint themselves with the resources of the United States.

Salz, Arthur. *Beitrage zur Geschichte und Kritik der Lohnfondstheorie.* Pp. 200. Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche—Nachfolger, 1905.

The author traces the history of the theory from its appearance in Adam Smith, showing the attitude of economists towards it to the present time. The study gives a good and readable account of a once important theory.

Seligman, E. R. A. *Principles of Economics.* Pp. xlvii, 613. Price, \$2.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

Small, A. W. *General Sociology.* Pp. xiv, 739. Price, \$4.00. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Statistisches Jahrbuch du Stadt Berlin. For the year 1904. Edited by Professor E. Hirschberg. Pp. 421.

Students of social and vital statistics will welcome this carefully prepared and comprehensive report from Berlin which is infinitely superior to anything published in America.

Thwaites, R. G. *France in America.* (American Nation Series, edited by A. B. Hart, Vol. VII.) Pp. xxii, 320. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Van Tyne, C. H. *The American Revolution.* (American Nation Series, edited by A. B. Hart, Vol. IX.) Pp. xx, 369. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Warner, G. H. *The Jewish Spectre.* Pp. vi, 377. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905.

A remarkably brilliant book which will have decided influence upon all open-minded readers. In literary skill the author stands comparison with his better known brother, Charles Dudley Warner.

At first the title is misleading, and it is only slowly that the reader discovers that it is the semitic influence in religion which is attacked. Mr. Warner believes that the real importance of the Jew, whether in ancient history, modern life, or in the future has been greatly exaggerated. To prove this he writes a history of the Jews, treating the Bible from a markedly radical standpoint, but one to which intelligent students are steadily coming. Our Bible cult, the author thinks, has a decidedly bad side in that it checks

inquiry and prevents our reasoning. "Theology is steeped in its own despair and only survives through the ecclesiastic."

Great national life the Jew never had, never will have, for the conception is his ignus fatuus. Nor did he have nor has he purity of race, for intermarriage is constant.

There is no need on his part or on ours for constant regret of the past. We should "realize that those impermanent things we call institutions are not what humanity rests upon, but the reverse." "The mind will be left free to face the questions of personal duty, and of intellectual pleasure and happiness in this enchanting—but often enchanted world." Even religious faiths must change.

The theologian will not relish the argument, but its power neither he nor the layman will fail to perceive.

REVIEWS.

Atkinson, Fred W. *The Philippine Islands*. Pp. v, 426. Price, \$3.00. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905.

The Philippine problem is now old enough to be taken seriously even by those gentlemen who are favored to go there as representatives of the United States government. The era of the lightning civilizers seems to be over. The journalist and the politician no longer need to defend the administration by telling us with fine rhetoric that civilization will be put upon the Filipino like ready-made clothes, and that in a short time a new republic will be born in the East as a result of our schoolmastership.

The last pronouncement, and one to which much respect is due, is from the first American general superintendent of education in the Philippine Islands, Mr. Fred W. Atkinson, who, upon his return to this country, finds that, despite the great flood of literature that has arisen concerning the Philippines, there is a dearth of accurate whole truth information on the situation. This is partly due to the fact that it has been a party issue, and partly to the fact that the archipelago is a little world in itself with a bewildering variety of local conditions. Mr. Atkinson notes with satisfaction the desire of Americans to pass over the question of their acquisition, and center attention on the one open question—government, and the possibility of self-government. He sees that we have a problem. "A work, the very immensity of which is just beginning to be perceived by us has been undertaken without any prospect of immediate, satisfactory completion; but it is our task and we have made an encouraging start."

Some of Mr. Atkinson's reasons for this statement as gleaned from his book are as follows: Democratic principles of government must be considerably modified before they can be applied to a people with the history and characteristics of the Filipinos. Mistakes have already been made and will continue to be made because of the impossibility of a law-maker appreciating the needs of this people without having first hand knowledge gained on the

spot. Concerning the commercial future, he says that while the islands are fertile, "yet he must confess that he is not optimistic in his belief that the Philippines will immediately pay largely in a commercial way." The economic factors present many unsolved problems, and the people have many intellectual and other shortcomings.

The book is well illustrated, and is a beautiful specimen of the book-makers' art. It attempts to cover the whole field, history, geography, commerce, government, religion and the characteristics of the people. The last is probably the most important part of the book, because in Filipino psychology lies the problem, and this is the hardest part of the book to write, and it is a part upon which the author's experience should enable him to make a real contribution.

J. RUSSELL SMITH.

University of Pennsylvania.

Blackmar, Frank W. *The Elements of Sociology.* Pp. xii, 454. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

The author has designed this book as a text for students beginning the subject of sociology. As it is not intended for graduate students it naturally and wisely omits the difficult terminology which characterizes so many current works on the subject. Professor Blackmar has elaborated an outline which is in some of its features quite distinct from any former method of presentation.

The arrangement of parts in the book is of sufficient importance to warrant the reviewer in indicating the line of development. The work consists of the following principal sub-divisions or "books":

- I. Nature and Import of Sociology.
- II. Social Evolution.
- III. Socialization and Social Control.
- IV. Social Ideals.
- V. Social Pathology.
- VI. Methods of Social Investigation.
- VII. History of Sociology.

In brief, the author's plan comprehends a discussion of genetic, pure, and applied sociology in consecutive order, followed by a short survey of the development of sociological thought.

The extensive treatment of social evolution enables the student to familiarize himself with the manner of the development of social forces and institutions, but it is questionable whether he should spend so much time upon this subject if his work in sociology is confined to a single course. The chapter on ethics is very suggestive, but the treatment of religion is less satisfactory, while the discussion of the state is, at least, sufficiently extensive. The author has wisely confined his survey of social origins to a brief outline, but, on the other hand, has not fully brought out the importance of, and the contributions to progress of, the various forms of developing institutions.

Books III and IV, dealing with the material of pure sociology, are to a large extent collaborations from the works of the best thinkers on the subject, to whom due credit is given. Considerable material is condensed into this portion of the book, but it is to be regretted that parts of it have not received greater amplification.

Applied sociology, including social pathology, charities, poverty and crime next find an appropriate and well-deserved place. Principles are discussed and positive rules and suggestions for social betterment given. The subsequent chapters on the Methods of Social Investigation are also very helpful and the final book covers the principal points in the development of social philosophy.

In some minor particulars the author has been less pains-taking. The statement that "Sociology treats of the forces which tend to organize and perpetuate society," neglects to include the disintegrating forces which are no less subject to treatment by the science. The expressions, "survival of the best" and "a completed society," are both liable to misinterpretation. The subject of population, certainly an important one in sociology, has received but scant attention, yet in a work formulated according to the plans developed by the author, a more extended discussion could be well afforded.

On the whole, the author has furnished us with a very serviceable text. It is a logical development of the principles of the science and the different branches have been brought into proper correlation. Many apt illustrations further commend the book. Its style is sufficiently simple for easy comprehension and the student will find it a working manual of great value.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD.

University of Pennsylvania.

Carrera y Justiz, F. Introduccion a la Historia de las Instituciones Locales de Cuba. Two volumes. Vol. I, pp. xxxi, 301; Vol. II, pp. v, 510. Havana, 1905.

Since our acquisition of the Philippines and of Porto Rico the development of Spanish-American institutions has acquired an entirely new interest and importance. In all the larger institutions of learning some attention is now being paid to the political organization of the Spanish-American Republics. Unfortunately there is as yet no treatise in the English language which presents a clear picture of the actual working of Spanish-American institutions. In fact, it is difficult to find any satisfactory Spanish treatises on the subject. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere congratulation that we now have from so high an authority as Dr. Carrera y Justiz an exhaustive presentation of the development of local institutions in Cuba from the period of the earliest settlement until the close of Spanish dominion in 1899.

From Dr. Carrera y Justiz's work it is evident that the Spanish government failed to appreciate the true character of the insurrectionary movement in Cuba. In the attempt to pacify the island, concessions were made to the demand for larger local liberties, but these concessions seemed to have had but little effect on the temper of the people. These two volumes simply confirm the impression that the difficulties were economic rather than political.

The author's description of municipal government during the closing period of Spanish rule also strengthens the impression, which recent years have further demonstrated, that the danger of handing over to the Cubans the management of their own affairs was by no means as great as many of our own statesmen supposed. In fact, the way had been prepared by the important concessions made during the last years of Spanish domination.

Since the beginning of Cuban independence, the author has been laboring year in and year out to infuse new life into the Cuban municipalities. Through the formation of civic associations he has emphasized the obligations of the citizen toward the municipality and through constant agitation has secured improvement to a number of local services. His thorough knowledge of the past and his keen interest in the present enables him to bring the experience of the past into direct relation with the needs of the present. It is to be hoped that these two volumes will be followed by a third on the development of municipal institutions during the period of American occupation and since that time.

L. S. ROWE.

University of Pennsylvania.

Greene, Evarts B. *Provincial America.* (American Nation Series, Vol. VI. Edited by A. B. Hart.) Pp. xxi, 359. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper Bros., 1905.

The volumes of the first series have in general been warmly commended both by the specialist and the lay-reader. In no less degree, it is safe to say, will be the appreciation accorded the five volumes of Group II. They are worthy contributions to the series.

In "Provincial America" (1690-1740), Professor Greene takes up the narrative of the history where Professor Andrews leaves off and in somewhat the same manner continues the study of the colonies for the period of the next half century in their threefold development along political, economic and social lines and in their relation as an outlying portion to the English nation.

Political institutions, as might be expected from the author of that scholarly monograph, the "Provincial Governor," takes precedence in the volume, receiving nearly one-half of its space. Chapter I includes a summary of imperial conditions in 1689 and Chapters II, III, IV, V, XI, XII and XIII treat fully for the period covered of the genesis of the governmental systems of the colonies and Great Britain, the interaction of provincial and imperial interests, and the tendencies to an increased imperial control.

The study of the religious conditions of the time is very much restricted, such attention as the subject receives being given to a great extent to those movements affecting the political situation. Chapter VI is devoted to a discussion of the relaxation of the old Puritan system and the unsuccessful attempt to organize an effective Anglican jurisdiction in America. Whitefield's "Great Awakening," it is true, is briefly touched upon, but of many other religious forces of the deepest significance in provincial life there is scanty reference, if mentioned at all.

A brief survey (Chapter VII) of the French and English interests in America in 1689, precedes a well restrained account (Chapters VIII, IX and X, nearly one-sixth of the book) of the early military struggles (1689-1713) of the two powers for the mastery of the continent.

The economic and social development of the colonies (1690-1740), constituting about one-fourth of the main text, is interestingly and suggestively set forth. Chapter I, drawn largely from the two excellent closing chapters in Professor Andrews' volume, is a good summary of these conditions in 1689, including such topics as extent of settlement, population, social and religious elements, and economic occupations and interests.

In Chapter XIV, "Immigration and Expansion" (1690-1740), making skilful use of the somewhat meagre monographic material of Dexter, Proper and others, the author writes upon the rapid natural increase of population, its reinforcement by a large immigration, mostly of non-English stock to the Middle States and the South, and the consequent extension of the settled area, backward to the mountains and southward to the frontier of the newly founded colony of Georgia (Chapter XV).

Chapters XVI and XVII on "Provincial Industry" and "Provincial Commerce" include such items as the author has been able to glean, in passing, on land and labor systems, products, industries and exports, fur trade, fisheries, finances, intercolonial, West India and oversex trade, navigation acts, privateering, and the like. Meager as the materials are they are well handled and are useful contributions to their subjects. Chapter XVIII, "Provincial Culture," is an interesting treatment of the intellectual and literary life of the people as far as it goes, but much more is desirable.

One feels, indeed, in this volume as well as in others of the series, the inadequacy of treatment of these deeper undercurrents of economic and social change, not only as concerns the assignment of space, but in the lack of a fresh individual investigation. There is not the intimate knowledge of the field evidenced in the chapter on political history.

The book as a whole makes but few investigative contributions. It is based on the "conclusions already familiar to special students in this field." The "almost bewildering mass of local and antiquarian publications" is avoided. There are no citations of manuscripts and no new points of view such as enrich Professor Andrews' work; consequently the volume suffers in comparison. Yet there is some justification for these limitations. It is true that this period is "The Forgotten Half Century" and the subject matter, as the author states in his preface, "has never yet been adequately treated as a whole." In the main, the book is a good piece of work. It is well-written and it conforms to the best standards of historical scholarship.

A few errors are pointed out. In the map of North America for 1689 (p. 6), the frontier lines should not extend so far up the Hudson and Connecticut Valleys. The George Keith schism as one of the causes of Penn's loss of Pennsylvania, 1692-1694, is not mentioned (p. 23). A New England bias is observable in the treatment of the Salem Witchcraft (pp. 27-29), culture in the middle colonies, and other topics. To the Jesuit missionaries should be added the *coureurs de bois* and licensed fur traders as agents in

attaching the Indians to the French (p. 110). There is support for a more favorable view of Governor Keith's character than that given by Franklin (p. 216).

It should be made clear that Ireland sent a great many more immigrants to America than Scotland (p. 229), and that Pennsylvania received the great mass of the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants and was the hive for the dissemination of these stocks to the back parts of the southern colonies. The significance of the early settlement of the Great Valley of the Appalachians, its relation to the tidewater region, and its importance as a highway for the southward movement of population is not brought out.

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

Kennett Square, Pa.

Heilprin, Angelo and Louis (Editors.) *Lippincott's New Gazetteer. A Complete pronouncing Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary of the World.* Pp. 2053. Price, sheep, \$10.50 net; half Russia, \$12.50 net. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1906.

The new edition of "Lippincott's Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary of the World" is a work of great value and contains an up-to-date, reliable and well-selected summary of the most important geographical information. The publishers were fortunate in having the services of Professor Angelo Heilprin and his brother Louis, who have devoted four years to rewriting the last preceding edition of the Gazetteer.

The volume has indeed been largely rewritten. Even a hasty comparison of the new edition with the one that preceded it will show that this claim on the part of the editors is well within the facts. The present edition is said to have 100,000 entries and the editors state that 27,000 new names have been added in this edition. Of the new entries between 17,000 and 18,000 refer to places within the United States.

This new edition of "Lippincott's Gazetteer" contains two features which merit special notice. The first of these two features is that this is the first Gazetteer containing a comprehensive and satisfactory account of the Philippine Islands. The Census of the Philippine Islands published by the United States has made it possible for the editors to incorporate in this volume an adequate account of the Philippine Islands as a whole, and of the important islands and cities included within the archipelago.

Another feature of special merit in this new edition of the Gazetteer is the presentation of the results of the explorations of the last ten years. As the editors say in the preface of the volume: "The extraordinary activity that has marked this field of geographical inquiry during the past few years has done much to reconstruct the map of the globe, and the harvest of new facts now makes possible for the first time a nearly complete picture of our planet." Professor Angelo Heilprin's well known interest in exploration was a guarantee that the Gazetteer would contain an adequate and accurate summary of the results of exploration. Fortunately the volume also gives careful attention to the progress and results of colonization, and emphasizes the

influence which man has exerted upon the conditions of life in different parts of the earth.

In discussing a country or a state the usual form of presentation has been adopted; and the account ordinarily begins with the statement of the size, location and population of the country, a description of the "face of the country," then a statement of its resources and an account of its manufactures and agriculture. Religion, education, government and history are also included in the accounts of the more important countries.

The editors seem to have met successfully the difficult problem of proportion. The State of New York, for instance, is given four columns, Ohio three columns, Illinois three columns, United States twenty-one columns, Europe six columns and England four and one-half columns. New York City has five and one-half columns, Philadelphia three columns, and Chicago two columns. As the volume is written primarily for the American public, relatively more space is given to the American countries and cities than to European and other foreign sections and cities.

The publishers are to be congratulated upon the excellent typography and press-work, and they deserve the thanks of every one who may handle the book for having used light and strong paper. The volume of nearly twenty-one hundred pages can readily be handled with one hand. The weight of the volume, fortunately, does not consist of fuller's earth.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Hill, David J. *A History of European Diplomacy.* Vol. I, *The Struggle for Universal Empire.* Pp. xxiii, 481. Price, \$5.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

In the preface to the first volume of his notable undertaking Mr. Hill states that "A history of diplomacy properly includes not only an account of the progress of international intercourse, but an exposition of the motives by which it has been inspired and the results which it has accomplished. . . . The subject must include also a consideration of the genesis of the entire international system and of its progress toward the successive stages of its development." He also notes that "in a pre-eminent degree this form of history discloses the evolution of progressive ideals . . ."

This ideal purpose of presenting a clear and connected view of the development of the great principles of European diplomacy, is in itself attractive and, if fully realized, would have made the author's work a distinct contribution to historical knowledge. Unfortunately the present volume at least, falls far short of that ideal. Under the title of "The Struggle for Universal Empire," an excellent brief general history of the period from the time of the Roman Empire to the close of the fourteenth century is offered, but the promise of the preface is not fulfilled and the reader will search in vain for that careful discussion of changing diplomatic forms that he has been led to expect. Thus in the first fifty pages, devoted to the Roman world and the barbarian invasions, but seven pages are given to the topics which should have been treated at length,—the diplomatic relations of the period and the

usages of the barbarian kings. The remainder of this section consists of a *resumé* wholly unnecessary if Mr. Hill had taken for granted, as he should, the reader's general knowledge of political conditions and events. Again, in describing the revival of the empire in the west, forty pages of purely general narrative history are followed by two pages of brief, acute analysis of the "invisible empire" as a force perpetuating the moral unity of the old empire, and this analysis is introduced with the statement that "the full significance of the great movements which have been described is in danger of being lost in the multiplicity of details." In truth their significance is lost by this over emphasis on detail. In one chapter alone in this volume is the treatment properly proportioned,—in the third section of Chapter VII in which, under the title, "The Organization of Diplomacy in Italy," are stated the local conditions that made diplomatic intercourse between the states "take the place that the empire had left vacant." In this chapter narrative history is used only so far as is necessary to prove and illustrate the great principles underlying the birth of a new diplomacy in Italy.

The misfortune of the volume is, in short, that it lacks a true perspective. Purely narrative history, of no essential value to the work in itself, when given in such extreme detail beclouds the presentation really intended. If, however, the work be considered as merely a new general history, on the international side, it has many excellent features, being very well written, clear, accurate and even entertaining, while the source references at the end of each chapter, the lists of treaties, the maps, and a comprehensive index render it a valuable reference work. It is also possible that the present volume is considered by the author in the nature of an introduction to the real study he proposes to present in succeeding volumes,—for he apparently intends to expand his work to at least six volumes. If this be true the preceding criticism may have to be modified when the entire work is under consideration, but even supposing it to be true, such an introductory volume was not called for by the plan of the work. Certainly this excellent, and in many respects novel plan of work must be treated with greater discrimination in the use and presentation of materials if the work, as a whole, is to attain the rank of a notable production.

E. D. ADAMS.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

Kelley, Mrs. Florence. *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation.* Pp. viii, 336. Price, \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

Mrs. Florence Kelley's book is the latest addition to the Citizen's Library, and contributes to it original material arranged with striking effect.

The substance of it has been drawn from her wide experiences as factory inspector, agent of the Department of Labor, secretary of the Consumers' League, member of the Illinois bar, but chiefly as a resident for thirteen years of social settlements in New York and Chicago. A career thus circumstanced in social work is unique, and when its records have been tabulated the resulting document is one of peculiar interest. It is an account of "the sadly incomplete process of freeing the conscience of the purchasing

public from participation in gross industrial evils," of the new difficulties of producers, and an estimation of the obstacles in the way of a permanent establishment of ethical gains by means of legislation. Certain novel attitudes of mind and hitherto unoccupied points of view which throw new lights upon familiar situations, strike the reader with such especial and stimulating force that there is no interval of flagging interest or retarded movement. The education of the lawyer, an intimate acquaintance with factory life, philosophy of the social settlement translated into sane utilitarianism by years of friendships with the wage earner as consumer and producer, and with employer and employee,—this equipment enables Mrs. Kelley to re-state, re-define and re-classify the connection between the social morality of economic classes and the legal enactments that hasten, confirm or retard it. The book frames tentatively and yet with a pervasive eloquence, a new charter of statutory rights in industry, with a method pictorial and not polemic. There are seven chapters and five valuable appendices containing the judicial decisions, the effects of which are discussed in the volume proper. More than one hundred of the two hundred and forty-five pages are filled with the discussion of the right to childhood, and of the child's relation to the state as the courts have defined it and as it is desirable that they should hereafter fix it. She tabulates in admirable form the requirements of child, parent, employer, officials, school and community, which will ultimately bring forth a thoroughly effective uniform child labor law. She demonstrates also how judicial rulings have either made the ethical gains secure, or have impeded the moral advance of a community by failing to recognize the new adjustments between employer and employee on the base lines of the factory, the sweat shop, and the great corporation.

Two chapters deal with the new right to leisure—the establishment of which was first striven for in the nineteenth century—and with its troubled status in the different circles of the law. Mrs. Kelley blazes a new path here. She has given a sense of direction to the social conscience, a clear-set goal, and incisive phrases to describe it. Speaking of young and thoughtless needle-workers who constantly jeopardize the success of movements in their behalf, she says, "Overwork seems to come to these girls as blindly as leisure has befallen the women in the well-to-do households." "Leisure," she adds, "is a human by-product," which remains in the crude unsocial form of unemployed time, of accidental idleness, the bane of large numbers of workers. The chapter alludes briefly to minor means of securing leisure through trades labels, associations and public enlightenment; but her chief recourse would be a statutory enactment taking cognizance of, and giving force to, the genuine ethical advance indicated by an attendant turmoil and confusion of effort. For she holds that much of the strife in society is generated in that gap between a human right, to which claim can be laid only by extra legal means of a militant sort like strikes or terminable trade agreements, and the legal recognition of it.

The chapter on women's right to the ballot is in reality less an argument

than a succinct account of what women have accomplished with their new found leisure and culture, and an outline of the public service now open to them if their foothold is made as safe as a man's. Without any of the fine writing and passionate peroration of the early suffragists, specific fields are pointed out for immediate cultivation. She instances the extension of home activities into the school and of woman's widening scope therein as enfranchised teacher and member of education boards. The temperateness of the woman of affairs whose theories are a deduction from twenty years of experience, and not an untried fire of the emotions, leads her to downright practical conclusions that would seem bald if they were not solidly balanced by homely and apt illustrations from her note book.

The final chapters concern the rights of purchasers and the judicial interpretations of them in their most obvious forms of protection against disease conveyed by industries, of protection by trade labels on goods, and of the right to be free from participating indirectly in the employment of children and adults victims of the sweating system. The ethical losses through lack of legislation and retroactive rulings upon these vital concerns are shown by incidents affecting the health, expenditures and civic ideals of both purchaser and producer. The revolt against tenement manufacture of goods should now be made effective by thorough going measures of regulation.

The book ends abruptly, like a formal report, without the final discussion of the ethical trend which the reader expects and is disappointed not to have. Yet Mrs. Kelley has presented a strong case in support of her contention that the mere legal guarantee of liberty in private contract is often a real stultification of that liberty. The inter-relations of the topics and the necessary cross classifications result in a distribution of material which makes it difficult to find given topics. But the general arrangement is thoroughly readable and forceful.

Mrs. Kelley's English is occasionally careless, and some paragraphs have the stamp of ferryboat and trolley car composition, of a haste unsuitable to the discussion of such valuable matter as she crowds into small compass. Her topics are ripe and full: the book may well become a classic on industrial life, but this first edition lacks the final touch of care, the polish of revision to which it is richly entitled.

CHARLOTTE KIMBALL PATTEN.

Philadelphia, Pa.

McLaughlin, Andrew Cunningham. *The Confederation and the Constitution, 1783-1789.* (Vol. X of the American Nation, edited by A. B. Hart.) Pp. xix, 348. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

This is the tenth volume of the most pretentious history of the United States which has yet been undertaken. In the editor's words, "the volume articulates very closely with Van Tyne's 'American Revolution' (Vol. IX), taking as a starting point the defeat of the king's friends in Parliament in the spring of 1782." The narrative closes with the adoption of the constitution by eleven states and is followed by a critical essay on authorities.

The evils which threatened to overwhelm the states in the years imme-

diately following the close of the war with England are set forth in several luminous chapters. It was a pitiable sight, Congress calling on the state governments for money but unable to collect it, seeking to borrow money when unable even to pay the interest on loans already secured, issuing paper money only to have it become a byword, wishing to regulate commerce, though unable to protect it from pirates, threatened with mutiny in its army and with agrarianism and rebellion in certain sections, ignored abroad because unable to enforce its treaties and condemned at home by states which saved themselves the expense of sending delegates, thereby depriving it of a quorum with which to carry on its only business, that of recommendation. It was a severe schooling, but the people learned the lesson well and cured the most of the defects in the new government set up in place of the old.

This was the question for a time, whether they should seek to cure the defects of the old government or set up a new one. Commercial relations between Maryland and Virginia had led to the Annapolis convention. By this time far-seeing statesmen, such as Madison, Bowdoin and Hamilton, realized that a mere commercial arrangement would not suffice, even if all the states had been there to participate. In vain had efforts been made to have a general convention called by Congress. The men at Annapolis now took the bold step of calling such a convention, addressing the states directly, but notifying Congress. The call did not specify that a new government was to replace the old, but delegates who were instructed to find something which would "render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union" could easily say that nothing else would. The revolutionary character of the call, and also of the adoption of the constitution is referred to by Professor McLaughlin, but hardly emphasized enough in view of the popular notion that all resolutions must be violent, not to say bloody.

Hamilton was prominent in pointing out the defects of the confederation and in calling the convention, but thereafter his work is a negligible quantity, because his schemes were too nearly impracticable. Madison, though extremely modest and retiring, supplies the master mind and guiding hand of the convention. If Washington was the father of his country, Madison was the father of its constitution.

But even Madison was defeated on some measures dear to his heart. No defect of the confederation was more palpable than the lack of coercive power in Congress. To cure this it was proposed to give the new government the power of coercion. Even Madison and Pinkney went so far as favoring a negative over state laws, though not favoring coercion by arms, but a happier plan was devised, that of making the new government operate on individuals instead of states and making its constitution and laws the supreme law of the land. Had not this device been instituted for the negative on state laws, Professor McLaughlin thinks the constitution would not have lasted a decade.

Most historians have considered that the great compromise was on the question of slavery, but Professor McLaughlin makes it the matter of equal representation in the senate. Even in the lower house proportional repre-

sentation was won only by six to four, Maryland being divided. Madison stood out to the last for proportional representation in the Senate, but was defeated. In vain did he point out that the danger lay, not in combinations of states according to size, as the smaller states feared, but in the climatic and social differences between the North and South. Georgia, the smallest state in numbers, had been voting with the larger states, but now her vote was divided, one of her delegates, Abraham Baldwin, favoring the plan offered by his native state, Connecticut, and proportional representation was lost by five to five. Perhaps the author is right in calling it the great compromise. Those on slavery have passed away, but this one abides and is likely to abide for many years to come. As a result to-day, Nevada, with her 42,335 inhabitants, is equal in the Senate to Georgia with her 2,216,331, to say nothing of New York with her 7,268,894.

Jay's negotiations with Gardoqui for the right to navigate the Mississippi are described at length, but the full significance of his proposal to give up the river in return for certain commercial privileges is hardly brought out. It was the occasion for one of the first signs of sectional cleavage. Better to union, said some in the South, than union without the river. About the same time that Madison secured the adoption of the report of the Annapolis convention in the Virginia burgesses, a resolution was also passed against Jay's proposed treaty. Soon after this Madison returned to Congress and had the satisfaction of seeing Jay's plans abandoned. But for this there probably would have been no union.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

University of Florida.

Moore, John Bassett. *American Diplomacy: Its Spirit and Achievements.*

Pp. xii, 286. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

This volume is a reproduction with some revision and amplification of a series of articles contributed by the author to *Harper's Magazine* during the years 1903 and 1904. There is no higher living authority on American diplomacy than J. B. Moore. The author of a monumental work on international arbitration and author, also, of what will probably prove to be a work of equal scholarship and magnitude, entitled a "Digest of International Law," now in press, he has in addition had practical diplomatic experience as Assistant Secretary of State of the United States under two administrations and as secretary of the American Peace Commission at Paris in 1898. Whatever he writes is both authoritative and interesting, and shows the most intimate knowledge.

The series of essays here brought together under one cover is not intended to be a chronological narrative of the diplomatic history of the United States, but is, to use the author's own language, rather an exposition of the principles by which the international achievements of our government have been guided, in order that the distinctive purposes of American diplomacy may be understood and its meaning and influence appreciated.

There are altogether ten essays in which are traced the beginnings of

American diplomacy from the appointment of the "Secret Committee of Correspondence" by the Continental Congress in November, 1775; the development of the American system of neutrality beginning with Washington's neutrality proclamation in 1793; the history of the long drawn out fisheries controversy with Great Britain which is hardly yet definitely settled; the story of our diplomatic struggles against the commercial restrictions of the old world and the diplomacy by which the territorial area of the United States has been increased from a fringe of Atlantic States to its present imperial extent. In addition to these are several chapters of special value, owing to the fact that they treat in a continuous and intimate manner certain questions usually neglected in the text-books on American diplomacy. One of these, entitled "Freedom of the Seas," contains a development of the policy of the United States with regard to the right of navigating the high seas, including the straits which connect them and also international rivers. The traditional policy of the United States concerning the doctrine of expatriation and the diplomatic controversies relating thereto are discussed in another chapter. On the subject of international arbitration Professor Moore is by virtue of his extended research and long study qualified to speak with the highest authority. Particularly valuable therefore is his discussion of the development of arbitration sentiment in the United States and his summary of the cases to which our government has been a party. Hardly less valuable is the essay on non-intervention and the Monroe Doctrine, the development of which is traced from the beginning down to the conclusion of the treaty with Santo Domingo now pending before the Senate. In a final chapter, now published for the first time, Professor Moore discusses the influences and tendencies that have characterized American diplomacy from the beginning. Nothing could be more erroneous, he says, than the supposition that the United States has only recently become a world power. In reality it has always been a world power in the fullest and highest sense, he asserts, and the success of the President of the United States in recently bringing about the termination of the war in the Far East was probably due more to a sense of the nation's power than to the personal element.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

University of Illinois.

Reid, G. Archdall. *The Principles of Heredity*. Pp. xiii, 359. Price, \$3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1905.

Although addressed largely to medical men this volume will be found of great value to all students of human progress and social problems. A few, but only a few, chapters will be somewhat difficult reading to one not versed in biology. The author deeply regrets that in the medical schools, in America as well as England, so little direct attention is paid to the factor of heredity. Even in medical literature there is a vast amount of careless writing due often to misuse of terms and ignorance. He appeals, therefore, to medical men to clear up their minds on this important topic. Social workers need this in equal measure.

The work begins therefore with a clear statement of the various theories of heredity and evolution. The reviewer knows of no book in which the significance of these differences is more plainly shown. From time to time there is a brief restatement of the ground covered so no confusion is left in the reader's mind. The author believes and here he is supported by the leading biologists, that *acquired characteristics* are not inherited. This part of his argument deserves most careful study for a large part of our evidence as to what is taking place in society is rendered useless by its confusion of *inborn* and *acquired*.

In Chapter V is given a very good statement of the "recapitulation" theory, that a child briefly summarizes in his own development from the single cell to manhood, the entire organic evolution. The three succeeding chapters deal with the significance of bi-parental reproduction, regression and the cause of spontaneous variations.

With Chapter VIII a new line of argument is taken up. The author believes that the zymotic diseases (those caused by parasitic organisms, tuberculosis, malaria, small-pox) offer the best field for showing the action of heredity and human development. Here he repeats in part the argument given in his earlier works on "The Present Evolution of Man" and "Alcoholism." The account is stimulating and suggestive and has great value irrespective of the question whether the author really solves all the problems raised. He believes that men are slowly evolving against these diseases because they continually eliminate the unfit, *i. e.*, those who are not immune or who cannot conquer the enemy. The longer the experience the race has had against a given disease the greater the immunity. According to his belief there is really no anti-toxin, but that so-called anti-toxin introduces a modified form of the disease into the system, gradually enabling it to stand the virulent form. Thus tuberculosis, fevers, even alcohol are gradually killing off the weak. All attempts at prohibition are therefore doomed to failure. What we should strive for is the elimination of the drunkard not of drink.

With Chapter XVI is begun a psychological study with the discussion of voluntary and reflex actions, the instincts, the mind and mental evolution. Only in Chapter XIX on Automatic Action does the reader feel at first that the author has forgotten his basis of the non-inheritance of acquired characteristics. More careful study avoids the confusion, but the wording is needlessly obscure.

The last four chapters contain much more or less novel. The author in discussing racial mental differences questions the existence of the so-called French or German types of mind and challenges such conclusions as the resorts of baffled thinkers. Racial characters are seldom inborn. The section on Methods of Religious Teaching and on Scholastic Teaching are rather sharply critical of many existing methods and call for careful reading.

In conclusion, "Practical Problems," the questions of physical deterioration, influence of cities, public health, childbirth, insanity are taken up and the importance of grappling with them in accord with the backings of heredity shown.

The reviewer has seldom seen a more carefully worked out thesis. It is both interesting and instructive, though as regards many conclusions the evidence is not yet at hand. In these days when environmental influences are so emphasized, it is well to have our attention focussed occasionally upon the part played by heredity. This the author has successfully done. It is to be hoped that medical men will heed the plea for better co-ordination of their studies to the end that we may all know better just what results, and how, in this great stream of organic development. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the author's belief that man is evolving to-day as much as ever. It is extremely important that we learn how to control such evolution.

I can only hope that all who chance to read these lines will get the book and study it. There will be no regret.

CARL KELSEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Seligman, Edwin R. A. *Principles of Economics.* (American Citizen Series.)

Pp. xlvii, 613. Price, \$2.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Much interest will naturally centre in this recent addition to the rapidly increasing list of books presenting the general principles of economics by reason of the fact that its author easily takes a high rank among the most erudite exponents of the science. A novice may well have some hesitancy about attempting to pass a critical judgment upon the mature product of such scholarship; and, indeed, the present reviewer will not assume the task of estimating the worth of this book in all of its parts, nor will he do more than mention a few of its obvious merits and then consider in a cursory manner some phases of its theoretical expositions.

Before taking up his subject proper, the author devotes thirty pages to classified lists of general references and suggestions for the aid of students and teachers. This is by all odds the most complete assortment of economic literature yet given in any text-book. It may be added in this connection that each chapter throughout the work is preceded by a large list of references pertinent to the topics under discussion. In many cases these references serve a twofold purpose: they enable the author to make acknowledgment of indebtedness for suggestions and they also serve the more important purpose of directing the reader to sources of additional light upon the subject-matter of the chapter.

Limitation of space forbids a full statement of the arrangement of the book. Nearly one hundred and fifty pages are given over to an interesting description of the elements of economic life, such as its foundations, its conditions as expressed in private property, competition and freedom, and its development together with the development of its interpretation in thought. The author gives the subject of value a primacy not usually accorded it in texts, and he is particularly careful to emphasize the social aspects of the subject. So far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, this book is one of the first two in which the capitalization idea is applied to values in general—an idea destined to bear much fruit in the years to come. An important merit

of the work arises from the fact that it was written with particular reference to American conditions. The illustrative matter taken from American sources and presented in the form of tables, maps and charts would alone suffice to make the volume a valuable supplement to the literature used in connection with any general course in economics.

A few theoretical details will now be brought under review. On page 12 the author explains "the seeming opposition between wealth and value" (see also page 185). His explanation seems to imply that wealth is a quantum that may become more or less, whereas value expresses the relation of one quantum to another and is incapable of increase or diminution because when one quantum becomes greater in its relation to another quantum the second quantum becomes less by as much in its relation to the first. To some minds such a value concept will appear to fall short of expressing its essence. To say that x is worth $2y$ implies that in the estimation of an individual (or of the community) x and y possess a potency in common but in unequal degrees—each is capable of improving the well-being of man. The fundamental fact in the case is not that one can condition an improvement *twice as great* as the other, but rather that each alone can effect a positive and definite improvement in human welfare. Since the improvement due to the presence of y is only one-half that dependent upon x , x is said to be worth $2y$ —which is really the formula for price. If the improvement dependent upon a thing (i. e., one unit of the supply) be called the effective utility of the thing, which is the same as its marginal utility, then it takes only one step to formulate a concept of value covering its essence everywhere and all the time—whether for a Crusoe or for a society with well developed markets. Value is effective utility. Because the effective utility of one thing happens to be expressed in terms of the effective utility of another thing, an increase in the effective utility of the first thing does not imply a decrease in the effective utility of the second thing. The second may have decreased, but very likely it has not—so that there is a total increase of effective utility, which means an increase of total value and hence of wealth.

The above line of thought leads to a conclusion directly opposed to that of the author when he says: "There may be a general rise or fall of prices, . . . there cannot be a general rise or fall of values, . . ." (page 185). Indeed, there may be a general rise or fall of values, but there cannot be a *general* rise or fall of prices, because of the reciprocal nature of price, since the term means the amount of one commodity that is given in exchange for another. For practical purposes, however, there may be a rise or fall of prices based on variations in the value of particular commodities while assuming that there has been no change in the value of the commodity in terms of which the value of the other commodities is expressed.

Again, in distinguishing between marginal utility and total utility the author attaches an unusual meaning to the former. He says: "The marginal utility of the stock" of apples "is always equal to the marginal utility of the final unit multiplied by the number of units" (page 176). Most writers restrict the term marginal utility to the utility of the "final" unit. Unfortunately there is employed in common usage no term to express the result of

multiplying the marginal utility by the number of units except the term *value*, nor is this term always used to express this product, because many writers (including of course the author) regard value as something other than utility. However, it is perhaps not best to make the term marginal utility do double duty as Professor Seligman has done, and if it is desired to use some other term than value to distinguish that part of utility which has efficiency in conditioning human welfare from the total utility derived from a stock, perhaps no better term could be employed than that of "effective utility." The effective utility of a stock of apples is the utility of the marginal apple multiplied by the number of apples. This effective utility of the stock is also the value of the stock of apples.

What is the author's conception of normal price? That price which results from an equilibrium of normal demand and normal supply (pages 245, 246, 247). This is good. But when are demand and supply in normal equilibrium? Certainly not when units of the supply are produced at varying costs as the author implies (pages 246, 247). This condition would give the market price. Demand and supply can never be in equilibrium in any enlightening sense of the phraseology unless all units of the supply are produced at the same costs. If there is any advantage anywhere it tends to disappear under competition and the equilibrium would exist only after the advantage had disappeared. When all of the productive factors are so placed that there is no inducement for any one of them to locate itself elsewhere in the industrial system then there is equilibrium and the resulting prices are normal prices.

This review has already transgressed beyond the space limits assigned to it, so that the author's treatment of distribution can only be mentioned. The final productivity principle is given an important function in apportioning the shares. In his view ordinary profits arise from a differential advantage in production and tend to disappear under competition, but abide because new advantages appear (page 353). Wages tend to conform to the contribution which labor makes to the product, though the standard of life is of importance in indirectly affecting the size of the product (page 419). On the subject of capital and interest, including rent, a Clark-Böhm-Bawerk-Carver-Fetter view of the matter is presented together with some additional reflections.

The point just made suggests the thought that the author, like Adam Smith, possesses a cosmopolitan mind which enables him in many cases to present more than one view and explanation of the same matter. This cosmopolitan spirit which runs through the work will commend it to a larger circle of readers. Finally, the book deserves and will no doubt receive a wide circulation as a supplementary college text.

ENOCH MARVIN BANKS.

University of Pennsylvania.

CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTHERN COTTON MILLS

BY A. J. MCKELWAY, D.D.,

Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

One day last week the train from Memphis, Tennessee, to Spartanburg, South Carolina, through the far famed Land of the Sky, carried a company of fifty people bound for the South Carolina cotton mills. Among those on board who expressed themselves on the subject of these emigrants from Tennessee, were the agent in charge of the emigrants, the conductor of the train, a business man from West Tennessee, a missionary school teacher, a minister of the gospel; while a secretary of the Child Labor Committee took notes of what was said and reserved expression of opinion until now. It might be said that the business and professional life of the South was fairly well represented.

The minister happened to be a valued member of our North Carolina Child Labor Committee, and, of course, deplored the breaking up of these mountain homes, be they ever so humble, and recognized that the Church had little chance to influence the child when the mill had once claimed him. The school teacher, who had given her life with self-sacrificing zeal to educating the children of the mountaineers, felt that the child was equally beyond the reach of the school when the mill had made the demand for his labor. She was intimately acquainted with the life of the people, knew the bitterness of their poverty in some instances, but she felt that it was nothing short of a calamity for the children to be removed from their mountain farms to the cotton mills. The business man declaimed in two languages, English and the profane, against the scarcity of labor on the farms of West Tennessee on account of this steady draining of the tenant population from the farms to the mills, and he felt the unfair competition that came from the employment of children at man's work and woman's work in the mill, of course the business of the towns suffering from the

non-productivity of the farms, through the scarcity of labor. But the conductor of the train was the most vehement in his denunciation of the mills themselves for the employment of children. He had seen these people leaving their native hills in the full tide of vigorous manhood and womanhood, with rosy-cheeked children. And he had seen some of them return, broken in health and spirits, the fair pictures that had been painted for them by the agent blotted out in the tears of disappointment. If he had thought of the economic view of the question as concerning his own occupation, he would have known that the children who went into the cotton mills in tender years would never be fit in manhood for work on the railroad, with its demand for intelligent and alert workmen. But the point is that the people of the South are talking about this evil of child labor in the cotton mills, and that public sentiment is turning against the industry itself, with indiscriminate condemnation for the permission of such a system.

The agent of the cotton mills was the only one who regarded his work of inducing these people to leave their homes as a benefaction and himself as the advance agent of civilization. He said that he had found the worst conditions on the Pigeon River, in East Tennessee, among the Great Smoky Mountains. He had found fifteen living in one hut, who were glad enough to leave it for the mills; that there was no work for the women and children to do except in corn-planting or potato-digging time, while all could work in the mill, wet weather or dry, hot or cold; that he had thirty-two people on board for whom he had to pay half or full fare, besides the children; that he had made seven "shipments" from Newport, Tenn., averaging fifteen to the shipment; that seven more shipments had gone from Cleveland; that he must have shipped five hundred emigrants in all; that he represented an immigration association which had other agents out beside himself, and here he showed me one of the contracts to be signed by the emigrant, representing the cotton mill community as a sort of earthly paradise, with its free schools, free libraries, amusement halls and secret order rooms, indicating that the twelve-hour day of the cotton mills left considerable time for leisure and culture; that the family was a great deal better off in the mill, where the whole family could make \$3.75 a day, than on the farm, where the father had been able to make but seventy-five cents a day; that the law did not

allow a child under twelve to work unless it was a "widder lady's" child, who is worked as young as he is able to work—presumably as the penalty for partial orphanage; that the parent was supposed to know how old his child was, and his word was taken as to the child's age, though, of course, there were a-plenty of children of six and eight and ten years in the mills, because their parents lied about their ages.

And then we undertook a little personal investigation of the children themselves. Little Harrison Swan was "going on ten" and was going to work in the Four Mills, at Greenville, S. C., and I doubt not is at work there now. Charley Matthews and a little comrade of about his size were each "about nine," and both were bound for the mills. And it made one's heart bleed to see the number of children younger still, and the babies at the breast, soon to be cast into the brazen arms of our modern Moloch. For, as our chairman said in an address last year, these people are of the purest American stock on this continent. North Carolina has a law requiring a cotton mill agent to take out a license that costs him a hundred dollars. And yet, from the little village of Clyde, on the Western North Carolina Railway, there went last year to the South Carolina cotton mills fifteen hundred men, women and children of this pure Anglo-Saxon stock, whose fathers fought at King's Mountain and New Orleans against the British, who fought on both sides in the Civil War, for the right as it was given each to see the right; who were the first to volunteer in the war with Spain, but to whom the nation will turn in the hour of her need in vain, as England looked to Manchester and Leeds and Sheffield in vain for men to conquer a handful of South African farmers, when the strength and vigor of her soldiers had been sapped by premature and long continued labor in the mills.

So it is that Tennessee, which has but thirty cotton mills of her own, is affected by the cotton mill industry of South Carolina, which stands next to Massachusetts in the number of spindles. The problem of child labor is one that affects the South as a whole and touches it at a point which it has hitherto most jealously guarded, the preservation of the vigor of its Anglo-Saxon stock. Nay, we make bold to say that child labor in the South is more a national question than child labor in New England or Pennsylvania. For in the North and East it is chiefly the children of the foreigners

that need protection. No child of American stock has been found in the sweatshops of New York City. But in the South, it is the breed of American that is threatened with degeneration.

To those unacquainted with actual conditions, the subject assigned me might be supposed to have an unjustly discriminating title. Why consider the cotton mills as the only industry cursed with child labor? It is true that there are several hundred thousand children of the South reported in the census as engaged in "gainful occupations." But the large majority of these are at work on the farms, under the eye of their parents, and would not be counted ordinarily except for the peculiarities of the tenant system in the South. This work is not only harmless, but helpful, save where it interferes with attendance at school. It is true also that there are some very young children employed in the tobacco factories of Virginia and North Carolina, in the cigar factories of Florida, in the woolen mills of Kentucky and Tennessee, in the coal mines of West Virginia and Alabama. But the evil here is slight in comparison with the child slavery of the cotton mills. Nor is this characteristic of the cotton mills peculiar to the South. The first recorded protest against this curse was the opinion of the medical men of Manchester, England, written by Dr. Thomas Percival, upon the occasion of a fever epidemic. They said: "We are decided in our opinion that the disorder has been supported, diffused and aggravated by the injury done to young persons through confinement and too long continued labor, to which evil the cotton mills have given occasion." That was in 1784. In the year 1796 the Manchester Board of Health, organized by Dr. Percival, says that they "have had their attention particularly directed to the large cotton factories established in the town and neighborhood of Manchester * * * that the children and others who work in large cotton factories are peculiarly disposed to be affected by the contagion of fever, and that when such infection is received it is rapidly propagated. * * * The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labor of the day, with respect to children, not only tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring."

In 1802 began the hundred year war in England, with the first of the factory acts, for the protection of the children, and England is just waking to the fact that protective and effective legislation came too late. That which the Manchester physicians of the eighteenth century had foretold was evident to all the world at the beginning of the twentieth century. Says one of the important magazine articles of the year: "In a day it seemed that the nation awoke to the fact that its physical vigor was sapped. It had no material for soldiers. The percentage of rejections at the enlistment stations appalled every reflective mind. The standards were lowered, the tests were conveniently made easy. Regiments were patched together of boys and anemic youths. They were food for the hospitals, not for powder. Once in South Africa, enteric swept them off like flies. They were only the shells of men. * * * Men gathered from the dispatches that, as a matter of fact, the war was fought on the British side by the Colonials, Irish and Scotch." And now hear the testimony from Manchester after a hundred years: "The president of a Manchester improvement association testified that there were large districts in Manchester in which there were "no well grown children or men or women, except those who have been born in the country."¹ Every one knows the importance of Manchester as a cotton manufacturing center. Lord Shaftesbury claimed that the evil "spread from the cotton mills" into other industries.

When New England took up the manufacture of cotton on a large scale the same conditions, perhaps not quite so bad, were observed. As late as 1885 in Massachusetts, children as young as ten years of age were allowed to work eight hours a day in the cotton mills. And we have the reason set forth by President Roosevelt why the New England regiments, recruited from the factory districts, were unable to meet the rural regiments from the South in battle. It is a self-evident truth that men who fail in the test of battle are not able to win the more enduring victories of peace. To-day the American workman is hardly to be found in the cotton mills of New England. The wages are below the American standard, and the mills are filled with French Canadians, Greeks and Portuguese. For it is a sort of retributory law of economics

¹ John Dennie, Jr., *Everybody's Magazine*, March, 1905. Article, "Hooligan."

that when the parent puts his child to work in competition with himself, the wage scale falls to the child standard, and the whole family can make only so much as the father of the family can in those occupations where there is no demand for the labor of children.

Before the invention of the cotton gin had turned the South from its manufacturing industry to the raising of cotton for the world's supply, with the consequent growth of African slavery from a patriarchal to a commercial institution, the South was producing a larger quantity and a greater variety of manufactured goods than New England. In 1900 the value of her manufactured products again surpassed that of her agricultural. In the two decades from 1880 to 1900 there was an enormous expansion of the cotton milling industry, in response to the almost passionate demand at the South for her restoration to the position of a manufacturing people. Edward Everett Hale has satirized the average Southern village as a place where no one was competent to mend a broken pail. Henry Grady drew a picture of the equipment of a funeral which he attended in Georgia, the coffin manufactured here and the hearse yonder, the dead man's clothes woven in Philadelphia and his shoes coming from Massachusetts, ending with the classic remark that all which Georgia could furnish for the funeral was the "corpse and the hole in the ground." But the cotton exposition at Atlanta in 1886 gave a tremendous impetus to cotton manufacturing, as well as to the diversification of our industries. The climax of enthusiasm at that exposition was reached when the Governor of Georgia appeared one evening arrayed in a suit of clothes whose manufacture had been followed with interest by the spectators, who had seen the cotton for the clothes picked from the stalks in the field on the morning of that day. In 1880 there were 667,000 spindles in the South. In 1900 there were over seven millions. Now there are 9,205,000. And the industry is still going forward by leaps and bounds. In 1904 there were twice as many cotton manufacturing establishments of all kinds as in 1900. In six years the number of spindles in the two Carolinas has doubled. In 1905 it was found that the South had actually manufactured one thousand more bales of cotton during the year than the North and East. North Carolina stands first of the states in the number of mills, though South Carolina is first among Southern states in the

number of spindles. Old factories are being enlarged and new ones built, and the very latest principles of construction are used and the newest models of machinery.

This industry is centered in the four cotton producing states of the South, Alabama, Georgia and the two Carolinas. These mills are mainly located in the Piedmont section of these four states. Alabama has sixty-five cotton manufacturing establishments of all kinds, Georgia 169, South Carolina 163 and North Carolina 315. But these figures from the last Blue Book are probably already antiquated. The South still sends to foreign countries 65 per cent. of the cotton she produces. But it is now manufacturing into yarn and cloth a little more than half of the remaining 35 per cent. It would seem only a question of time when the cotton mill in the cotton field, other conditions being equal, must successfully compete with the cotton mill in Philadelphia or New England, the two other cotton manufacturing centers of the United States, and with the cotton mills of Old England as well. It is estimated that within sixty miles of Charlotte, N. C., there is enough water power to drive two-thirds of the spindles of England; that is, a million horse-power. In Alabama it is possible from a cotton factory to fire a rifle bullet into a coal mine and then throw a stone into a cotton field. The New England companies that own mills in both New England and the South find their dividends twice or thrice as great from their Southern mills. And it may be added here that they are conspicuous opponents of any legislation in the South that would diminish the labor of children, and that their representatives throng the halls of legislation for the repeal of such inadequate laws as we have and for the blocking of all humane legislation.

It is difficult for any one not reared in the South to understand the interest and pride that this expansion of the cotton mill industry has caused among us. The farmer has attributed to this increase of spindles and to the local demand for spot cotton the advance in the price of the staple that is at the foundation of Southern prosperity. The railroads are dependent in large measure for the increase in tonnage upon the output of the cotton mills, and there has been in several states a hard and fast alliance between the railroads and the cotton mills in opposition to any legislation directed against child labor. It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention the obvious fact that successful competition with New England in its

chosen field of manufacture has added some zest and spice to the building up of this industry and to the favor with which the people have hitherto regarded it.

There are now employed in Southern cotton mills, according to the "Blue Book" of 1904-5, which is already a year old, 238,881 operatives. Counting the new mills that have gone into operation since, there must be a quarter of a million people thus employed. Of these, a former president of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association estimates that only 30 per cent. are adults, though by adults he means those over twenty-one. The president of the American Cotton Manufacturing Association, Mr. R. M. Miller, of Charlotte, N. C., in an interview deprecating the raising of the age limit in North Carolina from twelve to fourteen for girls and for illiterate boys, claimed that 75 per cent. of the spinners of North Carolina were fourteen or under. The average for children under sixteen employed in Southern mills, as given by the census of 1900, was 25 per cent. On that basis there must be 60,000 children, from six to sixteen, now working in the mills of the Southern States, and my own opinion is that there are 60,000 under fourteen years of age. And just now the mills are running night and day, and even the rule of sixty-six hours a week makes the working day for these little ones for five days of the week twelve hours.

But while there are natural advantages for the manufacture of cotton near the fields where it is produced, it is a fact easily proved that the child labor system of the South is an advantage to Northern mills. The employment of children is an economic error in that it tends to lower the standard of efficiency in industry and to use up the labor supply in exactly the same way that the putting of colts to the plough would do in agricultural communities. In the Georgia Legislature last summer a noted cotton manufacturer, a member of the Georgia Senate, in an eloquent plea against the child labor system, challenged his associates in that business who were also members of the Senate, to disprove his statement: that the same quality of cotton goods manufactured in the South was sold at a price from two to four cents a pound lower than these goods manufactured in the North. The New England mills that are prospering the most have thrown their old machinery upon the scrap pile and have ceased competition with the South by manufacturing the finer goods, in which there is the greater margin of

profit. Mills for the manufacture of these finer goods are now being erected in the South, but the demand goes up from them for a better class of labor, and it is another economic truth that the child laborer does not ordinarily develop into a skilled laborer. A Georgia cotton mill imported skilled laborers for the manufacture of fine goods. The goods were sold at Philadelphia and New England prices. Once some tags containing the name and location of this mill were slipped into the bales of finished cloth by the workmen. The mill management immediately received a letter from the commission merchant urging that this should never be done again; that he had concealed the fact that this particular mill was located in the South, and thereby had been able to get Northern prices for the goods. What a short-sighted policy it is, for the profit of the moment, to be wasting the opportunity for building up at the South an industry that shall be distinguished from the same industry in both New England and Old England, by being free at once from the long hours and the low wages and the infant labor that have been the curse of the cotton mill for a hundred years, and are chiefly now the curse of the Southern cotton mills.

And, as was shown in the introduction to this address, the people of the South are beginning to feel that the present methods of this industry are exacting too great a price for its prosperity. Physicians, individually and in their state conventions, are following the example of their predecessors in Manchester a century ago, and are protesting against the depreciation of the human stock by this cruel system; against the very presence in a cotton mill, with its flying lint, of young children with their more delicate lungs; are pointing out the frequent cases of throat and lung diseases they are treating in their hospitals among their little patients from the mills; and especially are protesting against the physical injury to young girls, at the critical period of their lives, and the necessary injury to the future race that is involved. The farmer is beginning to protest against the unfair competition between the mill and the farm in the labor market, the tenant being persuaded to leave the farm for the factory by the inducement that he can put his young children to work at profitable wages, reversing both the law of nature and the law of Scripture, that the parent should lay up for the child and not the child for the parent. The educational leaders are making bitter protest against the increase of illiteracy in the factory

districts, and we do not need any increase of illiteracy in the South. The Southern pulpit, with united voice, is crying aloud and sparing not, inveighing against man's inhumanity to children. The politician is beginning to feel this wave of public indignation against the evil. The Southern press, religious and secular, great dailies and country weeklies, with the exception of the mercenary few, are pointing out the inevitable tendency of child labor in the mills, the fact that the very supremacy of the white race is involved, since the negro is not employed in the cotton mills and his children are freed from that slavery. Southern patriots everywhere are proclaiming that the child should be put above the dividend, that the place for the child is not the mill, but the school. Even the stockholders of the mills are beginning to feel that their profits are of the nature of blood-money and are too dearly won at the price of the lives and the health of the little children. And there are many humane mill owners who, despite the feeling that they should stand together against restrictive legislation, in spite of the false fear that the child labor opponents are labor agitators, are unwilling to play the rôle of the infamous Herods who "sought the young child's life." In the three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama, where a twelve-year limit has been established by law, many are trying honestly to observe that law, even with no provision for law enforcement and no system of factory inspection or even of birth registration; and I am persuaded that in Georgia, unique among the manufacturing States of Europe or America in having no child labor law, many manufacturers, because they are honorable men, resent the reproach that has been brought upon them as a class by the wholesale violation of their own agreement not to employ young children, which is a matter of common knowledge. One of them proclaimed in the Georgia Legislature that the reason he had refused to join the Georgia Industrial Association was that he was unwilling to contribute, as a member of the association, to a legislative fund for preventing a child labor law. In spite of the ineffectiveness of present laws and the violation of solemn agreements and the utter absence of protective legislation in some of the states, I make bold to say, because I know my people and love my people, that the South is too kind-hearted to allow this sacrifice of the children. They know that "to be a man too soon is to be a small man." They believe, with John Ruskin, that "it is a shame for a nation to make

its young girls weary." And it is a Southern state, Louisiana, that is unique in making a difference of two years in the age limit for employment between the boys and girls, and in favor of the girls.

The child is the saviour of the race. What we do for the child, for his protection, for his education, for his training for the duties of manhood, for securing the rights and prolonging the period of childhood, is the measure of what we shall accomplish for the race that is to be. The ancient Hebrew prophet drew a picture of the golden age of the world, that with the Hebrew and the Christian is still in the future, a picture that has never been surpassed in literature. And the central figure on the canvas is that of the little child. The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp. And when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the lion shall eat straw like the ox, the cow and the bear shall feed—a little child shall lead them. And so it must be with this civilization of ours, if it is to endure.

Forces of leonine violence, forces of serpentine cunning, forces of wolfish greed, as well as the forces of peaceful industry and domestic labor, must consent to be led in peaceful procession, while walking before them, drawing their might with his innocence, and his helplessness and his promise, is the figure of the little child. God speed the day! God hasten the coming of the age when the child shall not be driven but shall lead, when the child shall not be the prey of the giant forces that are now contending for the mastery, but shall quell and tame their violence and inaugurate the reign of universal brotherhood.

CHILD LABOR AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

By Hon. CHARLES P. NEILL, Ph.D.,
Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Ever since I was requested by the National Child Labor Committee to discuss the topic: Child Labor at the National Capital, I have been condoled with by numerous friends. There seems to be a feeling everywhere in Washington that we have no child labor here, and that to be asked to discuss such a topic is like being asked to write a chapter on snakes in Ireland. But Washington from time to time awakens to the fact that it has an imperfection or two which it had previously overlooked. We have in some respects a model city, and are proud—warrantably proud, I believe—of the reputation of being probably the best governed city in the United States. In all that makes for material beauty and honest administration there is room for little but praise of the nation's capital. But there are phases of our city life, phases of what we might call its sociological or its moral side in which we are remarkable chiefly for the absence of any preventive legislation and remarkable, I might say, for our complete ignorance of the sores that disfigure what is otherwise an unusually clean and healthful civic society. When some years ago an awakening and a developing of social conscience in our large centers of population led to the study of those festering spots we call slums and to efforts for their eradication, Washington looked on with interest, with approving interest, wished the work God speed—and complacently thanked the Lord that it was not as other cities. It came to many of us, therefore, with a peculiar shock when some of those who had led the movement against the slums of London and New York came to Washington, and turning aside from the broad avenues and park-bedotted sections of the city, went nosing into crooked alleys and dirty by-ways, and then

emerged to tell us that scattered here and there through the city were plague spots in which the living conditions of human beings were as deplorable and as fearful as almost anything that could be found in the worst parts of New York or London. The differences were in degree and not in kind. We had not as much of it as those larger centers of population, but what we had was as bad—and what is more, with us there is far less excuse for the existence of such conditions.

I believe that the case is pretty nearly parallel in the matter of child labor. Here, too, we fancy we are innocent of all guilt. But our complacency on this score is due largely to a disordered mental perspective. The pallid, overworked, stunted child of the mill, the factory, or the mine has been held up so often as an example of the evil of child labor that anything short of this pitiful, this shocking little human figure fails to draw our particular attention. We have here no yawning mills, or factories, or mines, in and out of which emerges a daily procession of those little victims to whose rescue this National Committee has dedicated its unremitting efforts.

Washington is pre-eminently a residence and not an industrial center, and the opportunity to make use of child labor is consequently limited, but in so far as there have been openings we have let pass no chance for sinning against our children. We have risen, or perhaps I had better say, we have stooped to the complete measure of our opportunity. We cannot vie with the States or cities that number their working children by the tens of thousands, but in the restricted area of Washington, with its comparatively small population, we have them by the dozens and by the hundreds, and what is more, we have here forms of child labor that are—or ought to be—shocking beyond expression to any right-thinking man or woman,—and these we have tolerated without having written one word of protest in our laws. So far as I have been informed, we have no law or regulation of any kind in the nation's capital imposing restrictions of any sort upon the employment of children.

It would at any time be a matter of some difficulty to secure complete data concerning the employment of children here. I would have been glad to present here the results of a comprehensive investigation into child labor in the District of Columbia, but when the matter was brought to my attention the meeting

of this committee at Washington had been well advertised, and it would have been extremely difficult, in the absence of any law on the subject, and the consequent absence of records, to have made successfully a complete investigation of this topic. The very coming of the committee had directed attention to the subject, with the natural result that inquiries would have been everywhere met with suspicion, and the facts could not easily have been drawn out. But the briefest and most casual investigation of the subject has brought to light enough to make Washington heartily ashamed of itself, and to demand that the moral sense of the community shall express itself and be written into law.

The census of 1900 shows over 2000 children under 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the District of Columbia. The percentage of children under 15 at work in 1900 was nearly double the percentage at work in 1880. And judging by the hasty survey we have made during the last few weeks there is every reason to believe that the evil is still rapidly spreading.

The only effort that has been made to cope with the evil is a weak one, and represents the application of the poultice rather than of the knife. We have realized the injury done the child and the injury done to the community by allowing educational opportunities to be withdrawn from children at too early an age, but we have not taken a determined stand and prohibited child labor and demanded that the child should be sent regularly to school. We have merely temporized with the evil by starting night schools for those unfortunate little fellows who are compelled to work during the study and the play hours of normal child life. At the opening of the night schools this year 655 children 15 years and under had enrolled themselves for study. All of these are children who labor during the hours of daylight, and the extent of the relief we offer them is to permit them to devote to study whatever of energy and strength may be left after a day's work is ended. It may be—I do not know—but it may be that the records of the children in the night schools in many cases compare favorably with the records of the children in the day school; but I do not believe that anyone would call for figures to justify the statement that any child who is working six, eight, or ten hours a day is fit to devote several hours more in the evening to mental work. By dint of pluck and

energy such a child may succeed well in his study for a while, but in the long run, in the great majority of cases, the result cannot fail to be harmful, both mentally and physically.

We have found cases in the past few weeks of children twelve years old attending night school after working from 7.30 in the morning to 5.30 in the evening. And this was work in laundries and in small factories in which this entire period was devoted, except for the lunch hour, to continuous work.

Is it surprising then when the principal of a night school tells us that night after night before the school session is half over little fellows ask to be excused on the ground that they are too tired to remain longer awake. Nor is it any wonder either that these little fellows whom we permit to work nine or ten hours and to whom we then—in our generosity—offer school facilities, if they will do what is equivalent to adding two or three more hours to their day's work—is it any wonder, I say, that they finally spurn this generous treatment and cease to avail themselves of all that we are offering them.

The records of the present year show very clearly that the children do not avail themselves very long of the opportunities offered by the night school. Of the 655 children now attending these schools practically eighty per cent. have only been out of the day school one year or less. In other words, of the entire attendance less than one-fifth have been attending these schools for two years or over. These figures show conclusively that the children do not continue at night school after they have begun to work, and that practically the beginning of their working life is the ending of their school life.

I said that we had found 12-year-old boys in this district working from 7.30 in the morning until 6 in the evening, but cases have also been found of 12-year-old boys who have worked from 7.30 in the morning till 5.30 in the evening and have returned in the night to work from 7.30 till 10, making a thirteen-hour day for a 12-year-old-child. I do not know how many of these cases there are, for, as I have said, our investigation was a very limited and superficial one. But even if the number should not prove large, we have no occasion to take credit to ourselves for the fact. A community which will permit a single case of this kind to exist, a community that has not written one line into its law to prevent

the existence and the growth of such conditons, has little right to point the finger of shame at those other communities where mills destroy the children by the thousands. The difference in their respective sinning is only in degree.

Right now there are small factories in the District where 12 and 13-year-old boys are working from 7.30 o'clock in the morning till 5 in the evening, nine hours a day, and then returning to work again from 6 until 9 o'clock at night.

Dwarfed and stunted children are sad enough spectacles, but a moral wreck is sadder, infinitely sadder, than any type of physical deformity. There are in the District of Columbia half a dozen forms of child labor which necessarily and inevitably will turn out each year a goodly proportion of moral wrecks.

Hardly any one would argue that the lobby of a hotel with the ribald jest and the obscene yarn which pass current there when men of a certain type are passing the early or the later hours of the evening is any fit place for a young boy, but the hotels of this city employ children twelve, thirteen and fourteen years of age in occupations which from the viewpoint of moral insurance can only be classed as extra hazardous.

At 11 o'clock at night I have seen a twelve-year-old boy, employed around the lobby of a hotel, sitting just behind a pair of red-faced men, drinking in eagerly the dirty stories which they were exchanging with one another. The opportunity doubtless presents itself night after night, and the little boy doubtless too avails himself of it. Again, the little page boys of the hotel who go through the various parts of the hotel calling telephone messages and telegrams are sent night after night into rathskellers and cafes in which men and women of at least questionable reputation are giving object lessons of a sort which every intelligent parent would spend every effort to hide from thirteen-year-old children. In the various theaters, too, will be found little boys dressed up as pages who carry water around to the patrons of the theater. I think we would all agree that a theater, even of the best type, is hardly the place for the budding nature of a boy to develop into fullness.

In looking up instances of child labor here, I visited what I thought was probably the worst theater in the city. It is not so bad perhaps as the kind some other cities might boast of, but it is fair to describe it as the kind of a place where the lecherous and

the sodden seek their evening's entertainment. The candy seller here was a boy who might have been fourteen. I found him eagerly taking in the performance, and somewhat shocked at the thought that a boy of his age should spend night after night in such surroundings, I made inquiry of an attendant who knew him as to the boy's family circumstances. His father was living—but was in the penitentiary. Criminologists may differ as to the relative importance of heredity and environment in shaping the lives of men; but here was a case of a child cursed with whatever burden heredity might have, and whom the community had also allowed to seek an environment that would co-operate with hereditary traits to work for his moral destruction. It does not require the gift of prophecy to suggest that at a later day this community will complete its outrage on that child by sending him successively to the reform school and later to the penitentiary.

I think it is generally admitted by all those who have given any study to the question of child labor that what we term the street trades are particularly dangerous to the morals of children, and in these trades the Capital City can furnish some excellent examples of what ought not to be tolerated.

Although the street trades in Washington engage only one-fourth of the total number of children engaged in all occupations, yet of the number of children under fifteen who have gone to the reform school, or who have been turned over by the courts to the care of probation officers, over two-thirds have come from the ranks of the children engaged in the street trades. These figures are not surprising to any one who has made the least study of child labor, for it is found true everywhere that the street trades serve as a preparatory school for crime.

At nearly every corner of the busy part of the city there are literally dozens of boys of all ages selling the morning and the evening papers. There are frequently anywhere from six to ten doing the work that a single one could properly do. Their work lacks all the disciplinary value that comes from a steady employment and fixed earnings. Success does not come to a boy from strict attention to business and from the possession of the characteristics of reliability and steadiness. It comes from the skill with which he can outwit his rival and the quickness with which he turns a penny—honestly or dishonestly.

Anyone who will notice carefully the boys from whom he buys his papers from day to day will observe how often the boy is without change for the five cents we offer him for his paper. Unwilling to wait, we tell him to keep the change. If there ever was a mistaken charity, this is one, for the boy learns quickly that more money is to be made in illegitimate than in legitimate ways. Had he made the change his profit on the sale of his paper would have been half a penny; his failure to have the change has given him four cents extra. Speaking in the language of trade, his profit increased 800 per cent. Before long the little boy intentionally delays making the change and goes through various skillful devices to try your patience—or to give you plenty of time in which to let your generosity develop to the point of letting him keep the change. If the street car is going by, and you show an inclination to make that car, the boy sees his chance and delays his change. This of course is not true of every boy, for there are many little fellows who will follow you to the car and run along beside it to give you the last penny; but the temptation is there, and dozens and dozens of the little fellows fall before it. Again, no one can walk the streets of this city after dark without meeting little boys, sometimes as young as seven and eight years of age, who come up and beg you, "Please, mister, buy my last paper; it is only a penny!" I have seen boys repeat this several times in succession, drawing a fresh paper out from under their jacket as soon as the purchaser of the last one had disappeared. At the junction of two of our principal streets, almost any night at 8, 9 and even 10 o'clock, a little boy who says he is only six years old can be found begging you to buy his "last paper."

Unless the child is cast in the mold of heroic virtue, the newsboy trade is a training in either knavery or mendicancy. Nowhere else are the wits so sharpened to look for the unfair advantage, nowhere else is the unfortunate lesson so early learned that dishonesty and trickery are more profitable than honesty, and that sympathy coins more pennies than does industry.

X But bad as the newsboy's training is, demoralizing as it is, there is another service in the District which surpasses even this in its opportunities for moral injury. The newsboys' service is demoralizing, but the messenger service is debauching.

There are messenger boys here of ten and eleven years old,

and these little fellows may be seen at all hours of the day and night in all kinds of weather, working manfully at their tasks. Their hours of work run on an average from seven to nine hours a day. Some of the boys start at 7 o'clock in the morning and work until 4 in the afternoon. Others come on at 8 or 9 and work correspondingly later hours in the afternoon. Other boys begin as late as 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon and work until midnight. Others begin at midnight and work until 8 in the morning. The dangers of this service are hard to overestimate. Boys are sent at all hours of the day and night indiscriminately into all sorts of places, and after the boy has added to his own experiences the experiences he secures through the exchange of confidences with his little fellow-workers his education has proceeded very far in those lines in which we strive the hardest to limit knowledge amongst children.

Washington, like every other city, has a section which is without the law; it is fenced off, as it were, and into it is crowded all that is pathetic, all that is tragic, all that is foul in the life of woman. The name of this section of our cities is not referred to, nor its character discussed before any general audience. It can truly be described as a place which is unspeakable, yet in that district in Washington practically every disreputable house has its call box, and any creature, however foul, has but to press a button and a moment later a boy is sent from a messenger office to place himself at her service for any errand of sin that she may wish. No discrimination seems to be exercised even as to the age of the children that are sent to answer these calls. By the common testimony of nearly every police officer in that precinct boys as young as ten and eleven years can be seen answering calls to these houses day after day and night after night. And, saddest of all, this service appeals strongly to the children. The prurient curiosity of the developing boy would itself incline him to like these calls, but they quickly learn also that women who live in these sections are more generous with their earnings in the way of tips than are the people in the more respectable sections of the city. Frequently two or three little boys will be seen trailing after one another in answer to a single call—each hoping that the generosity of the woman will extend beyond the boy who carries her message to his companions who wear the uniform. One little boy who was ques-

tioned in this investigation had been very fortunate on that particular day. He had had several calls in that section and had made \$1.50 in tips. He did not realize, and perhaps the "widowed mother" to whose support he was contributing did not realize, the real source of his earnings. This money did not represent legitimate salary paid him for honest services rendered, but it represented such a division of the earnings of shame as an abandoned woman chose of her own free will to bestow upon the child.

It is bad enough to send boys of any age into such a service as I am describing, but it is unspeakably shocking to find that no discrimination whatever seems to be exercised in regard to the ages of the children who are sent to houses of prostitution in answer to calls. It may be a ten-year-old boy or it may be a seventeen-year-old boy—chance alone seems to determine.

It can be said that all the boys who go into the messenger service do not go to the bad, but it can be said with equal truth that it ruins children by the dozens, and that if any boy does come out of this service without having suffered moral shipwreck he can thank the mercy of God for it, and not the protecting arm of the community that stands idly by and makes no attempt to save him from temptation.

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In conclusion I would like to suggest a reflection or two for this or any other body of men and women that considers the question of child labor. Let us ask ourselves, Whose is the responsibility? For whom do these children work? Let us cast off for a moment the scandalous aspects of the messenger service which I have just been discussing and consider only forms of labor in legitimate lines. The truth is these child victims are working for us. They are working for me, and they are working for you. We enjoy cheaper products because the rights of children are outraged in order to furnish cheap labor. We cannot turn around and lay the blame entirely on the greed of the employer. Wherever shameful conditions of child labor exist it is due just as much to a lack of conscience in the community at large as it is to any greed on the part of particular employers.

After all has been said, and the case weighed, no valid excuse can be allowed for child labor. The arguments in favor of it reduce themselves to two. The first is that the child's family needs his earnings. But even this is not true in the majority of cases.

Investigations everywhere confirm the fact that in the larger number of instances of child labor the families could have gotten on without it; and even if misfortune and want have reached the point which seemed to demand the labor of the little children of a family, it is mistaken policy to permit this method of relief. The community that has no other form of relief to offer the widow deprived of her natural bread-winner than to snatch her children from her and place upon their shoulders burdens that belong to men is a community that is not very far advanced in either Christian charity or economic intelligence.

A broader ground is sometimes taken, and it is urged that certain forms of industry cannot be carried on without child labor. Now, if there is any one proposition in economics that all are agreed upon it is that any individual or any community will pay for any service or for any commodity just the value that the service or the commodity represents. If any individual or any community, therefore, will not pay enough for a service to justify the employment of men instead of children, then it goes without saying that the service is not of much importance to such individual or such community, that they will suffer little loss if deprived of it.

There is one further consideration that it seems to me is particularly pertinent in connection with the annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. There are communities, I believe, in which the activities of the Committee are resented on the ground that the community insists on its rights to manage its own affairs without what it is pleased to term outside interference. In the last analysis this usually means that the community insists on its right to debauch its humanity and to demoralize its coming citizens without protest from other human beings that chance to live beyond the bounds of an arbitrary political division. But Washington can make no such claim. We are not responsible for our home government. The President of the United States and the National Congress represent the real government of our city. The citizens of the country at large select our chief officer and our lawmakers for us, and if they fail to make laws that measure up to what the Child Labor Committee feels are necessary it is perfectly within the sphere of its rights to enter its protest and to make its suggestions.

Washington, as the nation's capital, and, governed as it is by the selected and collective intelligence of the country at large,

should be a model in everything that pertains to civic advancement. It should have a model child labor law, and the mere fact that our children are being sacrificed only by dozens instead of by hundreds and by thousands, as they are in other places, is a poor plea to enter in justification of the absence of any child labor legislation in the District of Columbia. In Washington there is little excuse for child labor; here it has not yet secured the foothold that it has in other places; here it has not yet arrayed behind it interests that do not wish to be disturbed, and for these very reasons we should now draft and place upon our statute books a model child labor law that would serve as a guide and an encouragement to other and less fortunate communities which are beginning their struggle against an already intrenched evil.

PAST AND PRESENT ARGUMENTS AGAINST CHILD LABOR.¹

BY JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS,

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I suppose it has happened to almost all of us having looked even superficially at a subject like that of the evils of child labor to feel that the arguments that are really strongest in his mind are not of much practical value, certainly for any propaganda or definite legislative proposal.

I am going to try to bring out one point which I hope at any rate will be of some value, but first I shall note two of these stronger arguments that would probably weigh lightly before any legislative committee.

I imagine that the future, more mature and wiser than we are, will look back at us precisely as we look back upon those who first put childhood to such cruel uses in English mills in the last century. Relatively to our own time and light, we are perhaps even more blameworthy. To think that we should keep a child under school instruction just up to the point, certainly the most delicately important one educationally in his life, when the sex consciousness begins to appear; the very period when ordered discipline is necessary, of the highest sort, and the noblest appeals to the imagination. Just at that point we stop his schooling and throw him out into the great rough and tumble of modern industry. A wiser future will mark that down against us as a crime. I am not going to argue this, but it would weigh more than any practical issue that I could present. Again, the condition of modern industry, the pace that it takes, the routine character of it and the almost pitiless requirements are all against the child's one resource of learning the art of fellowship through play. The play instinct is crippled in mill and factory and mine. For this,

¹ Address given in the Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor, at the Second Session of the Annual Meeting, Washington, December 8, 1905.

too, the world of the future will criticise us where we employ child labor, as we criticise those against whom Shaftesbury made his great fight.

Mr. Carnegie is reported to have said the other day that the slave had a cash value of \$1,000, but that our healthy immigrants were worth four times that man for man. Yet these are mostly uninstructed. If Mr. Carnegie's estimate is even approximately true, how much more should we get if our children were kept out of industry and put where they belong, at school, until their faculties were really strong and disciplined and they were matured for the life struggle. What an infinite treasure of labor force would be added to us if we were to do that. And that touches only the economic side of the argument. I have often said if I had some sort of magic power to do one single thing to help in the struggle, it would be this: I would keep under the best system of education every mother's son, every child, until it was *seventeen years of age*. It would relieve that kind of competition for all those that are least able to bear it at the bottom of this social or industrial scale, aside from fitting and strengthening the child and society generally. Nor should we neglect the plainest lesson in this long history, which is that since 1802 when the English legislature began to take the child out of the industries, when they were working at six, seven, eight years of age interminable hours, there has not been one single step taken to release the child from the burdens of industry that has not enriched the child life, the life of the family, and that of society at large.

And that brings me to my one point. I cannot state it better than to recall what I heard in a country district from a splendid old farmer of my acquaintance whom I have seen two or three times in a sort of rage because his children insisted upon buying underclothes for winter weather. He said, "I didn't have any underclothing, and I got on, didn't I?" I have also seen him in a rage because his children wanted to go to a dentist. He said, "I never went to a dentist. I never had a dentist's bill to pay, and I got on well enough." The strict counterpart of this argument I have heard again and again in the South, and I have heard it here in the North in defence of child labor, "I went to work when I was seven or eight years old, and my brother went to work and my father went to work, and every one I knew went to work, and we have

got on, haven't we?" This is but another way of saying with the old farmer, "My children don't need flannels or a dentist any more than I did." It fails to take account of every change in the standard of refinement in our modern life. Let me illustrate: The most eminent German, in my opinion, that has ever come to this country told me the way he was admitted to the legal bar. He came here as a forty-eighter, and after studying Blackstone and all the other books very carefully he went down to a mid-western state to see the judge who had charge of the examinations. The judge instantly fell in love with him, as a great many other people have. He said, "Where did you come from?" "I came from Germany, from the revolutionary fury of '48." The judge was exceedingly interested and asked him all sorts of questions, and could not leave him alone on account of his fascination for the history of this young German. And as an hour passed away, the judge said, "Let us take a drink," and they went downstairs and took a drink. When they came back this young man was very restless that his examination hadn't begun. His story went on, and finally they had another drink. The young man finally said, "I must have my examination. I have to go back by horseback, and it is a long ride." And he said the old judge took out his watch and exclaimed, "God bless you, young man, you have been a member of this bar for two hours and fifty minutes."

There are two whiskies and an admission to the bar. What happens to-day in my own community? In the first place, the boy has to have a college education or he cannot take the first step to get into the law school. He has to reach a certain standard, and he has to enter on a course of study that is very much more difficult than any work in college. And every one has to use all his energy, and after three years they are not admitted to the bar, but they first get a chance to be examined. Here you have it; from two whiskies up to this raised standard of three strenuous years of study.

It matters not whether it is a doctor, a lawyer or a carpenter or a machinist. Almost in every important work of life the standard requires new efficiency and new training and an altogether altered quality of work and efficiency.

Those who oppose the new child legislation are falling back on the two whiskies argument: "Oh, I got along pretty well and

I went to work very early," forgetting those profound changes that have taken place in all industries and in every bit of work in which the standard has been greatly raised. It is difficult to exaggerate the difference in the standard of requirements for the ordinary child of to-day if he is to get out of it anything like the advantage that is really his. He has a right to the standard which the new age sets, or he is handicapped and defrauded.

As with all the professions so with all the trades, we are cruel to the child beyond any power I have to describe it, unless we recognize this difference in the standard of requirements. It has been always considered that there is no better test of civilization than the way women are treated in society, but there is a better test, and that is the way we treat the child. By as much as the child is deprived of education that will enable him to take up the new pace that industry sets, and then to mature his strength and faculties so he may do his work to his own advantage and to the advantage of society generally, by just so far as we deprive the boy of the chance of lengthening school life, we are not only inflicting rank injustice upon him, we are unjust to the future of the family and to the community. Even the thing called civilization is to that extent defeated and discredited.

THE PHYSICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR¹

By GEORGE M. KOBER, M.D.,
Chairman of District of Columbia Child Labor Committee.

As chairman of the local committee I desire to express our deep appreciation of the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee to secure a model child labor law for the District of Columbia. I deem it a special privilege to preside over one of the sessions of its meeting when the subject for discussion is "New Legislation, with special reference to the needs of the District of Columbia."

Child labor as a menace to industry, education, good citizenship and to the health of the children has been forcefully presented in most effective and instructive addresses, and will doubtless be again emphasized. There is one phase of the question which strongly appeals to me, and that is the effect of premature and involuntary labor upon the health and the physical welfare of the child.

Physiologists have long since demonstrated that the muscles of the average child attain only at the age of thirteen a certain amount of strength and capacity for work. Up to this time the muscular fibers contain a large per cent. of water, and in consequence are very tender and immature. As a consequence of this imperfect muscular development it is not surprising that we should find such a large percentage of children engaged in workshops, factories, or even at the writing desk or the merchant counter, develop lateral curvature of the spine and other muscular deformities, not to mention their general weakness and predisposition to rickets, tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases; all of the bad effects are, of course, very much intensified by unsanitary environments, especially when these occupations are attended by the inhalation of dust, impure air and injurious gases.

¹Introductory address, as presiding officer at the Third Session of the Annual Meeting Washington, D. C., December 9th, 1905.

Child labor differs in degree, but never in kind. The ordinary messenger or newsboy perhaps does not sacrifice his health, but his morals and his education must inevitably suffer. And so we see different gradations until some of the most atrocious forms of child labor are encountered.

Dr. Daniels, in speaking of her personal observation in New York, tells us that a child of three can straighten out the leaves of tobacco and can stick together the material which forms the stems of artificial flowers. At four he can put the cover on paper boxes; between four and six he can sew on buttons and pull bast-ing threads. A girl between the age of eight and twelve can finish trousers as well as her mother. After she is twelve years, if of good size, she can earn more money in the work shops, because she will be accepted if her size justifies the evasion of the law. The boys practically perform the same labor as the girls, except that they leave home earlier and engage in street work as peddlers, news-boys or bootblacks. Dr. Daniels has actually seen two children under three years of age working in the tenements of New York, one a boy two and a half years of age assisting the mother, and four other children under the age of twelve, in making artificial flowers. These children earned from fifty cents to a dollar and a half a week, obviously at the expense of health and education, rights which neither the parents nor the community nor the State have a right to withhold. A feeling seems to exist in Washington that there is no special need for the enactment of a law to prevent or regulate child labor, but the same class of people told us years ago that we had no slums, and hence there was no occasion for the betterment of the housing conditions, when, as a matter of fact, investigations have shown conclusively that in many respects we are as badly, if not worse, off than the cities of New York and Chicago. Those who are familiar with the subject know that there is a local situation which demands immediate legislation. But whether the number is large or small it matters little, and it is clearly the duty of every community to resort to preventive measures against this hydra-headed evil.

You will say, what is the use of enacting child labor laws when such atrocious instances are possible in the city of New York, where child labor laws exist. I grant that just such evils will be witnessed in New York or any other American city so long as public

opinion and the conscience of the American people is not sufficiently aroused to demand the enforcement of the law.

It has been estimated that there are in this city between fifteen hundred and two thousand children under the age of fourteen engaged in wage-earning occupations. And we feel that the enactment of a suitable law would guard these children and afford them a better opportunity of becoming useful citizens, and the consumer of goods would at least have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not stained with the sweat and blood of helpless children.

How many more of the six thousand children between the ages of eight and twelve who are not now at school are engaged in wage-earning occupations we do not know. But whether they are at work because of the necessities of their parents or because of their own disinclination to study, the law should intervene and establish an effective remedy.

It has been urged, and no doubt in many instances quite correctly, that child labor is encouraged by the greed of the employers, but I am in a position to know that the business men of this city would hail with delight the enactment of a child labor law. As it is now, it is not always an easy matter to refuse to lend a helping hand in apparently deserving and pathetic cases.

It is indeed deplorable, as pointed out by Dr. Adler, that so little has been accomplished in the way of educating the public to sound and full appreciation of the evil consequences of child labor, and it is especially humiliating to know that the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government, is the only community with the exception of Georgia, Idaho, Nevada and the Indian Territory, which is at present without legislation of some kind on the subject of child labor.

The merits of the proposed bill will be pointed out to you by subsequent speakers. We know that the commissioners are deeply interested in this vitally important question, and we confidently look to Congress for relief, and to you for your hearty sympathy and support.

I have already referred to the fact that a determined effort will be made to secure the enactment of a child labor law at the present session of Congress. The reason the law was not enacted last year was on account of the shortness of the session and the lateness with which the bill was introduced. There was very lit-

tle opposition,—although there is always some opposition to movements of this character,—yet I think there is every reason to hope for the speedy enactment of this law. The bill which has been presented in Congress this session is not exactly a model child labor law, but the commissioners thought it best to introduce it in the present form, and will welcome any amendments that are deemed desirable or necessary in the light of subsequent discussion.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE WORKING CHILDREN¹

BY FLORENCE KELLEY,
Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

Never again can the problem of the working children in this Republic be regarded as merely a local one, when the textile industry stretches from Texas, Alabama and Georgia northward through all the Atlantic States to Pennsylvania, New York and New England; when the glass industry, to-night, while we are gathered here, is employing little boys in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri; and in only two of those states—Ohio and Illinois—is there even a pretence that it is illegal to have children working all night. Surely the American people can never again honestly regard these industries, and the conditions attending labor in them, as matters of merely local moment. It is only necessary to state the situation to make clear how fatuous is the attempt to deal with the textile industries through the legislatures of a dozen different states; and with the glass industries through the legislatures of a second dozen states.

These industries never consider themselves as local ones when they come to Congress and ask the nation to protect their interests. Then they appear as a unit, having identical reasons for their action, identical arguments in their own behalf.

When it is a question of the nation checking, even indirectly, their cruel robbery of the cradle, they urge that it is with West Virginia or with New Jersey that the friends of the children should deal, the state legislatures having been hitherto, on the whole, satisfactory to the employers.

¹ Address in the Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor, at the Second Session of the Annual Meeting, Washington, December 8, 1905.

Never again can it be a matter of merely local concern what hours the children are working. They will be the republic when we are dead, and we cannot leave it to the local legislators, here and there, to decide unobserved what sort of citizens shall be produced in this or that State, whether they shall be strong in body, mind and character, or whether they shall grow up enfeebled by overwork in early childhood.

In the past this great Republic has cared so little about its children that, though the census of 1900 reported half a million of them between the ages of ten and fourteen years who could neither read nor write—native children, not immigrants (the little black children in the cotton fields picking cotton, and the little white children in the cotton mills, spinning and helping to weave it)—when the census showed, five years ago, half a million of these children, what attention was given to the facts?

They were concealed in two obscure pages of the census of 1900, until, within a month, in November, 1905, there has come, five years belated, a bulletin giving particulars. The children who were ten years old in 1900 are fifteen years old now, and the children who were thirteen years old are many of them married now. And now we get those belated tidings!

As to the cotton crop, we Americans are so very eager! We have even been willing to corrupt the men who knew anything about it if they would but give us tidings a few hours ahead of the legal moment of publication. But for information about the children who work up the cotton crop, we can wait until they are grown up and married! We Americans care so little about the working children, who are citizens in the bud, who will be the Republic when we are dead!

For more than a generation we have had a so-called Department of Education. It has published information so inconclusive and so belated that it is the laughing stock of Europeans interested in our educational institutions; so belated, moreover, that it is worthless for our own uses in obtaining improved legislation in this country.

Meanwhile it is left to a feeble volunteer society to collect a few hundred dollars, here and there, and publish in January, every year, the new statutes which have taken effect in the twelve months next preceding. Why does not the Department of Education do

this? Why has not the Department of Labor always done this? Why have they not made it a joint undertaking? What are these departments for, if they are not to furnish to the people information concerning the working children at a time when it can be used?

So far as I have been able to learn by studying the reports of these two departments, the hieroglyphics on the pyramid of Cheops are not more remote from the life of to-day than their statistics are remote from the life of the working children of Georgia and Pennsylvania.

It is time to recognize that the children who will be the Republic have rights now. It is important that the American people should know under what conditions they are living, and working, and becoming invalids or criminals, thousands of them dying in childhood and early youth. Surely it is more important to know these things, that we may act upon the knowledge, than to be informed with furious haste by the associated press whenever another great department hopes that it has found some new variety of insect which may destroy the boll-weevil. Surely it is more important that the American people should know what is really happening to its young children in industry than that we should learn at brief intervals how the young lobsters are faring on the coast of Maine and the young trout in the remote streams of Northern Wisconsin.

At last, there is a proposal that we should rise from our low position among the nations when we are ranked according to our care of our children. We are not, when graded according to our care and education of our working children, in the same class of enlightened and humane nations as England, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavia. Rather, we rank with Russia, in the matter of our half million illiterate native children in this century, as we ranked with Russia in the matter of slavery and serfdom in the last century. Measured by our cruel neglect of our working children, it is undeniably with Russia that we stand to-day.

Those nations which have cared effectively for their working children have done so through their central governments, not, as we have vainly attempted, through fifty-two legislatures. It is now proposed that we should limp haltingly after those nations, though Congress may be by no means ready to legislate in a unified

way for the children as it does, for instance, for the textile industry, the glass industry and the interests of agriculture.

It is proposed that there should be devoted to the children one bureau of our government, by means of which the people should be able to obtain, from month to month, recent trustworthy information concerning everything that enters into the lives of the children; everything that makes for or against their vital efficiency, their educational opportunity, their future industrial and civic value.

A bill will be presented to Congress, with the hope that there may be established a bureau of research and publicity in the interests of all the children in the Republic.

CHILD LABOR IN THE COAL MINES¹

BY OWEN R. LOVEJOY,

Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The first field investigation conducted by the National Child Labor Committee was among the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania. Facts revealed in the hearings before the commission appointed by President Roosevelt to seek a settlement of the great strike of 1902 led the committee to believe that conditions existed there which would serve not only to illustrate prominent evils of premature child labor in other sections of our country, but also that, once known, would arouse public opinion to give such expression in legislative action as would bring about a higher plane of life in the anthracite region itself. The committee believed a proper educational preparation for American life was possible for the children of the mining district, and this without bringing undue hardship upon the families, and without in any way hampering the legitimate processes of the coal industry.

This investigation, carried on extensively and at different seasons during the past eighteen months, has demonstrated the wisdom of the committee's action. In every part of the region visited child labor was found to exist. No colliery has been visited in which children have not been found employed at ages prohibited by the law of the State. Various estimates have been given of the number of boys under fourteen and under sixteen years employed in and about the hard coal mines of Pennsylvania. The figures have ranged from 6,000 to 12,000 under fourteen years. All of these estimates are generalizations, based upon specific data which may, and may not, be sufficient. Our own estimates are based on the study of a number of boroughs believed to be typical of the region, and have been gathered in co-operation with school officials, mine officers,

¹ Address at the Philadelphia session and at the Second Session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1905.

and other citizens interested in the moral aspects of our work. Without entering upon a detailed discussion of the statistics collected, it may be stated that we have estimated not less than 9,000 or 10,000 boys under fourteen years of age in the mines and breakers of the region, while the percentage in one borough investigated, if carried through the entire region, would give a total of 12,800. By the laws of the State no child under fourteen years of age may be employed at any labor about a coal mine.

Let us not be misunderstood. It is not claimed that there is open and rebellious violation of the laws by the mining companies in the employment of little children. Through defects in the law, sought to be remedied by legislation last year, it was possible for any child of any age, through the perjury of the parent and the pathetic greed of the notary public who would record any kind of falsehood for a fee of twenty-five cents, to secure a certificate alleging him to be fourteen years of age. With this official document a boy might go to the outside foreman at a mine and secure employment if the mine were in need of boys. It is obvious to a man of average discernment that a boy of nine or ten years is not fourteen, and one breaker boss smiled significantly as he said to me last May, "It's queer how all these little fellows who have come to us this spring are just fourteen and were all born on the first of May." At this mine twenty boys were found in a single group, only three of whom were fourteen years old, while a picture was taken of five of the boys, three of whom were nine and two were ten years old. At another mine the following memorandum is found in my field notes: "Here twenty-two boys were interviewed at the noon interval, all of whom admitted they were under fourteen except one Scotch boy (whose age, by the school record, was found to be ten) and one Irish boy of fifteen, who has been out of school and at work for more than six years. Of the others, one was nine (eight by the school record), three were ten, two were eleven, six were twelve, and three were thirteen (although the school record showed one of the thirteen-year-old boys to be eleven.)"

But while these men are certain that they are employing boys younger than the prescribed age, they are not guilty of violation of law, since every boy has come with an official document, issued by authority of this great State, declaring him to be of the legal age for employment. It may be asked whether these men are not hard

and unfeeling to commit this moral offence, even though shielded by a defective law. The answer is that many of them received their education in the coal breaker in days when school privileges were less available than now. Many frankly affirm their belief that these early years in the coal breaker are better for the boys than the same number of years spent in school. Furthermore, there are many boys so near the legal age as to render detection of fraud by the employer impossible—and if these certificates are accepted by him in one case, he cannot refuse to accept them in all cases. And whether these mine officials approve or disapprove the system, they are employed by the mining company to produce the maximum output at the minimum cost. Their business is not child protection but coal mining, and no commonwealth should place upon men who are directly interested in the evasion of a law, the burden of its enforcement.

By the child labor law which went into effect May 1, 1905, the chief defects in former laws were removed, documentary evidence of age being required and certain educational standards prescribed. Unfortunately, by the declared unconstitutionality of one section of the law, the whole has been regarded in many sections as inoperative, and extensive investigations in many boroughs, subsequent to May 1st, failed to show any important improvement as a result of the law.

The work of the small boys at the hard coal mines is principally in the breakers. Pictures of little children toiling under heavy burdens and in noisome channels in coal mines are of the past—thanks to an awakened humanity and improved machinery. The chief duties of the few small boys who work inside the hard coal mines to-day are as mule drivers, spraggers, and gate-tenders. Probably a larger percentage of boys are employed inside the mines in the Wyoming Valley than in other parts of the region, because the gaseous condition of the mines in that region requires many doors to regulate the air currents.

In the coal breaker the principal employment of the boys is in picking slate from the coal. Seated on a board laid across the chute in which the coal comes pouring down from the heavy cylinders where it was dumped by the mine cars to be broken into sizes, the little boy regulates the flow of coal by the position of his feet in the chute and picks out the slate and rock as the coal runs past. In the breakers where the coal is cleaned dry, the cloud of dust is so dense that light cannot penetrate, and even on bright days

the breaker boys are compelled to wear mine lamps in their little caps to enable them to see the coal at their own feet. On sultry days the dust cloud is often seen hanging like a heavy pall above the great coal breaker for an hour after the work of the day is done.

Many coal breakers in the anthracite region no longer clean the coal dry, but have introduced cleaning machinery, and the wet process which greatly improves the conditions of labor for the breaker boys. That all coal breakers might introduce these improvements is generally conceded by coal operators. The improvements have been made, however, only in portions of the coal region in which the coal is so dirty as to render dry-cleaning impossible—not from consideration for the comfort of the laborers. The machinery for wet cleaning is expensive and it is doubtful whether any coal mining company will voluntarily introduce the improvements unless compelled by the quality of the coal.

While the labor of young boys is most convenient in this department of the process of preparing coal for market, there is nothing in the nature of the work itself which makes it impossible for a larger boy or a man. It is only because of the economy in wages that child labor is so greatly preferred to the work of men, although the young boy appears to endure the labor of sitting bent over a coal chute all day with less fatigue, and can work at a speed alleged to be greater than that of the man.

Much has been said of the extreme danger to boys working in the coal mines and breakers. Probably there has been an exaggerated idea of the dangers. Every reasonable precaution appears to have been taken by most mining companies against danger and loss of life. It is true we occasionally hear of a little boy in the mine run over by a coal car, or kicked to death by a mule, or fatally injured by a piece of falling slate. And in the coal breakers little boys are sometimes ground in the large crushers that break the coal, caught in the wheels or other machinery, or buried in a stream of coal—the death suffered recently by the little boy in Pittston. But few of these accidents occur in the regular routine of the boys' duties. Few, probably, which with forethought and mature judgment—two of the qualities so rare in a small boy—might not have been avoided.

I believe that general statistics will bear out the statement that

boys working in the coal breakers suffer no more frequently from injury, as compared with the men injured there, than is the case in other industries. A recent study of the reports of factory inspectors in several of our industrial States, shows a remarkable uniformity in the percentage of accidents. We find in the textile mills, foundries, steel and iron mills, glass houses and machine shops employing children that, in proportion to the number of children employed, accidents to children under sixteen years of age are from 250 to 300 per cent. more frequent than to adults. These unfeeling figures present a terrible arraignment of our industrial system. All our boasted protection of home and childhood stands ashamed before the bare fact that, in working out our industrial purposes in America, we subject our little children to a danger nearly three times as great as that incurred by men, instead of throwing about the weak and defenseless those special safeguards invoked by their helplessness—a humane principle recognized as fundamental by nearly every savage tribe in the history of human evolution.

The menace to morals is not less than that to health. The life of the little boy in the coal breaker is exposed to all the rough usage and hardening surroundings which characterize a form of labor requiring a maximum of manual and a minimum of mental exertion. To sit all day over a dusty coal chute, fixing the mind solely on the distinction between a piece of coal and a piece of rock or slate, and in the close company of a group of boys free from the restraints of home or school, is a kind of preparation for a nine-year-old boy from which, it is true, many have emerged to noble and educated manhood, but from which I venture every right-thinking father and mother who reads these words would make all possible sacrifice to shield their own boys. It is unnecessary here to enter upon a discussion of the evils of profanity, obscenity, gambling and various forms of physical intemperance. It is enough to say that the lives of many of the small boys in the coal region are already so tainted by vicious habits that an almost insuperable obstacle to a maturity of virtue and intelligence is presented.

Efforts to restrict such labor of children is opposed, however, on the ground that child labor in the coal region is not the labor of the "American child," but rather the labor of the little ignorant Slav or other foreigner, who is "much better off working

there than he could possibly be in the country of his nativity—or even in the public school which he cannot appreciate.” The reply is that the children who work in the coal mines of this State are not foreigners. They are Americans! They are the children of parents who have been drawn to us from other countries and who are called “foreigners.” But the Slavs who migrate to the coal regions are principally young, enterprising people, whose children are born after they are settled here and call this country “home.”

In one borough the school enrollment shows these remarkable facts: that of the 3,288 children enrolled only 101 (3 per cent.) are foreign-born Slavs, while 3,187 are American-born. But 3,165 (41 per cent.) are the children of foreign-born Slavs, and live in homes essentially foreign and un-American. This is typical of many parts of the coal region. Our problem, therefore, is not the problem of the foreign child in an American country, as is often supposed, but the problem of the *American child* in a *foreign country*. As American citizens we must demand that the highest protection and the best opportunities of our country shall be given these children already handicapped by the uninspiring influences of home.

The attitude of the mother of one eleven-year-old girl, who was an unwilling truant from school, is significant. She defended herself by saying: “Sadie, no need no more school. She got more school as me already.” The duty of the State is clear. The Slav child is the helpless victim of the frugality, ignorance, and industrial instincts of his parents. He is taken from school at the earliest available age to eke out the family income by a kind of labor that develops brawn but atrophies brain, and the father and mother are blandly unconscious that they are hanging about the neck of their own child a millstone of ignorance and industrial inefficiency which will drag ever heavier, as the awakening forces of our American civilization accelerate the tide of social progress.

It is not true, as often claimed by those who exploit these children, that the Slav child is stolid, unpromising and unfit for any other kind of life than a life of drudgery in a state of ignorance. One interesting school in the anthracite region is attended by pupils who are, in almost equal numbers, children of Slav and of American parents, although the Slav children drop out rapidly after the early grades. The high school of the borough presents this remarkable

appeal for the education of the Slav child, that although but eleven of the ninety-nine pupils enrolled in the four high school classes last year were Slavs, the honors for scholarship in both the first and second year classes were held by young Lithuanians, while the valedictorian of Class 1905 was a young Jewess born in Russia. A new social standard must be caused to prevail in this region. The Slav must be looked upon as something better than a beast of burden, and must be forced to higher levels. Alert and industrious, he will need no further urging, given one generation of compulsory opportunity. His children must be safeguarded by law and institutions against a standard of thought and living which are the racial inheritance of centuries, and made to feel that the highest gifts in the power of our democracy are his birthright.

Our interest in this problem is not principally for the well-being of a specific child here and there who is in danger of evil, or accident, or intellectual dwarfing. These individual sufferers from bad conditions may be left, it is assumed, to the kindly care of such reformatory and corrective agencies as are found in nearly every community. Our interest centers in establishing social conditions in these communities that shall prevent such waste of health and character as menaces public progress. The institutions of our democratic civilization are involved. The coal deposits of that small region are rich beyond present computation, but the human life of the region is more valuable. We find good coal so great a convenience that it is regarded as almost indispensable, and those who are devout do not cease to offer up morning and evening prayers to those who own the coal to supply it at a reasonable price. But coal is not essential to us. There are substitutes, even though expensive and inconvenient. There is no substitute for manhood. No fuel will keep the fires burning on the nation's altars save virtue, intelligence, and industrial efficiency.

And were it necessary to employ these little boys of nine and ten years in order to produce coal at a reasonable price—which no intelligent person believes—better mortgage the factory and the farm and the store and the church and the home to pay the coal bill than put a mortgage on the efficiency of the coming generations which may require centuries to lift.

CHILD LABOR IN THE GLASS INDUSTRY

BY OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The glass industry is at once the oldest and the youngest among American manufacturing enterprises. As early as 1609 a glass-house was established in Jamestown, Va., which manufactured the first goods exported from this country. The enterprise was unsuccessful, however, and until the middle of last century glass-making failed to gain a hopeful footing among us. Indeed the year 1865—forty years ago—when Boston was first able to manufacture flint glass equal to the best made in England, may be regarded as the beginning of successful glass manufacture in America. Its present honorable position among domestic manufactures has been attained mainly in the last twenty-five years, while the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed more radical changes in the industry, both at home and abroad, than had occurred in the preceding three hundred years.

From the installation of the continuous tank in place of the pot system of heating the glass for manipulation, introduced here first at Jeannette, Pa., in 1888, invention and improvement have crowded upon each other in rapid succession until to-day the window glass blowing machine is a proven success, the plate glass industry is revolutionized by labor and fuel-saving devices, the machine for blowing chimneys and wide-mouth bottles is driving the hand blowers to the wall by cheaper and better production, while within the present year machine blowers for small-necked ware have disproven the last contention of the opponents of mechanical progress and bid fair in the near future to monopolize this branch of the art.

In the decade 1890-1900 the capital invested in the industry increased 52.4 per cent to a total of over \$61,000,000, the increase being due largely to the tank system and other forms of more expensive machinery, and to the greater expense in packages for shipping purposes. The largest single item of the \$16,631,000 total ex-

pense in the manufacture of 1900 was \$4,000,000 for packages, metal caps and rubber stoppers, an amount equal to 28 per cent. of the total cost. The production in 1900 was 45 per cent. greater than in 1890, although the average working season, "fire," in 1900 was but six months, as against ten months in 1890, and furthermore, owing to labor and trade difficulties, the possible output in 1900 was reduced by the idleness of 15 per cent. of the factories, representing a capital of \$3,500,000. A study of the trade journals and a field investigation of the industry lead to the belief that the growth, both in number and size of plants, is more rapid since 1900 than before.

No modern industry, with the possible exception of silk-throwing and cotton manufacture, makes a stronger demand for child labor than the manufacture of glass. At the side of the blower and gatherer, in the blistering heat of the furnace, stands the little "cracker-off" boy who breaks the cooling waxlike glass from the end of the blowpipe after the chimney or bottle has been left in the mold; sitting at the feet of the blower is the "holding-mold" boy who opens and shuts the molds; then the "sticker-up" or "warming-in" boy takes the ware from the mold and holds it to the "glory-hole," reheating the mouth that it may be shaped by the gaffer, or finisher; from the finisher the "carry-in" boy takes the ware to the lehr, where it is properly tempered and made ready for packing. The other forms of child labor in some factories—etching, polishing, tying, packing, are unimportant as compared with those mentioned.

The employment of children at night is possibly the crowning offense of the glass industry, as viewed by those who oppose injurious child labor. The introduction of the tank system, making profitable the continuous operation of the plant, marks a decided step in the progress of the industry, but it has largely increased the demand for boys at night work until probably 60 per cent. of the 7,500 boys employed in glass-houses work at night every other week. The evil of night labor is intensified by the abnormal temperature of the factory: and this from both the physical and the moral standpoints. The boy is in close contact with men who labor at a kind of work requiring quickness, precision, nervous strain, and who in the excitement of the moment are often forgetful of the moralities of conduct so essential to the formation of a boy's character. One hesitates to state what might be construed as a criticism of any group

of America's working people by whose energy and intelligence the foundations of our national prosperity have been laid. Yet it is a common observation that the character of men is often greatly affected by the nature of their employment: profanity and intemperance being peculiarly prevalent in industries demanding unusual risks to life or limb, or requiring labor in an abnormal atmosphere. It is believed that a better spirit is developing among glass-house operatives, partly due no doubt to the educational value of the trade union movement. Yet much remains to be desired. Many glass factories are sorely crippled following every pay day or holiday, owing to the intemperance of some of the men and their incapacity for careful work. The introduction of such devices as reduce the exposure of the men to excessive heat will do more than any form of temperance agitation to lessen the abnormal craving for stimulant which their overtaxed bodies now express.

The work in a glass-house is usually by the piece, and during the rush hours of a "turn," when all is excitement and hurry, the visitor will shudder to hear a burly man curse his little helper in language bound to leave its dark impress on his plastic mind and color his imagination with stains that cannot be effaced. It is significant that in many glass-houses one hardly finds the child of a glass-blower. One worker who has spent his life in the glass-house when asked the reason replied: "I would rather send my boys straight to hell than send them by way of the glass-house." A young friend, whose character and family are well known, said recently that of the 175 boys with whom he worked in an Indiana factory two years ago there were only ten at the end of the fire who were not confirmed drinkers of intoxicants. And the proprietor of a successful Ohio house said last summer, in reply to an appeal for the education of the boys: "You can't do anything for them. The little devils are vicious from their birth." A somewhat intimate acquaintance with the glass-house boys of this and other communities left no doubt as to the viciousness of many, though the date of its genesis was not established. One inclines, however, to the opinion of a discerning school principal in a thriving glass town in Pennsylvania, who says: "My observation is that when a boy leaves school and goes into the factory at twelve or thirteen, by the time he is fifteen or sixteen he is too foul-mouthed to associate with decent

people." The injurious moral effects of the industry on little boys are further proven by the statement of another leading Ohio glass manufacturer who urged the advantage of securing boys from eleven to thirteen years of age by saying: "When a boy gets to be sixteen or seventeen years old he becomes lazy and heady and will not work as he used to." When asked whether the factory life itself had anything to do with this state of moral fatigue, he replied that there was no way of comparing because "a boy rarely ever goes into the glass-house after he reaches sixteen or seventeen years."

The menace to the physical well-being of the child is not less. Irregular hours of labor and rest are undermining to the mature constitution. How much more to the undeveloped, rapidly growing boy. And when this irregular employment is pursued in an excessive heat which first stimulates and then stupefies, sending the boy home at 2.30 or 4.30 in the morning through the raw, damp night, the evil is intensified. Many mothers corroborate the criticism of one expressed in these words: "When Charley works on the night shift he hasn't any appetite," although there are manufacturers who contend that the boys get more rest and are better in health when on the night shift than when on the day.

The National Child Labor Committee proposes legislation which shall forbid the employment of any boy under fourteen years of age in a glass-house, and restrict night employment to those over sixteen. Two objections are advanced, by some representatives of the industry, to such legislation. The first objection is that glass cannot be manufactured without the aid of small boys. It is contended that the efficiency of the "shop" (the group working at a single furnace) depends on the presence of the boys; that they are used for forms of work which men either will not or cannot do, because they labor at wages adequate for boy's work, but too small to induce men to work. One manufacturer a year ago contended that several of the best houses in Pennsylvania would be compelled to close if the age limit for children were raised from thirteen to fourteen years.

It is interesting to see that this despairing prophecy has not been fulfilled, but that, on the other hand, the industry has substantially increased in Pennsylvania since the enactment of that law, and, so far as discovered, no inconvenience of importance has any-

where been suffered. A study of the industry in recent years will prove the groundlessness of such fears, and will demonstrate that the manufacture of glass is so firmly established in America that no restrictive legislation contemplated by any intelligent body of citizens for child protection could materially check its growth.

That glass manufacture does not depend on child labor is shown by the fact that during the decade 1890-1900, while the number of factories increased 20 per cent., the capital invested 52 per cent., the number of employees 17 per cent., and the output 45 per cent., the number of children employed increased but 2.5 per cent. In the pressed and blown glass branch of the industry, in which children are employed—practically none being engaged in the building or pressed glass industry—the increase is no less striking. In the number of factories the increase was 19 per cent., in capital invested 54 per cent., in number of wage-earners 24 per cent., in children 5.6 per cent.

The location of the glass industry is even more interesting than these general statistics. The manufacture of fruit-jars, bottles of all kinds, and lamp chimneys has moved steadily westward during the past fifteen years from Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and New Jersey, where child labor laws were lax and restriction of night labor almost unknown, into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, States in which laws have been enacted increasingly restrictive, and in two of which night work under sixteen years of age is prohibited. In the census of 1880 Indiana did not report the manufacture of fruit jars; in 1890 it manufactured 31 per cent. of the total output, and in 1900 the percentage had increased to 70. In 1880 Pennsylvania manufactured nearly two-thirds of all our lamp chimneys. In 1890 Ohio stood first, manufacturing twice as many as Pennsylvania, and in 1900 Indiana had attained first place, manufacturing 45 per cent. of the total, followed by Pennsylvania with 26 per cent., and Ohio with 21 per cent. This does not mean that the manufacture has declined in these eastern States, but only that the growth in other States has far outstripped them. One of the largest and possibly the most successful among the bottle manufacturing houses is now located in Ohio, and a leading official of the plant explained the entire absence of boys on the night shift by the statement that "the reason shops find it necessary to hire boy labor for night work is

because they do not want to hire men." When asked whether the demand for cheap labor was essential, he replied: "They can all afford to employ men and boys over sixteen. It is simply greed." An outsider would hesitate to make so sweeping a charge, but the statement of one in the business may be quoted without offense.

The decade 1890-1900 shows both Indiana and Illinois leading Pennsylvania in the manufacture of glass bottles, though the latter State permitted child labor at ages and hours forbidden in both the others.

The position of the glass industry in the world markets is no less encouraging to the cause we represent. Between the years 1890-1900 French mirror glass imports decreased 95 per cent., imported polished plate of all kinds decreased 79.8 per cent., fluted rolled and rough plate imports decreased 90 per cent., being nearly equalled in the latter year by the exports of a single American skylight factory, while the imports of all bottles, jars, carboys, etc., the branch of the trade especially employing children, decreased 49 per cent. In the same period the exports of "all other glass" except window glass increased 117.4 per cent.

The location of a glass-house is determined chiefly by cheapness of fuel, the largest single item of expense in manufacturing. The utilization of natural gas has caused it to follow closely the opening up of the natural gas belt, in the Pittsburgh district, along the Ohio River, through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Kansas, which reports no glass-houses in the census of 1900, to-day has not less than twenty in successful operation. The industry in the future will probably be less nomadic than formerly, owing to the greater expense of construction and to the recently proven success and economy of gas produced from crude oil—one firm recently reporting the operation of a plant by the use of crude oil gas, produced at the rate of 6,000 cubic feet of gas per barrel of oil, and at a cost of 7 cents per thousand feet.

The second consideration in determining location is market. Freight rates on glass are unusually high, and often the discrimination against those shipping between certain points is almost oppressive. The annual consumption of glass fruit jars is not less than 700,000 gross, while one lamp chimney factory manufactures thirty tons of glass a day at one of its plants and forty tons at another.

The superintendent of a large tumbler house in Pennsylvania affirms that the freight rate from his city to St. Louis is greater than the rate charged from Germany to St. Louis on the same class of ware. It is evident that the industry is far more sensitive to these market and freight conditions than almost any other extensive industry in the country, and the rapid increase in the use of bottles, table-ware, lamp chimneys and fruit jars throughout the West has combined with the oil and gas fields in winning the industry to the Western States.

The principal ingredients in the manufacture of glass have greatly decreased in cost within recent years, the total cost of soda-ash having fallen 27 per cent. during the decade 1890-1900, although the total consumption increased 63 per cent. Sand is found in so many sections of the country as to be in reach of all States manufacturing glass, while salt-cake, lime and limestone, nitrate of soda, arsenic and other ingredients do not enter into the question of location.

The third influence is the cost and availability of labor. As the silk industry is rushing into the mining region where girl labor is to be had in plenty and at small cost, so the glass industry tends to follow those heavier industries in which boys are not available, and to bid for the child life of those industrial communities. It is not denied that labor legislation restricting the employment of children has a certain influence at this point. It is only claimed that the other items of cost are of so much greater importance that a successful glass-house is not materially affected by such legislation as has been proposed by this committee.

Indeed, it is gratifying to learn from several of the most successful manufacturers that their desire to employ children in the industry is more from consideration for the boys and their needy families than because of the needs of the industry. And we may here appropriately introduce the second general objection to child labor legislation. It is well expressed in the words of an influential editor who said: "The objection to child labor legislation is more on account of the little fellows who would be deprived of the work than on account of the industry." The refuge of those compelled to acknowledge that the industry can grow and thrive without the labor of little children, but who still defend the custom, is in the

plea either that the children are better off in the factory than on the street; that they belong to the class had in mind by a prominent citizen who recently said: "If you educate all the people, who will do the dirty work, the hard manual labor?" or that the poor widow with the large family will be thrown upon public charity if the boy is taken from the factory.

To the first form of the objection it is only necessary to answer that the truth of the statement depends upon the nature of the factory and the condition of the street, and that the spirit of America has in mind educational provision for all children, who should be protected from both factory and street. If any child is reduced to either of these alternatives then a radical defect is to be unearthed in the life of that community and correction of the mal-condition should begin without delay.

To the second form of the objection the only answer in harmony with the ethics of democracy is that the division of society into two classes, one of which shall be educated and enjoy life, and the other be kept in ignorance and confined to "dirty work" and denied education for fear of arousing discontent, has been the curse of former civilizations—cursing both the servants and the served—and has no place in a society that lives by the participation of its citizens in its civic and political affairs.

The third form of the objection must be considered more seriously. No doubt many families are, in certain periods, kept from dire want through the meagre earnings of little children. No doubt also that if society is to compel the education of the children and their exclusion from injurious labor—both in the interest of the public welfare—society must also take the necessary steps to execute these laws without imposing undue hardship on those persons in greatest need of sympathy and social equity. It is impossible in this place to enter upon a defense of the position that every widow who seeks to rear and educate a family of children should be regarded as so clearly a contributor to the public wealth that her honorable maintenance shall be guaranteed as a matter of justice, not of charity. We must here confine ourselves to the discussion of the place of the child in the problem and the necessity of his elimination as a factor in domestic support.

It is granted that the wages of a small boy in a glass-house

will bring a pittance into the family treasury: it does not follow that the general condition of poverty in the community is therefore at all relieved. A stogie roller may earn \$5 or \$6 a week, or an expert who can roll 2500 a day may earn \$12 a week in a tenement where vice and fever propagate together: it does not follow that stogie rolling is a blessing to the poor. On the other hand the average stogie roller grows poorer every year, and the influx of poverty, drawn by this and other forms of industry which bring quick returns without investment of capital or skill, fills the regions promoting them with an ever-increasing number of hungry mouths to the bewilderment, almost the despair, of philanthropic agencies. Great industries bring in their train the small merchant and the peddler, the cheap garment worker, and the stogie roller, who live often in abject poverty and work in cramped tenements of unventilated filth.

But it is interesting to note that only those industries that can profitably employ the ignorant, the weak, the children of the poor, are to any degree concerned in the protection of the poor widow and her offspring. The building trades have cost the lives of many toilers and left many poor widows and defenseless children, but one does not hear the boss carpenter or the employer of structural iron workers defending the employment of children on the basis of philanthropy. Neither the steel mills, the lumber camps, the manufactories of locomotives, or the great railroads seem sensitive—as industries—to the cry of the children in need of work. Only where the little child can be worked at a profit are men found solicitous for the welfare of the children who will be idle unless employed by them.

We have too long permitted the employer of children to feel that he holds a special guardianship over the widows of the commonwealth. We do not question his motives, for he sees the problem in the concrete rather than in its broad implications, and the customs of his industry have inevitably forced him to face conditions in the community which have brought him to his viewpoint. But it is the duty of the public to learn, and then to teach, that the cotton manufacturer, the silk manufacturer, the cigar manufacturer, the proprietor of a newspaper or telegraph office, the manufacturer of glass or the president of a coal mining company is no more responsible to relieve the poverty of the community through the employ-

ment of its little children than is the railroad manager, the building contractor, the steel manufacturer, the employer of 'longshoremen, the lumber dealer or the manufacturer of locomotives. Let each industry stand on its economic basis and let us remember that poverty is never eliminated by being congested, and that poor widowhood is not permanently relieved by such industries as bid for cheap labor and thus beckon the inefficient and needy to hover about them.

We contend then that the glass industry is not compelled to employ little children, either for the benefit of the children nor from necessities of the industry. The editor of the *National Glass Budget*, in the issue of November 25, 1905, echoes the sentiment of many prominent manufacturers in asserting that the introduction of modern machinery and automatic devices has "changed modern factory requirements to such an extent that it can truthfully be said that, as a rule, the glass factory of to-day which still requires the work of the small boy is operated in the crudest, most primitive, most expensive and antiquated manner." The auditor of one of the largest glass manufacturing concerns in America, a company which does not employ any child labor, said recently: "Flint glass manufacture has followed at the tail end of the procession. When you consider the ease with which steel and iron are handled in the great factories, and then watch the little boys carrying hot glass in the bottle houses, it looks extremely crude. There is a whole lot of this work which could be as well done by machinery." One of the owners of an extensive lamp chimney factory, operated now almost entirely by blowing machinery, estimates that they employ about one-half the number of boys formerly employed for the same amount of work; that whereas they formerly employed boys of twelve or fourteen years who earned \$6 a week, they can now employ young men over sixteen years old whose earnings are from \$14 to \$20 a week. When asked if the net cost was not greater now than formerly his answer was, "We can now afford to pay men's wages for boy's work."

It is not, of course, suggested that child labor is no longer profitable in the making of glass. Many factories would be temporarily inconvenienced by being compelled to employ older boys for the work now done at trifling cost by young children. It is only con-

tended that the industry, as such, will not be injuriously affected by such restrictive legislation, but on the other hand will be stimulated to greater economies and improvements than will be utilized while human life can be purchased at so slight a cost. But even were the industry itself imperilled, society cannot be interested in the maintenance of industries which must exist at the sacrifice of child life. One enterprising employer, when objecting to the enforcement of child labor laws, complained that such legislation would ultimately force them to install machinery that would do away with the necessity for small boys.

That any inconvenience to the industry from such legislation as we urge might be avoided by a more equitable distribution of wages has frequently been pointed out to both employers and employees in the course of this investigation. Few skilled trades pay better wages than glass blowing, and while the hand work is to-day made precarious by the rapid introduction of machinery, and many glass blowers see their trade vanishing, it is also true that the workers on the new machines are paid wages that are large as compared with wages in other forms of manual labor. When one suggests that glass blowers and finishers might be willing to have their wages slightly reduced with the understanding that the difference shall be made up to older helpers taking the places of the small boys, the suggestion is always laughed out of court—whether made to proprietor or workmen. To watch men working for \$4 to \$10 a day, aided by little boys who earn from 65 cents to \$1.10 a day for "boys' work," although working the same number of hours and subjected to the same intense heat, whether in union or non-union shops, forces the doubt whether labor is always entirely serious in its protest against the employment of little children. It is not to be understood that such a policy of wage reduction for skilled labor is here advocated. It is probable that, under present industrial conditions in which labor stands always offering itself for sale in the open market, wages are rarely if ever higher than the service warrants. It is only suggested that, with child labor in the glass industry standing a confessed menace to society—a fact well known by employer and employee alike—and with a disparity in wages between the skilled man and the boy which appears unjustified by the amount of service rendered, some amicable adjustment should be reached

between the rival forces that would put an end to the sacrifice of the child in the interest of either party. The responsibility will be revealed by proper legislation. If only the greed of the manufacturer deters him from paying wages adequate to reward men and larger boys, self-interest will force him to this when little children can no longer be employed. But if the total amount paid in wages is all that the industry warrants, and the wages of skilled workers are out of all proportion to those paid the children, then the genuineness of labor's protest will be put to the test. We do not here profess to know whether the sacrifice should be made by the employer or the employee. Regardless of the effect on prices, or wages, or the fortunes of particular plants, or the struggle between the hand-working and the machine operating factories, or the strife which exists to-day between the union and the open shops—the public is interested only to see that glass—that most wonderful and beautiful of our manufactured products, the symbol and conveyer of light, the highest instrument in the hands of sanitary science and the healing art—shall be made without bearing beneath its polished surface the lives of little children who have been burned into its glittering substance.

THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM—A STUDY IN DEGENERACY¹

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It is my purpose to draw a parallel, not to make a prophecy. The parallel, however, is so striking, the conditions of the child labor problem in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in some of our American States at the beginning of the twentieth so like, that the foreseeing of the same result is inevitable, even while we pray, *Utinam vates falsus sim*. May this association, with its scientific study of the problem and its fearless setting forth of truth discovered, be one of the forces in our American life that shall work a timely change in those conditions here. Certainly there is no more pressing subject of consideration for patriot or philanthropist than the welfare of the coming race. As President Roosevelt said to our committee only last month, political questions like the tariff or the currency are insignificant, in comparison with a social problem like this. The life is more than meat and the body than raiment. Certainly there could befall a people no greater catastrophe than race degeneracy. It is sufficient to say here that this catastrophe is not only threatening but already impending.

In drawing the parallel between conditions in England and America, I shall confine my attention mainly to the Southern States, and for these reasons: As a Southern man I am more familiar with Southern conditions by personal investigation; the field of work assigned me is the South; in the manufacturing States of the North and East the legislative problem has been largely solved, and there remains only the problem of the adequate enforcement of the law; the industry which was chiefly cursed by child labor in England is the characteristic and commanding industry of the South, the manufacture of cotton; and the northern problem differs from the southern in being chiefly a foreign problem. It is the children of the French Canadian and the Portuguese and the Greek that

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demand protection in New England, the children of the Italian and the Slav in Pennsylvania. No child of American parentage has yet been found at work in the sweatshops of New York city. Where there is opportunity for making manhood wages, the typical American sends his child to the school and not to the mill. But while it is a grievous thing to consider that the good fortune of the immigrant's family is offset by the misfortune of the child, who is kept from too early toil by the humane laws of the Old World States, while child labor in the North and East prevents that transformation into American citizens that is effected by the American public schools, yet in the South it is especially an American problem, for it is concerned with the depreciation of the purest American stock on the continent. And this gives us another point of comparison between England and the South, namely the similarity of the racial stock. The little children who were fed into the capacious maw of the Manchester cotton mills were English. The little child slaves of our southern cotton mills to-day are of the same breed. And without going into the sphere of rhetoric, it may be said that at this hour of the world's history it is still the dominant race, the race of victorious achievement in war and in peace, unconquerable save when pitted against itself, as at Kings Mountain or New Orleans or Gettysburg. It is a race whose integrity must be preserved as the only safeguard of the national greatness. And it is because I plead to-day for the children of those who met the British at Kings Mountain, who followed Andrew Jackson to New Orleans, who fought on both sides at Chicamauga, that I am in such deadly earnest. We must save these children for their country. We must protect them from the consequences of untimely toil, the sapping of physical vitality, the marring of the mind and the spoiling of the spirit that come with the denial of the rights of childhood. We must train these children and those that are to come after them for their country's service. So only shall we win the enduring victories of peace and

"So shall we bide sure-guarded,
When the restless lightnings wake,
In the womb of the blotting war-cloud,
And the pallid nations shake."

We have a hundred years of legislative history in England as our warning that we must hasten to protect our children here.

Hutchins & Harrison have recently published a "History of Factory Legislation," to which I am largely indebted in the preparation of this paper. The first of the Factory acts in England was passed in 1802. But that followed a period of ineffective protest against the evil. The attitude of the eighteenth century towards the employment of children was one of self-laudation, that for the first time in the history of the world the child was no longer an encumbrance but an asset. Defoe and other writers were filled with enthusiasm that children of tenderest years could be profitably employed and a district in which "scarce anything of five years old" but could earn its living was regarded as an ideal state of society. And yet in the twentieth century children of four and five years have been found at work in New York city in the artificial flower trade in the home that poverty had turned into a workshop. In an account of the workhouses of England, written in 1732, the writer considered the picking of oakum as an ideally healthful pursuit for children. "They that pick oakum," he says, "are continually refreshed by the balsamic odour of it; the spinners and knitters, with an exercise so moderate that it fits any age or sex, at the same time that it qualifies those that are young for most handicrafts." Children were set to work in the spinning rooms soon after they were five years old. But this is also a pleasing modern sentiment. The cotton mill, with its twelve-hour day, or its twelve-hour night, the room filled with flying lint, trying to adult lungs, is held up as a sort of paradise for children and ignorant parents are to-day enticed from the farms with the idea that the children that are too young for farm work can be employed at the light and even delightful labor of the mills, wet weather and dry, hot weather and cold. Constant employment was once regarded as the wisest philanthropy, on the naive theory that "being constantly employed at least twelve hours a day . . . we hope the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them." Though the mercenary was also then a little mixed with the philanthropic by the well-founded belief that "from children thus trained up to constant labour we may venture to hope the lowering of the price." That is from an *Essay on Trade* published in 1770.

It should be said, however, that the children here spoken of were pauper children, which were already a "problem." The sturdy

farmers of England had not as yet learned to sentence their own flesh and blood to hard labor from early childhood. But a committee from the House of Commons in 1767 collected such appalling figures of mortality among the parish children that an appropriation was made for their care, though they were still apprenticed as soon as possible. In 1784 came the memorable protest of the Manchester physicians, with Dr. Percival as spokesman. They had investigated a fever epidemic at the Radcliffe cotton works, and while they professed ignorance of its cause, they said: "But though this point remains doubtful, we are decided in our opinion that the disorder has been supported, diffused and aggravated by the ready communication of contagion . . . and by the injury done to young persons through confinement and too long-continued labor, to which several evils the cotton mills have given occasion. We earnestly recommend a longer recess at noon and a more early dismissal from it in the evening, to all those who work in the cotton mills; but we deem this indulgence essential to the present health and future capacity for labor for those who are under the age of fourteen; for the active recreations of childhood and youth are necessary to the growth and right conformation of the human body. And we cannot excuse ourselves on the present occasion from suggesting . . . this further very important consideration, that the rising generation should not be debarred from all opportunities of instruction at the only season in life at which they can be properly improved." Thereupon the Manchester magistrates refused to allow "indentures of parish apprentices whereby they shall be bound to owners of cotton mills and other works in which children are obliged to work in the night or more than ten hours a day."

And yet we here in free America of the twentieth century allow by law children of twelve years to work twelve hours a day for five days in the week, sixty-six hours being the full week's work, and Georgia, one of the chief manufacturing States of the South, has no legal protection of the children from night work, or from being employed at the earliest age when their little hands could be of use. Only last month a child of seven years and nine months had its fingers cut off in a Georgia mill.

These same Manchester physicians, now constituted into a Board of Health, in 1796 passed the following resolutions, among others:

"The large factories are generally injurious to the constitution of those employed in them, from the close confinement which is enjoined, from the debilitating effects of hot or impure air, and from the want of the active exercises which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth to invigorate the system, and to fit our species for the employments and for the duties of manhood. The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children, not only tend to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring.

"From the excellent regulations that subsist in several cotton factories, it appears that many of these evils may be in a considerable degree obviated; we are therefore warranted by experience, and are assured we shall have the support of the liberal proprietors of these factories, in proposing an application for parliamentary aid to establish a general system of laws for the wise, humane and equal government of all such works."

In 1801 a man named Jouvaux was sentenced to twelve months of hard labor himself as a punishment for overworking his young apprentices, and Judge Grose went on to say, in the opinion delivered, "If the manufacturers insist that without these children they could not advantageously follow their trade, he should say that trade must not, for the sake of filthy lucre, be followed, but at once, for the sake of society, be abandoned." It is still the pauper children that are the object of concern. In the following year, 1802, the first factory act was passed, limiting working hours to twelve a day, forbidding night work, providing for the instruction of the apprentices in reading, writing and arithmetic, and providing for systematic factory inspection. It is a disagreeable fact to state, but it must be confessed that this first attempt at remedial legislation for the protection of working children, more than a hundred years ago, is to-day ahead of the laws of the manufacturing States of the South in the matter of night work, of requiring educational facilities and in providing for factory inspection. The bill passed almost without opposition, but an amendment extending its provisions to all

manufactories and the persons employed in them was defeated, the distinction being drawn between apprentice labor and free labor.

It may be interjected here that there is still a sentiment against any interference by the State in behalf of the toiling children who are not fortunate enough to be paupers. But the act was ineffective, and soon the parish apprentice question became unimportant. The invention of the cotton gin in America and the application of steam power to machinery ushered in an era of immense development in manufacturing comparable only to the expansion of the manufacturing industries of the South in the last two decades. And now the manufacturer becomes an important personage, with whose business Parliaments and courts are reluctant to interfere. The history of English legislation for the first half of the nineteenth century is a dreary round of slow and ineffective experiment, with swift and effective evasion of the laws. Spencer Walpole says that it took twenty-five years of legislation to restrict a child of nine years to a sixty-nine hour week. It only took twenty years' experience with the cotton mills on a large scale in three or four Southern States to enact an age limit of twelve and a sixty-six hour week. Yet that limit is lowered to ten by the exceptions made in some States, so that we are not much farther along than the English act of 1819 that made a nine-year age limit and forbade any child under sixteen to work more than twelve hours a day. Robert Owen's long fight for legislation deserves to be remembered and the objections made show that errors are as old as their corresponding truths. He was asked if there would not be danger of the children's acquiring vicious habits for want of regular occupation. He replied that "their habits have been good in proportion to the extent of their instruction." We are familiar with the modern proposition that the cotton mill is a reformatory and that our boasted civilization is after all so rotten as to require the sentencing of a ten-year-old child to hard labor in the mill to keep it out of mischief. Yet the statistics taken in Pennsylvania show that the army of tramps and criminals is being recruited constantly and mainly from the ranks of the children whose lives have been embittered by too early toil.

Owen says: "The first plea of the objectors to my bill was that masters ought not to be interfered with by the legislature in any way in the management of their business. The next attempt was

to prove that it was not injurious to employ these young children fourteen or fifteen hours a day, in over-heated, close rooms, filled often with the fine flying fiber of the material used, particularly in cotton and flax spinning mills. Sir Robert Peel most unwisely consented to a committee being appointed to investigate this question, and this committee was continued for two sessions of Parliament before these wise and honest men, legislating for the nation, could decide that "such practices were detrimental to the health of these infants." Owen was himself a manufacturer, as was Sir Robert Peel, but his bill was amended in such important particulars as the requiring documentary proof of age. The testimony regarding the necessity for this bill is interesting. Owen said that children were employed commonly at five or six. Thomas Wilkinson thought that half the employees were under sixteen. The United States census for 1900 gives only twenty-five per cent. of the operatives in Southern cotton mills as under sixteen, though the percentage has probably increased since. In 1835, in England, it was found that 26 per cent. were still under eighteen. George Gould called attention to the low rate of wages for the adult laborer from the competition of the child laborer. And two of the doctors called before the committee gave evidence that they had been suborned to testify as to the innocuousness of working young children under nine fifteen hours a day. But only last year, in North Carolina, the testimony of two doctors was introduced to show that there was no need, from a hygienic point of view, for a law forbidding young girls under fourteen to stand at their work for twelve hours a day or for boys or girls under fourteen to work a twelve-hour night. There is nothing new under the sun and there is nothing true but heaven. There was another assumption that prevailed then, and continues even in democratic America, that the manual working people are a lower class, an order apart, to whom the ordinary rules even of humanity cannot apply. And then there was the argument that was dubbed "Manchesterism," a favorite principle of the political economists of that day, who were all against what we might call social legislation. It was that things were not so bad after all, and that the tendency was to right themselves through the ordinary laws of the business world.

The act of 1825 forbade children under sixteen working more

than twelve hours a day, and the act of 1831 extended this to children under eighteen. There was great difficulty in obtaining proof of the violations of the law, and factory operatives were blacklisted if they appeared as informers, something that was done in Georgia two years ago, the parents of children who had been brought before the Legislative Committee being dismissed from the mills. But the act of 1833 created factory inspectors and forbade night work for children under eighteen in any textile mills, except the silk mills, and restricted children under thirteen to forty-eight hours a week. Then began the long agitation for the ten-hour day, in the course of which Lord Ashley, the children's champion, was defeated by Lord Macaulay, who himself afterwards became a powerful advocate of the children's rights. Oastler, the author of "Yorkshire Slavery," was thrown into prison for conscience sake during this agitation, and his language was bitterly resented by the manufacturers. Mr. Samuel Townsend argues that "the occupation of the children is far from laborious, and consists chiefly in the quickness and attention given to the machine, allowing them abundant time to take refreshment during mill hours. I am convinced that the present method of bringing children forward to useful employment is far from being the 'horrid slavery of the worsted mills' (as Oastler had called it) that it is rendered a comfort by the regular hours of rising from and retiring to bed; and the most systematic regulation by which refreshments are brought to them." It may be interjected that it had already been admitted that the hours in the worsted mills were thirteen a day, and one great trouble was that the children were compelled to take part or all of the meal hour in cleaning the machinery. A significant statement is made about this time that "the labour in the mill is, strictly speaking, family labor, and that there is no longer the system of a parent maintaining his children by the operation of his own industry." That is the statement of an economic law, that in the occupations which admit of the wholesale employment of children, the whole family can make only as much wages as pater familias can in the trades that exclude children from employment.

The act of 1844 defined night work for women and children as the period between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m., and night work was forbidden. Birth registration had been made obligatory in 1837, and in this

matter our Southern States are behind. The act of 1844 was reconsidered, but passed again in 1847. This was followed by the definition of a normal day, to prevent the relay system, under which the operatives not protected by law were sometimes obliged to work fifteen hours a day, while the children were shifted about from one part of the factory to another. The difficulties of administration were great. There were forged certificates then, as now, and false swearing. A boy made quite a financial success by getting examined by different doctors and selling his certificates to other boys. Certificates were granted by dentists and cow doctors. But the principle had been established of the right of the State to interfere for its own sake as well as for the sake of the child. It was argued by Lord Macaulay, and his argument was prophecy, that "intense labor, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, no time for intellectual culture, must impair all those high qualities that have made our country great. Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny; nor will it be long before the deterioration of the laborer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral interests have been sacrificed. If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and in mind."

Lord Shaftesbury made the remark once that the child labor evil had spread from the cotton mills into other industries. The period between 1845 and 1861 was largely occupied with the inclusion of these other industries, one by one, within the law that had applied only to the cotton factories. The evil was found to be a hideous one in the print works, dyeing works, and bleaching establishments, and existed in lace works, pillow making, pottery trades, "each successive generation of potters becomes more dwarfed and less robust than the preceding one." The making of lucifer matches was especially hard upon the little folks, and children of four and five years were found in the straw-plaiting establishments. In 1862 there were employed some 120,000 operatives in the hosiery trades, much of the work being done by infant children in the homes, mothers pinning the little ones to their knees while at work to prevent their falling when going to sleep. In the hardware establishments of Birming-

ham, England, as late as 1864, 2,000 children under ten were found, half of these under eight. Then the act of 1867 extended to the hitherto unregulated industries. In 1874 the age limit was raised to ten for factories. But it was not until Booth's book on "Life and Labour in London" appeared that the act of 1891 was passed, extending the law to the sweat-shops. And the factory inspectors were too few for the additional tasks laid upon them by these extensions of the law. The act of 1895 fixed the hours at which a child should be employed at thirty a week, though allowing still twelve hours a day. But amendments as late as 1901 show that the laws are still imperfect. Some of our American States are already in advance of England after a century of legislation.

I have spoken of the half-time system. For the last fifty years the child has been allowed to go into the mill for half a day and then required to go to school the other half. This has been the cultivation of the mind at the expense of the physical man, and in its effects upon the constitution is hardly preferable to the long hours of the mill. Recently the Massachusetts law, requiring the illiterate child over fourteen to go to night school while working by day, until he could read and write, has been repealed, and the more merciful law substituted of forbidding any child under sixteen to work unless he can read and write. And now it would seem that we might expect some bad results from this hundred years of the exploitation of the children as laborers in what was once "Merrie England." The awakening came too late for England's comfort when, for the first time since the Crimean War, she engaged in conflict with a civilized people. Have you thought of the real reason for the impotence of that mighty nation when contending with a handful of South African farmers? We have heard the prophecy of the Manchester physicians, of Lord Macaulay, concerning the threatened degeneracy of the race. Let us see the fulfillment of prophecy.

Says John Dennis, in a magazine article during the current year:¹ "In the silent revolution that followed the abolishing of the Corn Laws, agriculture, which had been the backbone of English character and English strength, withered away. Vast areas devoted to the growing of wheat became hunting fields. The stout yeomanry, their country's pride, ceased to exist. England turned from agri-

¹ Everybody's Magazine, February, 1905, Article, "Hooligan."

culture to manufacturing; the country and the country town and the village began to dry up and a steady stream of indigent men and women poured into the great cities. . . .

The blow that the wise men had foreseen fell with the Boer War. In a day, as it seemed, the nation awoke to the fact that its physical vigor was sapped. It had no material for soldiers. The percentage of rejections at the enlistment stations appalled every reflective mind. The standards were lowered, the tests were made easy; the rejections continued to be most alarming. Regiments were patched together of boys and anemic youths. They were food for hospitals, not for powder. Once in South Africa enteric swept them off like flies; they were only the shells of men. There were other things equally disturbing. Men gathered from the dispatches that, as a matter of fact, the war was fought on the British side by the Colonials, Irish and Scotch. . . . There have been hints of worse revelations. A London newspaper asserted that of 11,000 men examined in Manchester, nearly 10,000 were rejected. . . . And the English people had always trusted so implicitly in their traditional physical stamina. And meanwhile, a change, tremendous, but unnoted, had gone on in the habits and stamina and physical type of that class of men that must ever make the rank and file of armies. The men that faced the Malakoff and stormed Sebastopol were no more. . . . When the typical Englishman of the class that went to war—the John Bull of tradition—was broad-shouldered and deep-chested, a ruddy-cheeked giant, then the brawn and endurance of the Englishman were a proverb. Against him Hooligan, anemic, neurotic, emaciated, too often degenerate, dull of wit and feeble of will, showed like a figure of fright. In 1903 in London, not fewer than 200,000 people are without anything that by any stretch of the imagination they can call home.

Dr. Robert Jones, an eminent London physician, wrote to the *Times* that not only was insanity among the masses constantly increasing, but it tended to assume worse forms, and that in 1,000 consecutive male cases between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five the average weight and stature were so far below the normal that he concluded that there was "an alarming impairment in national physique." Dr. Robert Farquson, another eminent physician, certified to the truth of these conclusions and told worse things. The

president of a Manchester Improvement Association testified that there were large districts in Manchester in which there were "no well-grown children or men or women except those who have been born in the country." What was it that the Manchester physicians foretold in 1784? "The untimely labour of the night and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children, tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation." What was it that Lord Macaulay, in 1846, prophesied? "Your overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny. Nor will it be long before the deterioration of the labourer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral energies have been sacrificed. If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations we shall yield it to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind." That people is the German nation. And Germany is to-day pushing England to the wall in commercial competition and winning the enduring victories of peace.

Nor is that all. The cotton milling industry, which was first attacked for its horrible cruelty to young children and first had its evils corrected, legislation being long confined to the cotton mills, is the one bright spot to-day in English manufacturing life. Says a recent authority: "In spite of keenest foreign competition, the Lancashire cotton mill, in point of technical efficiency, now leads the world, and the Lancashire cotton spinner, once in the lowest depths of social degradation, now occupies, as regards the general standard of life as a whole trade, perhaps the foremost position among English wage-earners." The expansion of the industry in recent years is measured by the millions of spindles. Surely, if England, with her handicaps of distance from the cotton fields and the rising price of fuel, can thus make this industry, so long cursed with child labor and low wages, the foremost one as regards the condition of the wage-earner, the South should be able to do the same thing with her incalculable advantages over England or any other part of the world.

Once more, who are ruling England to-day? Take the new Cabinet. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is a Scotchman, as was Mr. Balfour, and as was Mr. Gladstone. Lord Elgin is a Scotchman.

Mr. Haldane is a Scotchman. James Bryce is an Irishman. Herbert Gladstone is a Scotchman's son. Sir Robert Reid is a Scot. John Burns is a Scot. Lord Tweedmouth is a Scot. David Lloyd-George is a Welshman. Who knows what unknown Cromwells have had their genius stifled in the atmosphere of the English mill? Scotch fathers sent their children to school while the English parent reversed the law of nature and of Scripture by allowing the child to work for him. And now Scotland rules the destinies of the British Empire.

And no one can pick up an English paper or read an English magazine without seeing something about the great and increasing army of the unemployed. Dr. S. M. Lindsay, secretary of our Child Labor Committee, made an investigation of conditions in England this past summer. And his testimony is that the unemployed are not those who will not work, but who are unable to meet the sharper conditions of modern manufacturing life, and that it is not the absence of work to be done, but that they cannot do the work that is required. In brief, they are "ineffectives."

So much for race degeneracy progressing for a hundred years in England to its dire culmination. But it is beginning already in the South. Just a few facts that are matters of common knowledge. There has already been developed in our cotton manufacturing communities a "factory type" easily recognizable, the children distinguished by their pallor and a certain sallowness of complexion. Early employment tends to independence of parental restraint. The breadwinner becomes a man too soon, and early marriages are the rule. There are widows in Georgia fourteen years of age. The wife and mother continues her work in the mill, since the wage of the husband is not enough for the support of the family. What must be the children born of such unions and their children? Diseases of the throat and lungs are common, and also diseases peculiar to women brought on by employment long continued at the critical period of a young girl's life. It was a true saying of John Ruskin, "It is a shame for a nation to make its young girls weary." The demand for the labor of children precludes their obtaining an education. The mill owners often build school houses, and the mill superintendents empty them of the children. Thus, without education of the mind, the training of the hand will not win promotion even in the cot-

ton mill for the unfortunate illiterate. The cotton mill village is generally isolated, and the operatives separate themselves from others, and often the church is as little able to get hold of them as the school. The mountains are being depopulated by the agents of the mills. I know of one little village railroad station in Western North Carolina whence fifteen hundred people went last year to the mills. And the growth of the industry indicates the alarming increase in the number of children that are employed. The Blue Book for 1904, already antiquated, shows that there are 238,000 operatives employed, instead of the 100,000 reported in the census of 1900. The president of the American Cotton Manufacturing Association declares that in North Carolina seventy-five per cent. of the spinners are fourteen or under fourteen. His predecessor in office says that only thirty per cent. of all the operatives are adults. Considering the percentage of child to adult labor as set forth in the last census, twenty-five per cent. for the South, there must be 60,000 children under sixteen in the Southern mills. But considering the imperfections of that census in this respect, considering the doubling of the number of operatives in many mills through the larger amount of night work now done under present prosperous conditions, considering the new mills in operation this year, there must be a quarter of a million of operatives now, and it is my calculation that there are 60,000 under fourteen, which is the age limit of most of our manufacturing States in America. Virginia and the two Carolinas and Alabama have an age limit of twelve. But the want of factory inspection precludes any enforcement of the law, even as it now stands, while Georgia has no child labor law, being the last of the manufacturing States of either Europe or America that has failed to adopt one. It is estimated that the number of spindles, and thus the number of operatives, and thus the number of children employed, will be doubled in the next five years.

But the National Committee has been organized in behalf of the children, and State committees are co-operating with it, and the pulpit and the press of the South are all but unanimous for protecting the children by law. Public sentiment is being aroused in no uncertain fashion, and the wrath of the people is being invoked

against our modern Herods who have sought the young child's life and are indifferent to the slaughter of the innocents.

When, during the Napoleonic wars, the manufacturers, suffering from the withdrawal of their employees into the ranks of the British armies, went to the younger Pitt with their complaint, he said to them, "Take the children." When it was proposed to the President of the Confederate States to lower the age limit for the enlistment of soldiers for the Confederate armies, he said: "We must not grind the seed corn." The little children of the South, with their heritage of heroic blood, untainted and pure, are the hope of the South and may yet prove to have been the hope of the nation as well. They are more precious than the dollars that can be coined by the sacrifice of their childhood, by the denial of childhood's right to play and to dream, of childhood's opportunity to learn. The child is the harbinger of the Golden Age that is to be. We must not crush his spirit with manhood's toil. The measure of the triumphs of the race that is to be is what we can accomplish for the child that is, for his protection, for his training, for his development physically, mentally, spiritually.

And it seems to me that the manufacturers of America should be the last to raise objection to the interference of the State in behalf of the child, seeing that the State has interfered in behalf of their profits. Tariff controversies aside, it is certain that the tariff benefits primarily the manufacturer. If then he demands protection by law against foreign competition, how can he claim that the State has no right to protect the life and health and morals of its future citizenship? How can he hold the position of claiming the right of "protection to infant industries and the exploitation of infant industry." The American people have dealt generously with their manufacturers. Let the manufacturers be no less generous with their country in this vital matter of preserving the integrity of the race.

Certainly they should beware of forcing upon the American people, for final action, the alternative mentioned in Judge Grose's opinion, already quoted. "If the manufacturers insist that without these children they could not advantageously follow their trade, he should say that trade must not, for the sake of filthy lucre, be followed, but at once for the sake of society be abandoned."

THE OPERATION OF THE ILLINOIS CHILD LABOR LAW¹

BY JANE ADDAMS.
Hull House, Chicago.

It is very gratifying to state the situation for Illinois. For while in the nation as a whole child labor is growing,—that is, we are having each year in America more children at work than was true of the previous,—we are able to say that that statement is not true of Illinois. There has been a decided decrease in Illinois in the number of children at work during the last four years. Notwithstanding the annual increase in the population, and in spite of the fact that our manufactures are increasing, we have a very decided decrease in the number of children working both actually and proportionately. In 1901, in proportion to the total number of workers the child workers in Illinois was 4.1 per cent.; in 1902 it was 3.7 per cent., and in 1903 it was 2.9 per cent., and in 1904 it was 1.9 per cent., so you see they are steadily and rapidly decreasing.

Mr. Davies, the State Factory Inspector, who has attended the various conventions, says that this is the lowest number of children in proportion to the adult working population of any State in the Union. And if we take this statement in connection with the other statement that we have heard here, that Illinois is the third manufacturing State in the Union, we have reason to be proud of our showing, and we are proud to have the Governor preside at a meeting when we can make such a good report to him for his State.

Another interesting development in regard to Illinois comes in connection with the educational test provided in our child labor law, for while it is difficult to have any practical statistics on child labor, some of the things happening in Illinois since the new child labor law went into effect are most significant. Our law requires not only an educational test, but it provides a place in which it shall be made, and this test for all the public and parochial schools of Chicago being made in one place, enables us to know how many children receive the certificates each year, and something more about

¹Address at the Chicago session of the 2d Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Dec. 16, 1905

them. The total number of children who have received certificates in the last three years for the Chicago office has been 26,886. Out of that number we know they can all read and write something. I am sorry to say that they cannot all read and write English, but they can read and write some language, and the large majority of them, of course, read and write English. We have the satisfaction of knowing that of the nearly 27,000 children who have gone to work in Illinois in the past four years, they have all passed the literacy test. They have, further, all been weighed and measured, which may be an inaccurate test, but it affords, at any rate, a guaranty outside of the parents' word that they have attained an average height and age. That is something to know. For a long time we did not know how many children were at work, how much they knew, nor of what size they were—whether they were big enough for the age of fourteen years or only big enough for the age of ten.

The increased attendance in the schools has been very marked since this law has been enforced. If the parents are once thoroughly convinced—and the illiterate parents, most of all—that a child cannot go out and earn money until he can read and write, of course they will see to it that their children learn to read and write as quickly as possible. We have taken some statistics from a school in the stock yards district, and the increase in the attendance in the fourth and fifth grades is very marked. The attendance in one school in the fifth grade for the year before the law went into effect averaged 53, in the year after the law had been put into effect in the fifth grade in the same school it averaged 159 pupils. Allowing something for the natural increase in population, it would still leave a very large proportion, which was to be accounted for only by the enforcement of the new law. And this educational test is resulting in good in other ways: it is slowly remedying one of the worst evils of immigration. It has been the custom for many years for immigrants already settled here to bring over boys and girls who were but remotely related to them and too young to protect themselves, in order to exploit them. They took all their wages in return for scanty food and shelter, but now that these children must learn to read and write before they can go to work, it is no longer profitable to have them sent over, and I assure you there is a very marked decrease in this enforced immigration in those States in which the educational provision is rigidly enforced.

The child labor law is, further, having a marked influence upon the immigrant as he slowly learns that a child cannot go to work until he has reached a certain physical and mental well-being, that there is a standard in American life, and it seems to some of us that all these things afford a much better way for new people to learn about America than that they should merely be able to repeat the Constitution of the United States.

I want to say just a word in regard to the dangers surrounding our new child labor law. We, too, have had our long continued trouble with the glass workers. I suppose legislation in regard to child labor has never been attempted but what its friends at the legislature have encountered the lobbyists from the glass works. We have been told that all the glass works will move out of the State of Illinois if we have a rigid child labor law, and yet each year we find that the glass works have extended and improved their plants, and that at least two firms have moved into the State since this law has been enacted and enforced. So that we no longer fear them, but there is a feature of the child labor law in Illinois that is at present sustaining sharp attack from the theatrical people, and it is just here where public opinion may be of great value. If a child under sixteen years is allowed to play in any theater after seven o'clock the law is violated, and to make any exception to the law is most dangerous. Just imagine an honest farmer at the next session of the legislature saying, "You make an exception for the people in Chicago, you allow the children to play in the theaters at night, but you won't allow a boy to make an honest living in the glass works." One can easily see that the entire law would be weakened. Two cases of the infraction of the law by theatrical people are now awaiting decision in the Superior Court of Illinois, and another case has been indicted before the grand jury, and we will have to wait for the judge's opinion as to the application of the law to theaters. But in the meantime it will make a great difference if when this law is broken at the theatrical performances the public would protest and declare that it attended the theater to see the art of acting and not the exploitation of children. We like to see a child on the stage because it moves our sympathies and touches our sensibilities; we say that it is true to life, and we think that we like acting of that kind, when, on the contrary, it is the lack of acting

which we like, the touch of reality which the child brings to the stage. But it is hardly legitimate to keep children on the stage so that they may appeal to our sensibilities any more than it would be fair to keep the same little children begging on the street because in that way they arouse adult generosity, or as the old-fashioned circus-goer liked to see the lady put her head into the lion's mouth and gasped, waiting for something dreadful to happen. But if we really believe that acting is an art requiring preparation and a careful training, if we respect the stage sufficiently to demand artistic ability and not mere emotionalism, then we will refuse to have our sensibilities appealed to by little children on the stage. And here we see the need for national legislation in regard to children. Eighty-five per cent. of the children on the stage—the theatrical people say ninety-two per cent. of the children on the stage—in America are supplied in New York. The New York law permits these children to go on the stage after they have been examined by a certain children's society there. This is in accordance with the New York law, but when they reach Chicago we have to deal with them according to the Illinois law. I wish very much that we all may try to arouse some sentiment against this exploitation of children on the stage. Here is where the consumer is touched very directly. When we buy a glass bottle which we think may have been made by a child we are not quite certain about it, and it is at best remote. But going to a theater and looking at a little child and encouraging that sort of thing because it arouses a sickly sort of sentiment, is certainly to induce the managers to continue it. It would be very easy to say to the managers of the theater, "We came here to see the legitimate drama." Mr. Daly and other clever managers insist that there is no play requiring children which cannot be better done by grown people taking the children's parts. One cannot imagine Henry Irving putting children upon the stage; it would have hurt his artistic ideas of what a play ought to be. Let us see if we cannot put aside this emotionalism and stand by the child labor law from the side of art as well as of humanity. It is easy to discuss the wrongs in the South and to agitate for laws affecting manufacturers, but here in Chicago where in relation to the theaters the law touches us directly we are in sympathy with the law, and here is an opportunity to aid in its enforcement, and I hope that we will all endeavor to do our share.

CHILD LABOR A NATIONAL PROBLEM

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, PH.D.,
Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

The evils of child labor cannot well be exaggerated. Neither can they be quantitatively measured with any precision. I would like to have accurate statistics of child labor in the United States, which we have not got so far, but it makes comparatively little difference whether a million and a half or two million and a half children of tender years are at work. It is fundamentally wrong, it is a contradiction of the basic principles of this free republic that upon the shoulders of any child who has not attained its full, mature, physical development, who has not enjoyed a reasonable time in which to play, and who has not received an elementary English education, there should be put the smallest fraction of the burdens of our modern competitive industrial life. Viewed in the light of our advancing civilization and its greater opportunity for growth and human service, and also its greater demands for preparation for lives of highest usefulness, I say again, the evils of child labor cannot well be exaggerated. Dr. Felix Adler, the chairman of our National Committee, has truly said that these evils are increasing. The demand for cheap labor, which so often means infant labor, increases with the growth of competition for markets and the consequent desire to sell goods more cheaply. The demand for such labor as children can perform increases often with the progress of inventions and mechanical devices. Not long ago I had my attention called to the advertisement of a manufacturer of mill machinery, and one of the attractions of his machines was that they were adapted to the use of very small children. When we go down South we are told by prominent manufacturers that they cannot get along without children in their mills because the machines cannot very well be operated by adults. These are some of the arguments that we meet in every State when we ask for legislation to prevent child labor. The

very greed of modern capitalists demands the labor of the child in order that they may have the largest profits. Likewise the greed of incapable, ignorant and avaricious parents and the indifference of others demands the right to put the child to work in order that they be relieved of responsibility for his education and control, and may live off the pennies the child can earn. How blind even the natural parent may be when he sees in his child a possibility of profit, is seen when he is willing to sacrifice the future of his child without any thought of the to-morrow when the child will be a man and should be fit to bear his share of the work of the world.

Our standards of living, our tests of efficiency and of industrial fitness as well as our educational opportunities have increased at a rapid rate in the last few years. So much greater, therefore is the wrong that is done to the children who are deprived of even the ordinary opportunities to prepare for the greater demands of the future when they reach the years of adult life. Child labor in America means that as a nation we are deliberately breeding social inequality and striking at the roots of democracy. Ostrich fashion, we only bury our heads in the sands of the temporary excuses—that of industrial necessity, or the poverty of parents, or the absurd fallacy that we are giving an industrial education to the child worker—when we refuse to look squarely in the face the inevitable consequences of our madness and our racial folly.

The problem which the gainful employment of two million children under sixteen years of age to-day presents to the American people is a national problem of the first magnitude. It has to do primarily with a question of race development. What these two million children are now and will be twenty years hence raises questions which are fundamental for the welfare of the human stock and for the happiness of this land of ours. Industrial processes like the processes of nature have what the biologists call "selective values." They weed out the unfit and incompetent workers and segregate them into the slums of our large cities where society must bear the burden and pay the cost. I know of no better illustration of this selective aggregation of the industrially worn-out than is presented by the great problem of the unemployed in London to-day. While in England last summer I was surprised to hear from the lips of members of Parliament, who were not given to exaggeration, that there

were from eight hundred thousand to one million persons, many of them able-bodied men, out of work at a season of the year when employment is usually abundant. It was said that a very large number of them were simply inefficient, unfit for any industrial work under the demands of modern industry. What chapters of English history do you recall when you are told that in the city of London thousands of men, women and children are segregated in East London, living in dire poverty and distress, because they do not possess the physical vitality or intellectual capacity to perform the kind of labor demanded in modern society. A very shrewd journalist who knew probably little about the theories of race development, said:

"There has been evolved in London a race distinct, unlike any other race in the British Islands, with strongly marked characteristics, with alien features and habits. It is a race stunted in size, shallow complexioned, dark haired. Its moral sense is blunted, its mentality is low. It has even evolved a speech of its own."

In a few sharp sentences this journalist has drawn for us a picture of what the neglect and non-development of children in the past means for the British people to-day. If that picture allows any reasonable doubt concerning the causes of physical deterioration in England about which the whole nation was so aroused during the Boer war that a voluminous government report was made on the subject, he who reads the history of England must surely admit that the system of child labor which prevailed for a century has been the one great contributory cause. This is the fate that awaits us also in America in the no distant to-morrow if we fail to grapple with the great problem of child labor in our own country until we have abolished its evils.

Child labor is a national problem, in the second place, because our industrial processes have become national and international. The glass workers of New Jersey oppose any attempt to prohibit the night work of boys under sixteen on the ground that such work is permitted in the neighboring State of Pennsylvania. Some people in Georgia seem to think that they cannot afford to place any restrictions upon their cotton manufacturers, because they are just making a good start in competition with New England and the rest of the world in cotton manufacturing and they want to enjoy every

advantage they possess, even that of killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

And so it goes, from State to State. We have constantly to meet questions arising from interstate competition. Then in other States we have the phenomena of peoples passing from the agricultural to the manufacturing stage of development with all the attendant changes in their social, moral and economic life. States in this transition stage from the simpler communal life of the agriculturist to the more complex and individualistic life of a manufacturing community must be protected from the new dangers which the experience of older States can point out. So again we see the interstate character of our child labor problem. The National Child Labor Committee came into being for the purpose of meeting this situation and helping States that are just beginning to take notice of the evils of child labor by bringing to their attention the results of the neglect of childhood or the wilful misuse of their children in those States that have already paid too high a price for their industrial progress. If we can in any way bring these lessons home so as to influence public opinion in the States that have little or no protection for childhood we may hope for an American standard of protection that shall apply all over this country. Such a standard when attained can be made effective in all our States only when public opinion is uniformly aroused and our captains of industry are told that they may compete with their money, with their brains and ingenuity, and with their machines, but not with human life, least of all with the child's life. Only when a true American standard of protection is thrown around every American child and the opportunities of education and physical development are guaranteed to all alike, to the "carrying-in boys" in the glass houses of New Jersey, to the "breaker boys" in the mines of Pennsylvania, to the "doffers" in the cotton mills in the Carolinas and Georgia, and to the little street traders in our large cities, will the dream of democracy be a reality.

The problem of child labor is a national problem, in the third place, because the responsibility for it rests upon the consumers and purchasers of goods made with the aid of the work of young children, whether the purchaser and consumer lives in a manufacturing State or in an agricultural community, in Georgia or California. With

the extension of our system of manufacturing and the conditions brought about by world markets you and I cannot very well avoid some participation in these evils so long as we are buyers of American made goods; and we cannot more surely or reasonably satisfy our consciences that we are not the oppressors, the real oppressors of these little children until we are satisfied that this American standard of protection reaches out over all the children and through all the industries of our American States. We are then individually and collectively accountable for the American standard or lack of standard of protection of childhood. A national sentiment must, and can be made effective according as the different conditions and problems presented in each State and territory are met and solved in the light of the best legislation and enforcement of child labor laws not the poorest.

The movement to bring this to pass is not without some signs of encouragement. During the past year thirty-nine State legislatures were in session and in fifteen of these the child labor issue was a prominent issue. In twelve of the fifteen States to which reference is made new or amended child labor laws were enacted. Delaware for the first time was removed from that blacklist of States that give the child no protection, and now Georgia stands almost alone in the shame and cruelty indicated by absence of any legislation. In addition to the legislation obtained, new forces to speak for the child have been aroused. Fourteen State Child Labor Committees are now working for better laws and better enforcement. They are composed of representative men and women in all the leading States, and usually contain members who represent the labor unions, the manufacturers, the churches, the women's clubs, the school officials and all the various interests that can be rallied in a reform that differs from any ordinary reform or charity in that it stands for something in which all can unite. Three of these State committees were organized before our national committee came into existence. And this work is going on. During this winter of 1905-06 nineteen State legislatures are in session. It is what politicians call an "off year," but in many of these legislatures, practically for the first time, an effort is being made to have a child labor law enacted that can be really enforced.

In conclusion, let us remember that no child labor law has in

itself any self-acting principle. Such legislation does not enforce itself. Child labor laws need back of them first of all enlightened public opinion, which the humblest citizen of the republic and every citizen may help to create. They need back of them well-trained and efficient public officials who are not controlled by political influence, but who will rigidly enforce the law. Right-minded officials require liberal appropriations for the work. Even greater than these is the responsibility which a child labor law, to be really efficient, to be a real benefit to the community, places upon the educational machinery of the State. Good, compulsory education laws, well enforced, and schools properly equipped to meet the needs of all the classes of the community, schools that will train the hand and eye and mind, that assume responsibility for all the children of the community, inspect their welfare in their homes and provide for intelligent direction of all their activities, are the essential and inevitable consequences of wise child labor legislation. Such schools and such care for the children of the State are the surest guarantees of industrial prosperity, social progress and peace; their absence spells race suicide and national degeneration.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILD LABOR

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President of the American Federation of Labor.

It should be entirely superfluous for me to say that I am in hearty accord and in full sympathy with the purpose for which the National Child Labor Committee and the various committees throughout the country are organized.

To-day there is no division of opinion relative to the inadvisability and inhumanity of employing children of a young and tender age in gainful occupations. So much at least has been gained. In some sections of the country opposition is still manifested against the movement for the abolition of child labor upon the pretense that the enactment of such a law would be the encouragement of organized labor. I am not prepared to deny that. The abolition of child labor would have an influence to encourage the organization of wage-earners in those industries, but I do think also that it might be submitted to the gentlemen who interpose that as an objection, that in several of the Southern States in order to maintain what is called white supremacy laws have been enacted requiring educational qualifications to entitle the citizens to the suffrage, and it may not be inappropriate to this subject to call attention to the further fact that in the cotton industries of the South the children employed therein are the offspring of white women and white men, and that the black children go to school and receive an education. And, therefore, as a matter of fact, the very purpose of the educational qualification to entitle the citizen to the right of suffrage will inevitably result in the disenfranchisement of the future white citizen and the enfranchisement of the colored.

My honored friend, the Commissioner of Labor, anticipated the very remark I intended to make, and I am proud to be in accord with his judgment that an industry that depends for its success upon the

labor of young and innocent children is not worthy of success and ought to go down.

I am not sure that I gained a correct impression of a statement alleged to have been made here during an earlier session. If the information is incorrect, I should be most pleased to be corrected, for I do not care to proceed under a misapprehension. I have been told that at one of your meetings in this city it has been stated that the organizations of labor are insincere in their advocacy of the abolition of child labor. If anyone entertains any such thought, I desire to say that there is not a provision of law upon the statute books of any State of the Union or the statute books of any of the civilized countries, that has for its purpose the protection of the child and the health of not only children but also women that cannot be traced in some way to the efforts of the much abused organizations of labor.

It is within my recollection that the Hon. Eldridge T. Gerry, of New York, for many years active in the movement for the protection of children, came before the conventions of the Federation of Labor and said that the hope and the mainstay for the inauguration, for the enactment, and for the enforcement of child labor laws rest in the last degree upon the organizations of labor.

If there is anyone who harbors the thought that the organizations of labor are insincere in the effort to have laws passed and enforced for the protection of children, let me quote to you a statement made by a gentleman who presumably was associated with us in the effort to abolish child labor, Dr. A. H. Freiberg, of Cincinnati, president of the Ohio Child Labor Committee, in which he said: "The committee," speaking for his committee, "is not in sympathy with the movement of labor unions for increasing the age at which children may labor from fourteen to sixteen years." He then adds as a comment on it: "It is felt in the committee that the action of the unions is taken purely for the selfish motive of preventing competition and not with the idea of the child's welfare at heart."

I quote the gentleman because he charges the unions of labor with selfishness in the advocacy of the child labor laws in increasing the years to sixteen as against any opinion which may be entertained that the unions are insincere.

You should not infer from that statement that I believe that Dr. Freiberg is accurate in his charge that it is from selfish motives that the unions of labor are favorably disposed towards the abolition

of child labor, but I quoted simply to show that at least, even according to this accusation, we must necessarily be sincere in defense of our own self-interests.

I presume that there are a number of men and women in this city of ours, and in this country of ours, who are altruistic. Thank God that there is a continually growing number of men and women who act from that high purpose. But taking men and women as they are, not here and there, but the accepted view of men and women as they are, I wonder whether all the bankers and all the brokers and all the business men and all the newspaper men and all the companies have all been prompted from purposes of absolutely, purely, ideal altruism. And now as to the insinuations that are made and indulged in that labor men, from the standpoints of their own personal interests, advocate a certain policy, how is it that you find men usually who are engaged in the manufacture of certain products, universally protectionists from the viewpoint of the tariff? And, on the other hand, you will find men who are engaged in commercial pursuits simply, free traders. Is it a physiological influence that brings this about; is it physical? is it climatic? is it providential? or is it not purely selfish interest that prompts them to do or be the one or the other? And yet some people expect that the men who have only their labor power upon which to defend themselves and to support those dependent upon them that they shall govern all their actions from purely altruistic motives and purposes, surrendering everything that they possess.

We are just as good as they are—not better, but I repeat, just as good. From the earliest days of the present industrial era, as it emerged from the days of serfdom, and from the days of the introduction of the factory system, the organizations of labor have advocated the restriction of child labor. There is not a child labor law on the statute books of the United States but has been put there with the co-operation of the trade union movement. In Alabama—I think my memory serves me right—about two years ago, a law was passed, in Tennessee, Texas, and I think in Oregon, too, due entirely to the organized labor movement. I know that in Alabama where some better progress has been made than in Georgia in so far as the conception of such a law is concerned, that the American Federation of Labor sent a lady, not a wage-earner, into Alabama and into Georgia and into Florida and into Tennessee, for

the purpose of bringing about first a better feeling and better judgment and better conception among the people generally in order that a child labor law might be enacted. I know that when I mention the name of the lady you will all agree with me as to her splendid attainments and her faithful and intelligent work, Miss Irene Ashby, now Mrs. Irene Ashby-Macfadyen, and who is now in South Africa with her husband. Permit me to give just two quotations from Miss Ashby's first report which was submitted to me and which was published in our official journal, the *American Federationist*, in 1901:

"Four months ago I accepted a commission from Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to agitate the subject of child labor with the view of getting a law on that subject through the legislature of Alabama. Although I return with the news of present defeat, I believe that my mission has helped to give another blow to that slowly dying cause of building commercial success on the ruin of little children."

At the close of that report she says:

"In resigning my commission on which Mr. Gompers acts, my regret at failure is tempered by the hope that what I have been able to do in concentrating previous interests, collecting facts which have aroused new interests, and in some degree amalgamating different forces, may not be without fruit in the near future, and that this campaign will at least have a share in the formation of another which will put an end forever to this particular blot on American civilization."

The lady tendered her resignation to me, but I am proud to say that I declined to accept it, and commissioned her to persist for several years in the work. And I may add that it was impracticable and inadvisable that Miss Ashby should appear as the representative of organized labor, for the reason that I have tried already indirectly to communicate to you, that the cotton manufacturers oppose the passage of the child labor law upon the pretense that it would encourage the organizations of labor if such a law was passed. It is needless to make any argument before the National Child Labor Committee in favor of the total abolition of child labor. We want to make this country of ours grander and greater and more beautiful than it is. Should anyone ask me, "Do you believe that we are mak-

ing progress?" I would gladly give my assent, and am proud of the progress that we are making, greater than any other country on the face of the globe.

We, organized labor, are glorifying and are glorified in the recognition of the wonderful advance that is being made and has been made. But it is not quite good enough. So long as there is an injustice done to one man, to one woman or to one child that is capable of rectification by us, so long there is work enough for us to do to try and secure the right and justice and a better condition. We want to make all our people not only politically the bright star in the diadem of nations, not only as an inspiration for political freedom, but also for industrial justice. In that work I am sure you will contribute much through the National Child Labor Committee.

There are a number of ladies and gentlemen associated both in the National Committee and in the several localities with whom I have had the honor and pleasure of working and cooperating for very many years. I hope that so long as life shall remain with me that I shall have the pleasure of still working and helping to solve this problem, and then the next problem, and then the next problem, as it shall confront us.

OVERWORK, IDLENESS OR INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION?¹

BY WILLIAM NOYES, M.A.,
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The great difference between the child labor of other times and civilizations and our own consists in the fact that in more primitive forms of industry the work of children constituted a large part of their education. Since labor was principally done by hand and with the simplest tools, the steps into artisanship were well adapted to child development. In early New England life—to go no further afield—both boys and girls were occupied in a hundred activities whose very variety had an undoubted effect in developing resourcefulness, endurance, alertness, skill and other high qualities of mind and heart. Even if their work was hard, it was also helpful; even if the hours were long, the processes were not so monotonous and irksome as to ruin the child for future usefulness.

To-day, however, labor has been specialized and subdivided into innumerable and infinitesimal operations. Power machines are driving out the handicrafts, and domestic industry has been supplanted by shop and factory methods. Industries are so housed and segregated that it is possible neither to see nor to partake in a large part of modern industries except as a wage-worker, and then only to learn one infinitesimal process. Even the apprentice system is dead or fast dying. Journeymen no longer have apprentices, but only "helpers," whom they teach as little as possible.

The contrast between child labor in earlier days and in modern city conditions perhaps appears most deplorable when attention is directed to what are euphemistically called the "home industries." So completely has the home lost its good name as a center of industry that the only remedy for the sweat shop is now considered by experts to be the prohibition of profit-making home industries and the conse-

¹ This article was contributed to the ANNALS, and although not a part of the program of the Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, is included in this volume because of its pertinancy to the topics discussed.

quent increasing relegation of industries to factories where they can be brought under regulation. Truly a noteworthy change from the time when children got a large part and a good part of their education in domestic industries to the time when domestic industries must be abolished in order to save the children from exploitation in them!

The only relief from the intolerable conditions of modern child labor is found by the ordinary child in migration to some other employment just as bad. This instability is commonly deplored because of the evident evil of thus producing an army of shiftless, irresponsible ne'er-do-wells with no lasting associations, but the fact further illustrates the failure of our modern methods of child labor to educate the child. He changes from one form of employment to another, but is educated in none.

In any age previous to the introduction of power machinery, a new employment for children always meant new opportunities for education. Doing something new meant learning something new. But although we have provided by the help of machinery hundreds of new employments for children, we do not thereby give them new sources of education and larger opportunities for development. On the contrary, these new occupations put at stake child-life and sap the foundations of future prosperity.

At the very time when man's power is multiplied a thousand times, when he has at his disposal fingers of steel infinitely more nimble than his own, when he can lift inconceivable weights and strike irresistible blows, and when he can reach around the globe, he does all these things at the expense of his own manhood, womanhood, and, worst of all, childhood. Modern invention is like Frankenstein's creation, which, dehumanized by abuse, became a curse to the inventor. It is bad enough to sacrifice adult life, but to lay the future life and power of the race, in the form of the children, on this altar of mechanical improvement means not progress, but the surest retrogression. "Where there is only a cupidinous ravishment of the future, there, we think, is no true society."

In a word, whereas once the labor of the child was advantageous to him as a means of growth, physical, mental and moral, the effect of modern child labor is degrading, dehumanizing, stupefying and demoralizing.

Bad as child labor is, there is another phase to this problem of the modern city child which, though not so commonly recognized because not so startling nor so dramatic, is none the less serious. It is that presented by the idleness of city children. It is commonly assumed that the children who are not at work are taken care of by the schools, and it is this assumption which leads to the stress laid upon compulsory education by the opponents of child labor.

What proportion of children are in school, what proportion at work and what proportion idle it is not possible to prove statistically because adequate enumerations have not been made. But that children are occupied in school far less than is ordinarily supposed is evident from a computation which takes account of the number of school days in a year, the number of absences, the waking hours of the child and the number of school hours per day. From these it appears that on an average the school keeps children busy about one-third of the time when they are awake.

Now the question arises: What are the children of the city doing during their out-of-school hours? On the one hand some are engaged in exhausting physical labor, in factories, sweat shops and especially in the delivery of goods. Many are news and errand boys. For them the school session is a comparatively restful time between hours of work that are both stultifying and demoralizing. Pitiable as their lot is, it is hardly less so than that of the far greater number of school children in the city who have no required work to do. We cannot deceive ourselves into the belief that since they are not being overworked either in school or in shop they are therefore happily at play² or at rest at home.

A visit to the poorer part of any of our large cities will disprove this assumption. As the result of the prevalent conditions of home life in the tenement, the child is inevitably forced out into the street, not only during the day time, but, as common observation shows, until late at night, not only in good weather but in foul. The child has nothing to do at home unless, perhaps, his "home" be a sweat shop where he works; otherwise he is only in the way there. In the evening he cannot go to sleep even if he stays there on account of the work and talk, and so he often runs in the street

² The cultural effects of play and the importance of providing ample opportunities for it are well recognized and do not need emphasis here. The neglected issue is the educational importance of work.

until ten, eleven or twelve o'clock. As a result it is no exaggeration to say that the tenement child grows up on the street, where he is "educated with fatal precision." What street life makes of the boy and girl is known to all who are familiar with the actual conditions or with the literature of the subject.

But it is not tenement children alone who are exposed to the evils of idleness. It has been estimated by Robert Hunter that there are one-half a million children in greater New York whose only playground is the street. As a matter of fact most of the children in the borough of Manhattan play on the streets, and the street, I submit, is not the place where healthful, stimulating games can be played. As a result the children are largely idle. Even in the better parts of the city one constantly sees groups of well-dressed children listlessly standing about "waiting for something to turn up." Play on an asphalt pavement between two rows of brownstone fronts soon gets to be monotonous. The parks are far away and often protected with warning signs to "Keep off the grass." At home there is little to do in the few small rooms except to read books, just what is done at school. To tease and annoy others, to make uncanny noises, to smoke, to gamble, to dissipate energy in trifling ways, to use and scribble foul language and symbols and to be always ready to "cheese it, the cop," are the open doors before most city boys. With things as they are, between the school and the factory and the street and the pigeon hole flat and the policeman's club, it is little wonder that many a boy finds mischief to do, nuisances to commit and crimes to perpetrate until he is shut up in the reformatory, where some rational account of his nature may be taken and he is given something useful to do.

The case is not so bad for the girls, for there is more for them to do; there is still a remnant of domestic industry left in the apartment home in which they can take part. But still there is plenty of idle out-of-school time left for them, when their far-fetched devices of games are exhausted and they sit gazing and gossiping and "showing off." There is good evidence that the ranks of prostitutes are largely recruited from those who are untrained in any sort of manual labor. The dilemma for the city child seems to be either painful exhaustion and demoralizing work on the one hand, or futile idleness and its consequent immorality on the other.

Even when parents realize the dangers and would gladly set their children at some worthy and educative employment they find that it costs more to do so than to keep them in idleness. The problem has become too large for the individual parent to handle. What was once an individual or domestic problem has become a social problem. Once the responsibility lay with the parent; now it lies with society. Serious as this problem seems when viewed in its social relations, it appears none the less so from the point of view of child nature. This is clear when we remember that the normal child is not averse to work; on the contrary he is bubbling over with energy which under normal conditions expends itself partly in play, partly in work. Children can work, under proper conditions children like to work. President G. Stanley Hall begs the whole question in his definition, "I think work is doing something you don't like to do because somebody else makes you do it." This is not work; this is drudgery. Of course children do not like drudgery. No more do adults. But there is no greater joy of childhood than manipulative and creative activity. This, beginning as play, a delight in the activity itself, shades insensibly into work, which has a determined end.³

Enforced idleness either on city streets or in prisons is a horrible fate for child or adult, and children, we may well believe, are not idle because they want to be idle. They are idle because they are deprived of work, except under such conditions as make it over-wearisome, painful and demoralizing. Yet even so they submit to it, even embrace the opportunity to perform it. Enormous numbers of them quit school to take up work.

Where shall we lay the blame for this? The greed of employers in exploiting the unskilled labor of childish hands is a common object of reprobation, and justly so; the stupidity and shortsightedness of parents is open to the severest criticism for allowing their children to become laborers, but neither the greed of the employers

³ The truth is, that the common idea of work needs correction. So much of the world's work has been done under compulsion, either in chattel, serf or wage slavery, that the idea of work as the irrepressible outflow of energy for a determined end has not permeated the common consciousness. Now the discharge of energy is the most continuously pleasureable of human sensations. Impressions, however delightful, in time lose their force, but expression in the free outpouring of energy is an unceasing joy. Our concept of work is so confused by the shame attached to it in its common form of toil, by the pain and exhaustion of drudgery, that we are blind to the joy and glory of work, the means and the proof of human achievement.

nor the foolishness of their parents, nor their immediate economic necessity, could prevail were it not for the love of activity, the passion for creation, the instinct of work which has become a part of the nature of civilized man. The irksomeness of school duties and the ennui of the street are the only alternatives, and hence the children are willing—alas not ready!—to go to work. The reason why parents cannot keep their children in school, but can keep them at work is because the children themselves want to do something. Irene Ashby Macfadyen, in speaking of the number of children in cotton mills in Alabama, has said: “. . . to these must be added the children who come in to help elder brothers and sisters, who are not counted or paid as workers, although they often do a full day's work for the fun of it.” “The fun of it”—the pity of it! This is an extreme example, but none the less a real example of the irrepressible activity of the child which takes advantage even of the cotton mill to express itself. With a stupid school curriculum that gives little opportunity for doing things, with idleness on the street for the other hours of the day, it is little wonder that the chance to work—even in degrading and injurious and monotonous employments claims and takes the child away from school.

These facts indicate that there is room and need for an advance beyond legislation prohibitory of child labor and compulsory of education. These measures are sound, progressive and essential. But when we have prevented the child from being ruined in the factory, when we have said that he must go to school, then we are compelled to ask, What shall we do with him in school?

To compel children to go to school, no matter what the failings of the school be, and to give them no occupation for empty hours may prove vastly disastrous. The apparent remoteness of the subjects now taught in our public schools from what seem to be the practical duties of life, influences many parents to put their children to work and evade the law. It is next to useless to show to such parents that the very entrance of children into gainful occupations tends to drag down wages and to drive adults out of work. The average parent thinks not of the general economic situation, but simply asks: “Will my child's work add to our family income?” But when he is convinced that added schooling increases the child's chances of making a better livelihood, he strains every resource to keep him in

school, unless, indeed, the evils of out-of-school idleness are so impressive that he puts him to work to keep him out of mischief.

The alternative then is not overwork on the one hand and futile schooling and idleness on the other; the cure is not to drive the child by law from the factory back to the foul street and the overcrowded school. The question is: Shall we be content with prohibition of child labor or shall we proceed to have organization thereof for educational purposes? Children, we have seen, have for ages worked, have been educated in the truest sense by their work, can work to great advantage to the community and to themselves and, under proper conditions, like to work. The inference does not seem far-fetched that they have a right to work. The problem then faces us, how to keep children happily at work during such part of their time and at such kinds of work as shall build them up physically, intellectually, socially—in a word, educate them.

Since experience shows that the factory as it exists to-day cannot do this, inevitably we turn to the public school as the means of solving the problem. One's recognition of the present value of the public school need not be doubted because he points out that its present function is totally inadequate to the task now before it. Its recognized function to-day is that of securing literacy, and we learn with satisfaction that illiteracy is steadily decreasing throughout the whole country, even in the great manufacturing States, with their vast tides of immigration. It sets itself the task of widely establishing the "conventionalities of intelligence," namely the three R's, and therein its success is apparent. We may gratefully recognize that the common school does much in fitting children for common human intercourse.

But there is a growing demand, often blindly expressed, that it do more than this. There are signs of heresy against the fetich worship which confidently assumes literacy to be a cure for all our ills. There is a growing demand that the object of the public school shall be to prepare the child for "complete living." Whatever else "complete living" may include, it always has included, as I contend, an appreciation of industrial processes. But in our schools, as Superintendent Seaver, of Boston, says, "the traditional balance between learning and labor has been upset and learning has taken the whole time." It is even worse than that. It is one particular

kind of learning that has taken the whole time. There are other "conventionalities of intelligence" except the three R's. Familiarity with economic processes, which have long constituted the substratum of conventional intelligence is relegated into unimportance in our educational systems. This gives firm ground for the criticism that the schools are isolated and apart from life. The reason is that now, as always, life is chiefly industrial, whereas the school attempts to educate apart from industry, or, at best, for a commercial or literary environment. Children are trained to be consumers rather than producers. They do not adequately partake in the community life, especially on its industrial side, and since the school continues its tradition of teaching the three R's as its chief function there is a great hiatus in their lives, namely a lack of rich, personal experience, without which their school training in linguistic expression is largely futile. It expects them to talk and write without sufficient material of experience about which to talk and write. By overspecialization the school defeats its own avowed purpose. The function which the home has been obliged to abandon, namely, the furnishing of valuable industrial life to the child, the school has not assumed. What the school needs is to amplify its utilitarian functions, to think more in terms of the real world of industry.

"Manual training" as ordinarily conducted does not satisfy these conditions. In almost no school does it occupy more than one per cent. of the child's waking hours. It is only by the elasticity of language that it can be dignified as "work," for it is plainly not productive labor. It is too commonly a histrionic participation in certain primitive processes which are factitiously interesting and fictitiously important. At best, constructive handwork takes the child no further than the town or craft stage, and there he is left, so far as systematic education goes, at the threshold of modern industry. After the child leaves school, until he is ready to take up his life occupation, there is a gap. This may be filled by some juvenile industry, but there is little or no education therein, for the benumbing, dwarfing atmosphere of the factory or the sweatshop is more likely to demoralize the child than to fit him for future usefulness. His industrial education is not under the direction of wise teachers. He sees industrial life with no perspective, but is plunged into it when he leaves school under the compulsion of earning a living

by the monotonous repetition of one little act. He is not educated by the school for the industrial system; he is simply fed into its maw. To appreciate industrial processes in any large and meaningful way is then impossible. We boast of our practical education and of the stress we lay on "the essentials," and yet allow nine-tenths of our children to pass out of school without any adequate conceptions of the industries in which they are sure to spend the rest of their lives, to say nothing of their inability to make a living therein.

This, then, in a word, is our problem: how the children of the community shall be saved from the evils of premature and deteriorative labor, from ignorance, from idleness and from the consequent immorality. If the school does not make them intelligently industrious, the factory, the mine, the store, will make them ignorantly so, or the street will keep them idle and worthless.

When we ask how modern productive processes can be so used we are led at once to recognize certain indispensable conditions of such use. There is, of course, a certain minimum age limit. It is not here suggested that Bessemer furnaces and rolling mills be made a part of the kindergarten. But it is suggested that there is a gap between the present school age of most children and the age at which they are able to enter the trades, when they could be educated in those processes in which they are to be engaged.

Another condition is that the hours be not overlong at which the child shall work. This principle is already recognized in the limitation of study hours; the futility of study when attention has flagged is well known. The exhaustion of power when interest is lacking is equally applicable to work.

A third negative condition is that the work should not be unduly monotonous. This is closely connected with the previously named condition. If work is varied its hours may be lengthened. The extreme subdivision of labor so characteristic of modern industry is what constitutes its chief evil. That began in the seventeenth century long before the advent of modern power-driven machinery. Machine production has but accentuated it. If it were eliminated, machine production would be robbed of most of its horrors. In an educational system of work, therefore, which is not conducted for

the profit of an exploiter it is an indispensable condition that there be variety of work.

A more positive demand to be made of industrial education is that there be a preliminary acquaintance with the evolution of the industries in question. With this scheme many schools are already familiar in the study of the primitive and craft stages of production. These are valuable in giving an understanding of the principles involved in the industrial processes taught. When these principles are understood, many modern methods easily lose their mysterious and ugly character.

Education for modern industry involves, it almost goes without saying, an acquaintance with the principles of machines. The inclined plane, the wedge, the lever, the screw, the pulley, the wheel and axle, the cam, have become "conventionalities of intelligence" among us almost as truly as the symbols of language. To master them and the principles of the prime movers and of machines for the transmission and utilization of power would tend to make boys and girls not slaves but masters of modern processes. Now, instead of rejoicing in them they are too often afraid of them.

Last, but not least, of the conditions under which modern industrial process should be made a part of education is that real work should be required. Not merely to study about work nor to play at work, but to engage in positive productive work is a necessary part of preparation for complete living. The acquisition of habits of industriousness involves a certain amount of pressure, not to be determined by momentary whims. We do not hesitate at compulsory education—which at present means little but book learning—why should we hesitate at a degree of compulsory work? This does not mean that there should be no joy in work. Far from it. Work is not drudgery. Drudgery educates no one, whether the drudgery be learning to spell or learning to weave. Nor does it mean that the fullest use should not be made of all those stimuli to work which the experience of the race has found valuable in the past, such as festivals, games, music, *esprit du corps*, and the rest. It does mean that the child should learn the force of the motives that will chiefly actuate him when he goes to work for a living, not indeed the cupidity and fear of starvation which the old economists assumed were the real motives, but the joy of expression and production, the "instinct of workmanship," which have become a

part of our race inheritance in spite of the exploitation of man by man.

If these are the conditions of modern industrial education it is evident that a new duty lies before the public school, and the question at once arises: If the school is to teach industry as well as letters and the other essentials, must there not be an extension of school hours? Certainly, and why not? We have seen that the evils confronting us are child labor and child idleness. If the child is in school, that occupies only one-third of his waking hours, at other times, especially in the city, he is idle or overworked. Let us now suppose the entire success of the campaign against child labor and for compulsory education up to the highest standard proposed. These measures which we may assume as fundamental and necessary steps, taken by themselves simply intensify the situation. What will the school do? What must it do if it is to be loyal to its traditions? Whatever else we include in industrial education, a fundamental requirement to be made of it is that it take its cue from modern industry. Let the value of learning primitive and mediæval processes be granted. But that is not enough. Unless the boy or the girl who goes out of the school to make his living knows how to make modern things in a modern way he is not in any proper sense of the word educated. Child labor is not bad any more than modern industry is bad because of the use of the machine, because of the division of labor. It is the abuse of the machine, its unguarded condition, its excessive speed through unduly prolonged hours—it is the repetition of the same mechanical movement once a second and twelve million times a year, it is the minute subdivision of labor with the consequent confinement and mechanization of the worker, that is bad—bad enough for the adult, worse for the child. It is the utter sacrifice of the worker, and especially the child worker, to the process of machine production and divided labor that calls for condemnation. Can, then, the machine and the accompanying division of labor be utilized as an educational force. To deny that they can is to deny that education has to do with real life, and to affirm that labor and culture are antithetic. We are so impressed with the evils of modern machine production partly through the effectiveness of the anti-child labor campaign, that we are loth to acknowledge that the evils are incidents, not essentials, of such production. But when we once

realize that the machine is a means both of subduing nature and of stimulating the intellect a whole new field of education is open to the pedagog.

The alarming increase of neurotic diseases among school children, the crying need of facilities for play and the social necessity for industrial education—all three facts point in the same direction, namely, that the school must assume the responsibility for a greater share of the child's time. If it educated him through play, through the dance, through systematic exercise, there would be less idle and vicious time upon the street; if it educated him through work, it would increase his industrial efficiency, and through both play and work he might well be spared some of his present study of books, with no loss of knowledge of what they contain. Three hours for study, three hours for play and three hours for work would be an arrangement far in advance of our present system with its worse than waste of child energy.

"It would be a most wholesome arrangement in schools," said Froebel, "to establish actual working hours similar to the existing study hours; and it will surely come to this."

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHILD LABOR

BY GRAHAM TAYLOR, D.D.,
Warden of Chicago Commons

This question is more than an ethical question, far deeper than a legislative question,—this is a human question. So human that it seems like one of those cross-section plans of a great structure which lets you see it from the top to the bottom. It is so human that it cuts like the great chasm of the cañon of the Colorado, all down through the strata of human life; so human that it really bewilders one at first thought, and yet we need something to lead us down from the top to the bottom, from the surface away down to the elemental principle. But we must begin at the top of the ground. I wish you could look across the street from where I live and see the little one-story house, and see the people on the porch watching for someone, and finally around the corner comes an express wagon, and in it a whole collection of new immigrants, just arriving from the old country, with their baggage, bananas and babies. Such greetings, such huggings of men with men, such kissings on both cheeks, such a wonderful cheer to welcome the poor steerage passengers as they come to this far El Dorado, to this land of promise!

Well, now what is there that effects their nature most? It is their deep, intense, almost wild love of their children, especially among the Italian immigrants. Yet the factory inspector tells us that eighty-five per cent. of those arraigned for breach of the child labor law are of the foreign-born people, and eight per cent. of them are these very Italians who come from southern Italy. How do you account for it that these people, so passionately fond of each other, can apparently be so indifferent? Well, they arrive, and there is a warm welcome given them, and after awhile the hospitality is over and the hard struggle for existence is on. They are survivors in the first stages of that hard struggle, but after awhile, when sickness or bad weather or some industrial depression comes and the father is out of work, then the temptations of severe poverty appear

and the struggle for existence is on in earnest and some of them yield, but you would be astonished to know how few do yield and let the child go to the shop. *BEYANS*

From the new country itself there is a more infectious and insidious temptation still. It comes not from across the sea, but it comes from the very atmosphere charged with electrical industry in this new land. There comes the temptation of the quest for money that is almost the religion of the Americans. Great is American "Thrift," and Benjamin Franklin its prophet. These immigrants begin to see what their neighbors are doing; their neighbors are getting more income, so they, too, strive until they are able to buy the house in which they live. This done, they keep the family in the basement of the rear tenement and they buy a second house; and they can still pass down the streets and everybody applauds them for getting on in the world. The contagion is spreading, and in fact the inspector tells us that people who bring their children in to apply for work are fairly well dressed, especially in the summer time. In the winter they are the poor who come. Before these mostly illiterate parents get our uplift toward the appreciation of education they get the down-let to money-thrift at the expense of childhood, manhood and womanhood. So this country has to take part of the responsibility.

Two educational agencies are at command and are adequate to lift the family out of inherited indifference to the value of play and schooling, and to protect it from the aggressions of American "thrift" upon childhood. First of all the deterrent effect of enforced law is amply demonstrated by our experience in Illinois. Our collection of \$25,000 in fines from over a thousand prosecutions in a single year, is in striking contrast with the score or more convictions reported from some other large industrial States. The records of the factory inspector's office show a decrease of twenty per cent. in the discovered breaches of the law the past year over the preceding one, although during this period the school population increased two per cent. While in 1901 the number of children at work was 4.1 per cent. of the total employed in 1904, they constituted only 1.9 per cent. of the total. Meanwhile 2,200 of them have been released from the mines and thousands more from the holiday work after 7 p. m. The commensurate increase of the school attendance in Chicago indicates the pressure upon even the greediest parents, at least to hasten the process of their children's learning to read and write.

The attractive influence of the new schooling and other social agencies may be depended upon to draw such parents out of their bad ways more effectively even than they can be driven out by the terrors of the law, as applied by the compulsory education department and the factory inspectors. For from the kindergarten to the vacation school, and from the social settlement clubs to the new park houses, with their public library, stations and gymnasiums, the tendency of these educational up-lifts is to rescue the child's leisure from idleness and vice to both profit and pleasure. And this solution of the very real parental problem in the leisure of their children promises to help solve the problem of child labor.

Facing the railway entrance to Bradford, England, is the monument to a young man. Clinging to his stalwart form is the figure of a little girl. Beneath his outstretched arm a boy has fled for refuge from a pursuer, whose approach is warded off by the protector. On the base of the monument is inscribed the belated tribute to the man who dared lead the forlorn hope against child labor in England seventy years ago—"Richard Oastler was born in Bradford." Belated indeed, long after the hero had suffered his martyrdom in the debtor's prison, and neglected old age. Of that generation which Thomas Sadler arraigned before Parliament, as first guilty of child labor, he said in 1831: "Our ancestors could not have supposed it possible, posterity will not believe it true, that a generation of Englishmen had existed that would work lisping infancy of a few summers' old, regardless alike of its smiles or tears, and unmoved by its unresisting weakness, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen hours a day, and through the weary night also, till in the dewy morn of existence the bud of youth faded and fell where it was unfolded." It seems hardly possible that the light from our statue of "Liberty enlightening the world," seventy-four years after England began to repent of its crime against childhood, should fall upon a generation of Americans as heartlessly repeating the same cruel folly, as though the experience and law of civilization had not outlawed the barbarity. But by that light a new generation of Americans is emerging who will cease not to lift and bear the gauntlet that fell from Richard Oastler's hand, until every child in America is assured its right to play and learn, as the best assurance of the nation's perpetuity and progress.

THE OPERATION OF THE WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR LAW¹

BY EDWARD W. FROST, ESQ.,
of Milwaukee, Wis.

All social reforms in Wisconsin begin with the inspiration of noble women. Three or four years ago we made up our minds, because the women showed us the way, that we would write upon the statute books of Wisconsin laws which would protect children, as they were not then protected; and in one session—we do not know how we did it, we are very glad that something did it through us—a compulsory education law, an improved juvenile court law, and more than all a strong child labor law, were written into the laws of Wisconsin. It was a good achievement, if I may speak for my State so frankly.

The conditions which brought about these laws in our State were not so dreadful as those described by Dr. Adler as existing in many other States. I would far rather discuss things which I have seen in South Carolina, in Georgia, of little children going to work at six o'clock on twelve-hour shifts. But we have the same conditions in Wisconsin that prevail elsewhere with respect to greed, ignorance, the hurry to be rich at all costs, the tenements inhabited often by an alien population, men and women who began work when they should have been in school, and who see no reason why their children should not work as early,—and we were forced in self defense,—in defense of our institutions, in defense of the land that was to be regenerated and purified by such work as the National Child Labor Committee stands for—to take these laws up and put them through. We had the same old law that permitted little children under fourteen to work to help support the family, and we struck that law off. We had a law which permitted little children to work on an affidavit, taken before some obscure notary public, merely an affidavit made by a parent or guardian or a little child itself, and you know what that meant.

¹Address at the Chicago session of the Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Dec. 16, 1905.

These things were struck from the laws of Wisconsin that the fair name of our State should no longer be disgraced, and in their place we put the permit system, based on what has been pronounced by the National Factory Inspectors Association, a body of experienced men, one of the most practical tests of the age of a child applying for work, that is to be found anywhere in the United States. Those who come close to this work know that it is comparatively easy to forbid work for wages by children under fourteen; that it is comparatively easy to classify the employments in which children under sixteen can be employed; and that it is more than comparatively hard to find out how old the child is when he asks for a permit to work. I asked in South Carolina the age of the little children employed in one of the great mills. I was permitted to do so, I hardly knew why, by a hard-headed superintendent of one of the greatest mills in the South. I said to him, "How do you get at the age of these children?" "Oh," he said, "we don't pay any attention to it; their parents say they are twelve (the required age there) and we take them," I said, "May I ask them their age?" and he said, "Yes, go ahead." I said to the first child, "How old are you?" "Ten." How long have you been at work?" "About a year and a half." I said to the next one, "How old are you?" "Eleven." "How much schooling have you had?" "Never had none." And so it went on.

The question is how to get the correct age of the children. Now, under our old law permitting children to work on a mere affidavit, the people who were clothed by law with the authority occasionally took a child out of work, but it was very hard to do it. Once in a while a man would be brought up for swearing falsely to the age of his child, and he was poor generally, and the court was very well-dressed and the District Attorney had had a good dinner, and they didn't want to be hard on the poor man—we are all very merciful sometimes when we ought not to be—and the man was let go without a fine to do the same thing over again. So in this new law we wrote these requirements, that when, in the State of Wisconsin, a child applies for work, when there is any doubt, and there is doubt in a very large part of the cases, the official to whom he applies must demand a verified birth certificate, and a verified baptismal certificate if he cannot get the first,

and if he cannot get the verified baptismal certificate he must demand legal proof of age given at entering school, and then if he cannot get any of these proofs he must be satisfied by other evidence. These tests were at that time rare in child labor laws. What has been the result? It has revolutionized the system in Wisconsin, and some one thousand children were taken, in a year, out of the factories and stores where they were unlawfully employed and thousands kept from beginning work under age. These tests work. The first two can sometimes be evaded, because parents cannot produce the first two certificates, but it is increasingly hard to escape the first, and very often the school age gives the facts. When the child entered school there was less reason to misrepresent his age.

We must remember that modern tendencies, modern improvements in machinery, the outworked condition of hard working men and women made prematurely old by child labor while in your circle of life and mine they would still be young, are daily calling louder and louder for the labor of little children, and no amount of heart-breaking anxiety on that point will do. We must secure legislation and then see that the law is enforced. A good legislature with a good Governor will put through a law, but only public opinion applied steadily can have power over the officials who execute that law; without the aid of public opinion it cannot be enforced.

I am glad to say that in the State of Wisconsin we are supported in the enforcement of the child labor law by the great majority of large employers of labor. We did have our conflict with the glass works. I have heard it rumored that in other States there is conflict with the glass works. Glass works and child labor do not seem to get along very well together. But the great employers have accepted the law. They send for the factory inspectors themselves and say to them, "Go through our factory, and if any one is wrongfully employed here let us know it." But the little stores and the little businesses break the law. The first things which we must look out for are the stores on the corners employing only one or two boys or girls. And only constant energy and wide-awake interest will help solve the problem in every State as we are trying to solve it in Wisconsin. We have no perfect law. We would be glad to have the educational test and further limit of the hours of labor. But no law can go too fast and too far ahead of public opinion and be enforced.

There came a time when a great people had broken through into a promised land; they had won many battles; they had written the pages of history with glorious deeds, but it was said there was yet much land to be possessed. This is a great field. We who are laboring in it know we are building, be it ever so little, so that those who come after us may build upon our foundations, to construct more successfully strong walls of protection for the children of the future. There is much to be grateful for, and when we hear what the past ten years have done for child labor reform let us thank God and take courage.

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF CHILD LABOR¹

BY S. W. WOODWARD,
Of the firm of Woodward & Lathrop, Washington, D. C.

It is supposed that the question of child labor has been fully discussed from the ethical standpoint, and that all are agreed that it is harmful to the mental and physical growth of the child, and also hurtful to the state to place a child at work at an age under fourteen. I shall, therefore, try to discuss the question from the practical standpoint of the business men.

In the complex interests of business as conducted to-day, there is opportunity for the employment of many children under sixteen years of age. To complement this, the conditions rendering it necessary for many children to seek some gainful occupation, at an early age, are so many and so varied, that lest it may be thought a simple matter of law-making, let us look at some known conditions which confront us in every-day life in business affairs.

From a somewhat long experience, the following conditions have constantly appeared:

Even with both parents living, lack of employment by the breadwinner of the family may make it necessary for the child to make some contribution weekly to the family support.

Again, the father dying, the mother is often compelled to use every means to supplement her own earnings in order to support the family and keep younger brothers and sisters at school for a year or two more.

Or, both parents being dead, the child is often thrown into the custody of the nearest of kin, who themselves are not able to support him, and must, from force of circumstances, place him in some employment.

Under these conditions it would seem that they were a law

¹Address at the third session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, December 9, 1905.

unto themselves, and provided the child is in good physical condition, the chances are that there will be no great harm done.

However, a thoughtful consideration shows the very great difficulty in dealing with the situation, as these children constitute a large proportion of the applications for employment in mercantile lines. These conditions existing, thousands of children drift into gainful occupation, either wisely or unwisely, and thus become a factor in social, economic, and business life. Some of the broadest-minded merchants, in order to remedy the recognized inconsistency of the situation (not to say evil), and having in their employ many children under sixteen, deprived of opportunity hitherto, have opened schools of instruction in their establishments, giving the boys two hours' instruction in the early morning in elementary education. This, however, is exceptional and can only reach a limited number; but is nevertheless a move in the right direction, and proves in itself that a better education is needful for promotion and advancement. It may be stated as a safe proposition that for every dollar earned by a child under fourteen years of age ten-fold will be taken from their earning capacity in later years. Lest it be said the statement is too strong, the writer hastens to say that he is perfectly familiar with instances, from Alexander Hamilton to Andrew Carnegie, and many others of personal knowledge, who were compelled to begin life's work at the age of thirteen, and whose success would seem to disprove the statement. One of the most successful merchants in Boston to-day was forced at nine years of age, on account of his father's death, to assist a widowed mother in the support of three younger children.

But exceptions only prove the rule, and it is only necessary to point to the large number of children under sixteen years of age who, for greater or less misdemeanors, have become public charges upon the State, and are compelled, a few years later, to go into life's work with not only little education to help them, but an experience which will tend to degrade them, to show the necessity for wise legislation in the matter.

The present prosperity of business interests in our country has brought about a condition of affairs which must count for much in the future welfare of the children of to-day. For the past five years, the average wage earner has had perhaps more steady, con-

tinued employment than in any previous five years of this generation. A consequence of this is, that in looking to the future welfare of his children he very properly and wisely decides that he can afford to send the boy or girl to school for one, two, or three years longer, knowing that by this course he is doing all that lies in his power to prepare him for usefulness. This action is felt in all business interests and has very noticeably reduced the number of applications from the families composing the better class of wage-earners. It will result in giving the children of to-day an opportunity for such education and equipment as will tend to make them more self-respecting and better citizens. It is an encouraging feature of the present situation.

Since the province of the State is to legislate for the greatest good of *all* its citizens, it would seem that the highest wisdom would be to place an age limit by written law, below which children ought not be placed in gainful occupations, and this age may possibly be best fixed at fourteen years.

It may be interesting to know that the unwritten law is also quite effective in this particular, viz.: that there do not appear at the present time any children between the ages of eleven and fourteen, the average child seeming to pass from the age of eleven to fourteen without due regard to the Gregorian calendar.

While in Washington we have peculiar conditions, in that we are not a manufacturing or commercial city, we fully sympathize with the views of those advocating child labor laws in mining and manufacturing communities, and shall be glad to be placed in the columns of States favoring advanced laws for the protection of the youth of both sexes.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A CHILD LABOR LAW FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA¹

BY HENRY J. HARRIS, PH.D.,

United States Bureau of Labor, and Secretary of District of Columbia
Citizens' Child Labor Committee.

Before discussing the essential provisions of a law regulating the employment of children in the District of Columbia, it should be stated that the local Child Labor Committee is in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the Civic Center, the Public Education Association, and the numerous citizens' associations to secure a compulsory education law for the District. The necessity for such a law is so patent that it would be a waste of time to discuss the subject before this audience. The relation of a compulsory education law to a child labor law is a vital one, (for perhaps the principal reason for prohibiting the labor of young children is to assure them an opportunity of obtaining the educational and other advantages offered by the public school system.

The bill proposed for the District of Columbia was drawn up on lines suggested by the National Child Labor Committee, and was carefully adapted to the needs of the District by the president of the Board of District Commissioners and the local Child Labor Committee. In its present form the bill may be called a conservative one; it contains no provisions which have not been in actual operation in other States and which experience has shown to be effective in removing the evils which also accompany the employment of children in this city.

The first part of the bill provides that no child under fourteen years of age may be employed in any occupation while the public schools are in session. During the time that the schools are not in session no child under fourteen may be employed in any factory,

¹ Address at the third session of the Second Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, Washington, D. C., December 9, 1905.

workshop, mercantile establishment, store, business office, telegraph office, restaurant, hotel, apartment house, theater, bowling alley, or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages.

For children fourteen years of age, but under sixteen, the proposed law requires that such children must obtain an age and schooling certificate before securing employment. This certificate shows the age of the child, and states that the child can read and write simple sentences in the English language; it also states that the child has attended school for at least one hundred and thirty days during the school year previous to the fourteenth birthday, or during the year previous to applying for such school record, and during this time has received instruction in reading, spelling, writing, English grammar, geography, and is familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic, including fractions. The schooling certificates are to be approved by the superintendent of public schools, or a deputy acting under his instructions. The superintendent also keeps a duplicate of each certificate on file in his office. In addition to the age and educational qualifications, the child must also be in good health and physically able to do the work at which he expects to be employed.

The statements of the parents regarding the age of the child must be substantiated by documentary evidence, such as transcripts of birth or other certificates, unless the official in charge is convinced that it is impossible to secure such documentary evidence, in which case the affidavit of the parent or guardian will be accepted.

The employer is required to keep on file all age and schooling certificates of the children under sixteen employed by him, and to return to the children their certificates when they leave his employ. The employer must keep two complete lists of the names of such children—one on file and one posted where it can be consulted readily by the inspectors authorized by the act. In addition, in each room where children under sixteen are employed there must be posted a notice stating the number of hours of labor required on each day, specifying the hours of commencing and stopping work, and stating when the mealtimes begin and end. Any child found working at other than the times specified in this notice is to be considered as employed in violation of the law.

No child under sixteen years of age may be employed more

than eight hours per day, or forty-eight hours per week, or between seven in the evening and six in the morning.

The penalties for violations of the law are the same as those imposed in most of the child labor laws of other States. In some cases, penalties may be imposed on the parents as well as on the employers. To secure the proper enforcement of the law, two inspectors are provided.

How would such a law remove the evils which now exist as the result of the employment of children? First of all, it would prevent the employment of very young children in occupations which must be classed as harmful because of their physical, mental, and moral effects on the development of the child. Thus, during the time that the public schools are not in session, children under fourteen may not be employed in factories, where the physical strain is apt to be severe, or in stores, or in the messenger service, where the influences of street life are morally dangerous. The employment of very young children in the street trades is perhaps the greatest of the child labor evils existing in the city at the present time; this and the uncalled for working of children at night will be prevented by the bill under discussion.

The regulation of children's work should not stop when the child has completed his thirteenth year; such a child is by no means ready for the exploitation of his laboring capacity to the full extent which present industrial methods make possible. The bill, therefore, not only limits the working time of children under sixteen years of age to eight hours per day, but provides that these hours shall come between 6 a. m. and 7 p. m. and shall not amount to more than forty-eight hours per week. How successful the committee will be in securing these provisions regarding hours of labor remains to be seen, but an earnest effort will be made to persuade Congress to grant them. Some of the workmen in this city are now preparing for a struggle to secure for themselves an eight-hour day, and it must in reason be conceded that a child should not be subjected to harsher treatment than a full-grown man. From the current discussion of conditions in this city it has been demonstrated beyond question that such a provision is urgently needed. The factories in this city are those engaged in "light" manufactures, and it may be regarded as a certainty that we shall always have a number of

such establishments because of the opportunity afforded to exploit the cheap labor of the women and children of the men engaged in the various skilled and unskilled trades of this locality. Factories engaged in this line of production always find it more profitable to use the labor of women and children—especially of children—than to instal machinery, and as this type of industry is particularly subject to periods of intense activity, we find the factory children of the District worked for excessively long hours during the busy seasons which precede the Christmas and Easter holidays. The same state of affairs was found in connection with the children employed in the stores and in the messenger service. The evil was emphasized in an unexpected manner when the principal of one of the largest night schools in the city stated that it was not advisable to visit the night schools in the present month (December) if one wanted to obtain an idea of the educational work carried on, since the schools were almost deserted because so many of the children, including the youngest, were working until late at night. It needs no argument to prove that children under sixteen are not ready for such excessively long working hours, and the beginning of many a case of disease and physical incapacity must date from the exhaustion of the long hours of toil of the holiday season.

It will be noticed that the bill does not provide for any regulation of the sale of newspapers. It is unquestionably true that some restriction of this demoralizing traffic is desirable and would be beneficial, but it is doubtful if Congress would grant such a law. In case the present bill is put into force, the Child Labor Committee will exert its best efforts to remedy such other evils as may call for regulation, and one of the first evils to receive attention will be those connected with the most extensive of the street trades.

Before concluding, your attention is requested to some of the objections which have been urged against the bill. The objection which has been heard most frequently is due to the fact that the bill makes no exception in the case of the children of a widowed mother or invalid father, who because of poverty, may be in need of the earnings of the child who has not yet reached fourteen. It should be stated that there are a number of States which make such an exception, but both the national and the local Child Labor Committees object most earnestly to inserting such a provision in the

proposed law; first, because it would be an injustice to the child, and, second, because it would open the way to abuses of a serious character.

A careful study of the problem has led the committee to the conclusion that this phase of child labor restriction has been given a prominence altogether unwarranted by the facts. In several cities efforts have been made to ascertain how many families would be forced to apply for charitable aid if the earnings of the children under the statutory age were denied them. In New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, the results of such investigations have uniformly shown that though there are children of widows at work, the number of families which would be forced to ask for aid is very small. At a recent interview, the secretary of the Board of Charities of the District stated that although for many years he had been in daily contact with the poorest of the city's population, he could not at that moment recall from memory a single case where the child's earnings made the difference between self-support and the necessity of asking for outside relief. The agents of the Associated Charities, however, state that such cases are found occasionally, though they are rare. But granting the existence of such cases, can it be claimed that it is the wisest solution of the problem to deny to the poorest of our children all the mental, moral, and physical advantages obtained from attendance at the public schools for the sake of the few dollars of weekly earnings which this sacrifice may bring? Furthermore, such a policy would be a confession that there exists in this community a number of worthy persons who are conspicuously in need of assistance, but that the community prefers that the burden of this relief should be placed on the shoulders of little children rather than have it borne by the community itself. It certainly needs but to state this matter plainly to convince every one of the great injustice which such an exemption would cause. European practice in this connection should be suggestive. Recently an examination was made of the child labor laws of the seven leading European industrial countries. These laws provide for almost every imaginable kind and degree of exemption, but in not one of these countries could a child be deprived of his right to attend the common schools because of the pecuniary misfortunes of his parents.

Another objection to the proposed child labor law arose from the claim that a compulsory education law would remedy the evils of child labor as they exist in this city. A number of Senators have been especially insistent on this point. As stated before, the Child Labor Committee regards a compulsory education law as absolutely essential to the proper protection of the working children of the District, but that such a law would remove the evils attacked by a child labor law has yet to be proved. The education bill now before Congress provides for the compulsory attendance of children eight to fourteen years of age at a public school or its equivalent. It would therefore prevent the employment of children under fourteen while the schools were in session. To enforce this provision, the truant officers authorized by the act shall visit all places where "children" (as no age limit is specified, this may include all persons under twenty-one) are employed, and as often as twice a year shall demand from the employer a list of such children, with their names and ages. These are the only provisions regulating the employment of children. Experience elsewhere has shown that such lists of working children, with merely a statement of their ages unsupported by documentary evidence, are practically worthless. One of the largest employers of young persons in the city has said that there seem to be no children between the ages of eleven and fourteen if one may judge from the statements of those who apply for work. Until six months ago, in Pennsylvania, the affidavit of the parent as to the age of his child was sufficient to secure an employment certificate, but the wholesale perjury on the part of parents which this provision led to soon nullified the whole child labor law and required a radical change. The simple list of children, therefore, with the ages as reported by the children themselves, will hardly prove an efficient means of detecting the employment of children under the age fixed by the law. It must also be remembered that if the education law alone is to be depended upon for the removal of the evils connected with the employment of children, it means that the day after a child has completed his thirteenth year he may be kept at work for twelve or thirteen hours per day, or he may be employed throughout the night. This would leave absolutely untouched two of the principal evils which the committee is endeavoring to check. The proposed education law

also takes no account of the educational qualifications of children over fourteen years of age; if an illiterate child of fourteen comes into this city from one of the neighboring states, the compulsory education law would not prevent such a child from securing employment and being deprived of educational opportunities. These statements are not made in any spirit of criticism of the compulsory education bill—that bill is apparently an efficient means of securing educational opportunities to children between the ages of eight and fourteen, but it will not prevent, and indeed was not expected to prevent, the evils connected with the exploitation of child labor now existing in the national capital.

If this discussion of the objections to the proposed child labor law has seemed to deal too much with the obvious and the self-evident, your indulgence is asked on the ground that these have been the very objections which have impeded the progress of the bill and which may possibly hinder its passage. The account of the provisions of the bill is anything but interesting, of course, but perhaps it was worth while in order to make clear what is the aim of the bill and what are the methods by which it is sought to attain this end.

The passing of this bill would be materially assisted if all friends of the movement would write to their members of Congress and urge the early consideration of the measure, both on account of the immediate benefits it would confer on the working children of this city and of the indirect, but very real, benefits which would spring from having a child labor law of a high standard at the nation's capital.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The first annual meeting of this committee was held in New York, February 14th to 16th, 1905. Scarcely a year elapsed before it was deemed advisable to hold another national convention. The second annual meeting was called to meet in the city of Washington, December 8th to 10th, 1905, and the demand for the public discussion of the subjects with which it was to deal made it necessary, before the Program Committee had completed its labors, to arrange for two supplementary sessions, one in the city of Philadelphia, on December 7th, at the Witherspoon Hall, and the other in the city of Chicago, on December 16th, in Sinai Temple. Still another meeting was held in Milwaukee on the night of December 18th, which really constituted a third supplementary session, although the proceedings of the Milwaukee meeting have not been included in the official report.

The following program for the entire annual meeting was finally arranged and carried out:

PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

December 8th, 9th and 10th, 1905.

Two supplementary sessions of the annual meeting held in Philadelphia and Chicago, on December 7th and 16th, respectively.

General topic of the annual meeting:

CHILD LABOR A MENACE TO INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

First session, Friday December 8th, 3 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy.

Topic: Recent Legislation and Efforts to Restrict Child Labor in the United States.

1. Address of Welcome.

Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

2. "The Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D., Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

3. "The Progress and Outlook of the Movement Against Child Labor."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Secretary of the National Committee.

4. "Child Labor in the Cotton Industry of the Southern States."

A. J. McKelway, D.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Second session, Friday, December 8th, 8 P.M.

Presiding Officer, Felix Adler, Ph.D., Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, Professor of Political and Social Ethics, Columbia University, and Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

Topic: A Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor and Practical Legislative Remedies.

1. "Some Arguments Against Child Labor."

John Graham Brooks, Cambridge, Mass., President of the American Social Science Association.

2. "The Federal Government and the Working Children."

Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

3. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."

Owen R. Lovejoy, Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Saturday, December 9th, 9 A. M.—Joint executive meeting of the National and State Child Labor Committees. Reports from the State Chairmen and representatives of State Committees.

11 A. M.—The President of the United States received the members of the National Committee and their guests at the White House.

Third session, Saturday, December 9th, 3 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.

Topic: New Legislation, with Special Reference to the Needs of the District of Columbia.

1. "Child Labor at the National Capital."

Hon. Charles P. Neill, Ph.D., United States Commissioner of Labor.

2. "A Model Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia."

S. W. Woodward, of Woodward & Lathrop, Washington, D. C.;
Henry J. Harris, Ph.D., Secretary of the Citizens' District Child Labor Committee.

3. "Child Labor and the Attitude of Organized Labor."

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Sunday, December 10th.—The churches of Washington very generally responded to the request that this day be especially observed as Children's Day, and that at least at one service reference be made to the work being done to free children from premature toil and its evil effects. In several of the churches an entire service was devoted to this subject, and addresses made by pastors and members of the National Committee and others identified with work for children.

SUPPLEMENTARY SESSIONS.

Philadelphia, December 7th, 8 P. M.—Joint meeting of the National and Pennsylvania Child Labor Committees, held under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Presiding Officer, L. S. Rowe, Ph.D., President of the Academy.

Topic: The Protection of Children.

1. "The Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D.

2. "Some Results of the Recent Child Labor Law in Pennsylvania."

Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.

4. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."

Owen R. Lovejoy.

Chicago, Ill., Sinai Temple.—Saturday, December 16th, 8 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois.

Topic: The Scope and Progress of the Child Labor Movement.

Opening remarks by Dr. Emil C. Hirsch.

1. "Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D.

2. "Some Results of Recent Child Labor Legislation in Illinois."

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.

3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.

4. "Parental Responsibility for Child Labor."

Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons.

5. "The Wisconsin Child Labor Law."

Edward W. Frost, Chairman of the Wisconsin State Child Labor Committee.

The first meeting held in Philadelphia was under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, whose invitation brought together a most distinguished audience of at least twelve hundred people. President Rowe, in opening the meeting, referred sympathetically to the work of the National Committee, and pointed out what movements of this kind stood for in our national life. The addresses of Mrs. Kelley, Professor Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy are printed in full in this volume. That of Prof. Adler will probably be printed later in pamphlet form by the National Committee. Miss Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, gave a most clear and succinct account of the organization and work of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, and the arduous labor necessary before the new child labor law in Pennsylvania, approved May 2, 1905, was possible.

The provisions of this law, especially those with reference to the rather complicated requirements for employment certificates for children between fourteen and sixteen, were explained, and the necessity pointed out for the more vigorous prosecution of the violators of the law and for more strenuous efforts on the part of the Department of Factory Inspection. This meeting was followed by an informal reception tendered to the officers and members of the National Child Labor Committee by the American Academy.

The first regular session of the annual meeting was held at the New Willard Hotel, in Washington, on Friday afternoon, December 8th. From four to five hundred people were assembled in the beautiful auditorium on the tenth floor of the hotel. The Washington Committees had planned well every detail for the success of the meetings, and to these committees, composed of the following persons, is due much of their success:

Committee on Arrangements—Dr. George M. Kober, *Chairman*; Mrs. Joseph Weeks Babcock, Professor Alexander Graham Bell, Aldis B. Browne, John W. Douglass, Mrs. Fred T. Dubois, Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks, Mrs. Jacob H. Gallinger, Mrs. John M. Gitterman, Henry J. Harris, A. Lisner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. F. Macfarland, John R. McLean, Charles W. Needham, Charles P. Neill, Mrs. Robert L. O'Brien, Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. H. T. Rainey, George W. Scott, Dr. Z. T. Sowers, General George M. Sternberg, Professor C. W. A. Veditz, B. H. Warner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. West, Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Woodward.

Finance Committee—S. W. Woodward, *Chairman*; M. E. Ailes, C. J. Bell, Emil Berlimer, John Joy Edson, Martin A. Knapp, H. T. Newcomb, John B. Sleman, Jr., B. H. Warner, Simon Wolf.

Press Committee—Charles F. Weller, *Chairman*; William E. Curtis, Henry J. Harris, A. Maurice Low, G. A. Lyon, Robert L. O'Brien, Edgar D. Shaw, H. M. Suter, Jr., H. Parker Willis.

Secretary Bonaparte, representing the President's Cabinet, opened this meeting with a most earnest and sincere endorsement of the movement to abolish child labor. In appropriate words, he characterized the evils of child labor as among the most serious blemishes on our social and industrial life, and bade the National Committee God-speed in the task to which it had addressed itself. After these opening words from Secretary Bonaparte, the Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, representing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, gave the following address of welcome:

"No one could be more welcome to the national capital than you who come in the interest of the children of our country. Their appeal to our hearts is as strong as ever. All the world loves a child, as the celebration of Christmas will soon attest once more, even though all the world may not love a lover. All right minded fathers and mothers want their own children to have every advantage in life, and all right minded men and women broaden out this feeling to take in all children. We want the child to have full childhood. The 'vision splendid' fades all too quickly into the common day. The only true liberty, equality and fraternity, childhood's exclusive possession, turn all too soon into our common living. Moreover,

this economic age begins to see the economic necessity for protecting children. Not only does Mrs. Browning's 'Cry of the Children' quicken our heartbeats, but it quickens our minds with the thought of the economic waste of economic roots without which we cannot have economic fruits. Stunted children make stunted citizens. And stunted citizens make a stunted state. All our material wealth would be dearly purchased at the price of the labor of the children. And in a few generations we would lose not only that wealth, but our national life. Hence, under the compelling demand of the new industrial civilization, with its great and growing cities, comes the new legalization for the protection of child labor, which is fundamental to the protection of all labor and to the preservation of society. The District of Columbia is not an industrial or manufacturing community, no large number of children are employed here, and the more serious evils found elsewhere do not exist. But prevention is better than remedy, and we seek a law which shall be a model and shall take us out of the black list of states and territories which have no child labor laws. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have once more asked Congress to enact a bill drafted by them on the model approved by your committee, and are hopeful that it will be passed at this session of Congress, with any amendments that may be deemed necessary."

The addresses at this session following those of Secretary Bonaparte and Mr. Macfarland were given by Professor Adler, Professor Lindsay and Dr. McKelway. Dr. McKelway's admirable paper appears in full elsewhere in this volume. Those of Professors Adler and Lindsay will probably be printed later in separate pamphlet form by the National Committee. At the second session, held on Friday evening, after a few appropriate remarks by the chairman, Dr. Adler, three addresses were delivered, by Dr. Brooks, Mrs. Kelley and Mr. Lovejoy, all of which appear in full in this volume. A telegram was received from Mr. Gompers announcing that he was detained in New York, and his address, which was to have been a part of the evening's program, was postponed until Saturday afternoon, at which time his telegram announced he would be able to be with us. The addresses at the third session are all printed in full.

The three introductory addresses at the three sessions held in Washington by the chairman of the National Committee, Professor Adler, were as follows:

"Traveling abroad in Europe a year ago I was visiting the estates of a distinguished nobleman in Prussia. He was explaining to me the classification of labor on the estates. The skilled labor he said is done by experts, expert foresters and gardeners, the less skilled work is done by apprentices, and the hard work is done by women. I shuddered at the thought, but what he said is a fact.

"Perhaps in traveling through Germany on the train looking out through the window you, too, may have seen women stooping in the fields, digging and doing the hard work. And there is a well-known story about a peasant and his wife who came to a certain stream which had to be forded and the

woman stepped into the stream and carried the man across on her shoulders like a beast of burden. Now, we shudder at that, and say it is inhuman, it is un-American. But we, in our country, have allowed the little child to become a beast of burden and the adult to sit upon his shoulders and be carried across the stream.

"It is a strange fact which we have got to admit that in this land of freedom and humanitarianism, slavery has flourished, human slavery. Explain it as you will, this country which proudly boasts to be the most humanitarian in the world had for years and years this unenviable pre-eminence in wickedness. And it is this same humanitarian country of ours, this same humanitarian republic, that allows this modern form of slavery, child's labor, the most pitiful of all. Of the details there will be others to speak, and of the arguments. Indeed, I cannot help feeling every time that this matter is argued as if it were sheer humiliation to argue it, to argue and to prove that a little child of ten years or twelve years, or, if you will, of thirteen years, should not be exhausted by premature labor. They say that there are sixty thousand children under fourteen years to-day—more perhaps—in the textile mills of the South; sixty thousand under fourteen, and many of them doing night work. It seems to me humiliating to argue that a human plant of such tender years should not be required to bear fruit; to prove that it is a sin against mankind to exact precocious fruit-bearing of the human plant; that a child which is set to continuous physical labor and long physical labor in those early years when it should just grow, just absorb the sunshine and that the child which is put into the mill for ten long hours a day, that such a child is being stunted and crippled! Can we answer before our conscience before the world and before the Divine power why we allow it! Why we allow that a child instead of going to school shall grow up in ignorance, that its mind shall remain undeveloped and that instead of having a guarded home it shall be exposed to all the corrupting influences that are incident to an irregular life. Must I descend so far in the presence of the cultivated men and women sitting here in this national capital as to argue the elementary rights of the child, that the child should not be misused, that the adult should not sit on its back and use it as a beast of burden.

"And the evil is increasing. Here are our local Child Labor Committees; here is our National Committee, and we have done our best. We have done what little we can, the National Committee; and the local Child Labor Committees that have done far more than our National Committee has yet been able to do. Here are all these forces that have been at work; we have been trying to stem the tide, and the black fact is that all these forces have not only not availed, but that the tide is gaining upon us; that there is more child labor to-day than there was five years ago, more of it. So you will realize what I have said at the beginning that it is no lukewarm interest that brings us here, it is the feeling that we have for our task to strangle a snake that is coiling around the neck of the young child, that we have to abolish a new kind of slavery, that we have got to take action, not only to check a retreating evil, but we have got to use every power at our command to prevent the

steady increase, the steady and ominous increase of this disastrous and dangerous woe and wrong.

"I hope that this meeting will arouse an earnest interest in you all that here from the capital of the nation will radiate influence through the United States, and that your District of Columbia, though it is not an industrial center, will help us by setting for the country a standard which other parts of the United States may follow. And I hope that as a result of these meetings you will feel, each and every one, that you are called upon, whatever your other philanthropic interests may be, to become propagandists in this cause.

"And now, as to what finally the National Child Labor Committee intends to do. It is a national committee. It has the assistance in its work of light and leading men. Cardinal Gibbons is one of the members, Bishop Greer is one of the members, and it has some of the most eminent names in the country on its list of members, and it hopes with the help and countenance of men and women associated with it to put into the focus of national interest the necessity of the abolition, the total abolition, of child labor. It does not propose to interfere with local bodies, but to supplement their efforts, to be of use by encouraging legislation in those States which are without legislation or in which the legislation which has been passed is deficient. It proposes, above all, to bring it about that the laws which are passed shall also be enforced. Much of our legislation is excellent; many of the laws on our statute books can hardly be improved upon, and yet in the very States in which such laws exist we find that the evil is growing. Why is it growing? Because of our American weakness in trusting to legislation, trusting to the mere fact that the law exists, and not providing as we must the force, which shall put the law into constant operation. That force in the United States is public sentiment. To rally public sentiment on behalf of the abolition of child labor is the prime object of this conference which we have opened.

"It is hardly necessary to try to convince you that child labor is monstrous. If anyone needs to be convinced, there is one test which I would suggest. How would you like your own child not yet thirteen years of age, how would you like your own child, say eleven years of age, to be at work in the breakers? In place of arguing the question, picture to yourself some little child that is very close to your heart, a tender, undeveloped, loveable and beloved girl or boy, infinitely dear to you; think of that little girl or that little boy that means so much to you, at work in the mill or in the coal breakers, where, as Mr. Lovejoy told us, it is so dark that you cannot see five feet ahead—dark because of the dust. Think of your little girl in one of those textile mills in the South working night shifts. You know that your child's eyes begin to droop when night falls. At that hour you want your little one to be safely tucked in bed. You would think it monstrous if your little child should be forcibly kept awake till midnight. What then do you think of that other child's being kept awake all night, its eyelids drooping, its strength going from it, till it is hardly able to stand?

"There is an inspector in Cleveland of whom I learned from one of our

co-workers that he somewhat resented the agitation of the child labor issue because he claimed that Cleveland is free from the evil of premature child labor. Yet he convinced himself that he was mistaken. He investigated, and he found to his own amazement and horror that hundreds of children are employed in the sweat shops of Cleveland during the night. And what I gathered from his statement was this picture. A picture sometimes burns itself into the mind so that one cannot get rid of it; and ever since I have learned of his statement that picture has haunted me. The picture was that of a hundred, or more than a hundred, little folks, little bits of human beings, trudging through the streets of Cleveland in the gray dawn of the morning, coming home from work.

"Now, imagine any child of yours as one of that troop on which the gray dawn looks down. What is the difference between our children and those? Are we to say that the lot of life is differently apportioned? But surely not to that extent, surely not to the extent of bringing such misery and degradation into the lives of the very young. Let the pain and horror of seeing in imagination your own child as one of that troop going through the streets in the gray of the dawn, coming home from work; let that be with you, as it has been with me, and you will become propagandists in this child labor movement. Then I am sure that it is not you who need to be convinced, but that what we are here for is to take counsel as to how we may convince others. And there is no one who can give us better counsel than the proved and efficient worker in this cause, whom I am now going to introduce to you, Mrs. Florence Kelley.

"I have just a few words to say before I introduce to you the chairman of the afternoon and to apologize if I myself withdraw from the meeting. But I desire, before my participation in the public conferences ends, to put one point before you touching our committee and its work which we have considered in our private conferences, but which I feel has not yet been sufficiently emphasized in our public meetings, namely, this point: that we are combating a recurrent evil, if there be such a thing as periodicity to be remarked in the historic recurrences of certain great moral wrongs. For instance, Europe at the close of the middle ages had practically extinguished or very largely extinguished serfdom and human slavery. And then of a sudden new conditions occurred, of which the discovery of the American continent was the principal one, and behold slavery re-emerged on a scale and magnitude perhaps quite unequaled in the world's history.

"So, in the last century it was believed that through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and others the form of slavery which we call child labor, the exploitation of child strength—that this form of servitude had been abolished. And now we behold in the United States a recurrence of this condition on a scale and magnitude which gives occasion for the most profound alarm.

"The object of the National Child Labor Committee, therefore, is not merely to deal with an existing situation, but its larger purpose is to become a steering committee for the United States. One by one our great agricultural communities will wheel into line and become industrial communities, the agri-

cultural will pass into the industrial type of civilization, and then the temptation will always recur to secure a temporary advantage in the industrial world by exploiting the labor, the cheap labor, of the undeveloped child.

"We felt, therefore, on coming together to constitute this National Committee that the occasion for our efforts was not merely the necessity of equalizing the efforts of the local committees, the necessity of promoting the establishment of local State committees where they do not exist, but also that this committee is needed to be on guard, to be an ever vigilant factor for years to come in the economic life of the United States in order, if possible, to bring it about that the evils which history has shown to be incidental to the incipient stage of industrialism shall not be permitted to recur. This is the larger purpose of the National Committee, which ought to be clearly and definitely set forth at this conference.

"The meeting this afternoon has for its topic, new legislation, with special reference to the needs of the District of Columbia.

"I shall now ask the chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia, Dr. George M. Kober, to take the chair."

Three other events in connection with the Washington meetings deserve to be chronicled: (1) Two important executive sessions of the members of the National Committee and members of the State Committees present at this convention were held between the sessions, the first on Saturday morning at 9 o'clock, and an adjourned meeting on Saturday afternoon at 5 o'clock, at which important reports were presented from the several State Committees which threw much light on the child labor conditions in their respective states. A summary of these reports is given below. (2) The meeting of the National Committee and its guests in the executive office of the President of the United States, which occurred on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock. The President, with his usual courtesy, received the committee graciously, and likewise with his usual courage placed himself clearly on record in favor of the most stringent child labor legislation and the most earnest efforts to abolish child labor in the United States. He spoke approvingly of the plan of the National Committee to ask Congress to establish a national bureau in one of the executive departments of the government, to be known as the Children's Bureau, through which a scientific investigation of the problems of infant mortality, the birth rate, juvenile delinquency, illiteracy, child labor, and other allied questions might be made. There are many children's problems needing the special co-ordination in their study which only such a bureau, composed of proper experts, could give. (3) The dinner meeting of the members of the National Committee, Saturday evening, at the house of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the only resident member of the National Committee, at which the question of the proper steps looking to the establishment of the Children's Bureau was discussed.

On Sunday, December 10th, child labor meetings were held in many of the churches, in response to the invitation addressed by the National Committee to the pastors of the leading churches. Among the more notable addresses of this day were those given in the First Congregational Church, by

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy; in the First Unitarian Church, by Dr. Felix Adler; in the People's Congregational Church, by Dr. E. T. Devine, and in a Presbyterian Church, by Dr. A. J. McKelway.

At the joint executive meetings of the National and State Committees Dr. Lindsay presided, and at the opening session called first on Mr. Robert Hunter, the chairman of the New York Child Labor Committee, who opened the discussion with an outline of the work done by that committee and the plans it had in contemplation. Mr. Hunter said:

"We haven't brought an official report from our committee, because it was very difficult to have a meeting after we heard of the desire on the part of the National Committee to have reports of the various State Committees at this time. I can say, therefore, only certain general things that may be of interest.

"Our problem has gone beyond that of most of the states. The reason is that we have about as much legislation now as we are likely to get until the more backward states, that is, the southern states, are brought up more nearly to the standard of Massachusetts, New York, and a few other states which have been working longer for child labor legislation. About three years ago we managed to get our laws in what seemed to us about final shape for the time being. Since then we have made very little effort to get more advanced legislation, not that we think that the legislation of New York state is adequate or in any way model legislation; it is in nowise satisfying to those of us on the committee. But I do not think that we shall make in the next two or three years any very striking advance upon the position we now hold in the matter of legislation.

"After obtaining our legislation we found that we were getting little, if any enforcement of our laws. Although we have fairly satisfactory means of enforcement, the enforcement has been inadequate. It was almost as if we had no legislation whatever. I mean that there had been on the statute books some eighteen years a law prohibiting a child under fourteen years of age from working. That law was about as much ignored last year and a few years before as it was when it was first put in the statutes. In fact, the Commissioner of Labor of the state openly said that he could not enforce the law because there were so very few manufacturers familiar with it, and he thought it was a serious matter to enforce the law until the manufacturers were made more familiar with it. Until then he said he was inclined to be with those who violated the law. This was seriously stated, although the law was then fourteen years old.

"We had a very interesting fight in the matter, and fortunately we had the Governor on our side. He was disposed to treat the question as a matter of principle. And when we clearly demonstrated to him that the law was not being enforced, he refused to reappoint the delinquent Commissioner of Labor. Since then he has appointed another commissioner, who is not altogether acquainted with this kind of legislation, but he is a good man and a good type of public official. I think he is trying to do his best, and I am convinced that he will do some very effective work. Up to the present his

efforts have been very largely to acquaint himself with the conditions that exist, with the working force at his command, and with the legal aspects of the situation. He is so sincere that he is planning a number of changes in the law so as to make it more effective. I do not know now just what are his plans in this regard, so I cannot speak of them at this time. I don't know how many of the changes we shall be able to support, and it may be that we may have to be against him on some of the changes he wants. At any rate, at present we do not know what the coming Legislature, which opens the middle of January, will bring in the way of changes in the law.

"Our committee was the means of securing certain amendments to the laws last winter, which have since been found to be of decided assistance. The new evidence of age amendment has been enforced about nine months. By this change in the law, whenever parents cannot produce birth or baptismal certificates or other religious record originally required as proof that a child is fourteen years of age, the following proof that the child is fourteen may be accepted instead: (1) Any "other documentary evidence of age;" (2) a certificate of graduation from a public school or other school having an equivalent eight years' course. During the first six months that this amendment has been in operation fifty certificates have been granted under its provision. Of this number thirty-four children filed graduation certificates as proof of age. Evidence filed by the remainder included transcripts of Custom House records, vaccination certificates, foreign family record and transcripts of institutional records. Another amendment that our committee was instrumental in having passed was one which allows a factory or mercantile inspector to demand of the employer documentary proof of age in cases of children who claim they are sixteen years old. Commissioner Sherman, of the Department of Labor, has warmly commended this change, as it shifts the burden of proving the child's age from the department to the employer. Under the law hundreds of children have been discharged from factories who would otherwise have been able to continue to work illegally by claiming that they were sixteen.

"Now, there are one or two other things which we have undertaken to do which may interest the other states. We have been engaged very earnestly in trying to see if the law could be enforced, so that we have been working at various ends of the thing. In the first place, we have tried to make use of the compulsory education law. We have done everything we could to get the Board of Education to use this means to limit child labor. We found that a good many of the children leave school before they are fourteen years of age and go to work, and that some of these children when they were turned out of the factories do not go back to school. They were either walking the streets or working in some other illegal employment. Altogether there are about a thousand children whose names we know, and probably there are a great many more whom we do not know. This matter has been brought before the City Superintendent of Schools, and an investigation will be made to see how many children are not in school, how many are idle on the streets and how many are illegally employed.

"Another interesting thing, which Miss Wald, I hope, will speak of more in detail, because it has been her work largely which has brought it into being, is the "scholarship fund" which has been raised. A member of our committee kindly gave a fund to the committee for the purpose of giving scholarships to those children whose families would be in distress if the children were not permitted to work. That, of course, is a serious matter in any state. We know it has been very much overestimated; and, as Mr. Lovejoy said last night, the professed interest of the employer in the welfare of widows and of poor children is largely hypocritical. They have no real interest in the children, and no real interest in the widows. They are employing the children solely for their own profit. While that condition has been very much exaggerated by the manufacturers, there is still this much trouble in it. There are in every state a certain number of families who really feel it necessary on account of their unfortunate economic position to send their young children to work. We intend to prevent the necessity for that. We realize the inadequacy of the small fund we can raise or give to supply temporary or permanent pensions to cover conditions of that kind. As has been said, there will probably come some time a movement to make the school fund or some other fund of the state bear the expense of these pensions.

"Those are the main things we are working on. Our effort now on all lines is to get enforcement of such laws as we now have.

"The newsboy law is very disappointing to us. It was so when the law was passed. The law was very carefully drafted, and was a rather complete law when it went before the Legislature. But it was altogether new. It was a law prohibiting street trading for certain classes of children and regulating street trading for other classes of children. The law was very bitterly opposed by a number of people who did not understand it, and who did not realize that there was any precedent for it. They believed it was very radical and very absurd legislation. So, through the influence of these rather powerful persons, in New York the law was very much mutilated, so much so that I remember saying to the Legislative Committee at the time the bill was under consideration that if they passed it in that form I knew it would not be enforced; indeed, that it could not be enforced. I may have stated that too strongly. We have gotten some little enforcement. But I think my point at that time was right. I don't believe the law as it now stands will ever be enforced. It may be possible in the coming Legislature to get some changes in this law. This last year the Commissioner of Police has appointed a squad of four policemen, plain-clothes men, to enforce the law; but even under this new arrangement the law is not being strictly enforced, although there has been some improvement. There have been about 500 arrests since the squad was appointed, last May, and perhaps in time we shall be able to make it—the mutilated law we have—work with some degree of satisfaction to ourselves.

"Another piece of work before our committee at this time is to attempt to get the school officials in the state to take a school census. New York

is behind many other states in the matter, although a statute put on the books in 1895 requires the taking of such a census every two years. No census has been taken, however, since 1897. Our committee is now urging upon the Board of Education the importance of the question as the best practical means of enforcing the compulsory education law."

Dr. Lindsay then called upon Miss Lillian Wald, who, like Mr. Hunter, is not only an active member of the New York State Committee, but also an active worker on the National Committee, asking her to report on the scholarship fund which the New York Committee administers to aid those unable to attend school and not eligible for employment certificates. Miss Wald addressed the meeting as follows:

"One of the members of the committee has presented to the New York Child Labor Committee the sum of \$2500 a year for child labor scholarships. He has not committed himself to give this amount for any stated number of years, but at the same time, if it is needed, he has intimated that it will be continued for some time. The purpose of the donor in establishing these scholarships was to make it possible for the committee to prevent hardship to a family as a result of the child labor laws not allowing the child to work when its earnings were needed. Another object of the fund is to remove from the mind of the officials who are responsible for enforcing the law any tendency there may have been to make exceptions in the law's enforcement because of the plea of poverty in the child's family. The scholarship thus acts as a substitute for the child's illegal earnings, and at the same time prevents violation of the law in order to keep the family from suffering. The fund is very valuable for the experiment, and to really test how much truth there is in the popular claim that many widows or disabled parents are absolutely dependent for support upon the earnings of their young children.

"A sub-committee having this work in charge has been meeting almost weekly for the purpose of considering very carefully each individual application for a scholarship. Letters were first sent out to the principals and superintendents of schools, to settlement head workers, and to the Commissioner of Labor, extending an invitation to call to the attention of the secretary any instance where the law appeared to be working great hardship. It was evident, after a meeting or two of the committee, that this was also an invitation for the societies to unload on the committee. That was not, however, the purpose of the giver or of the special committee. The scholarship sub-committee has finally come to the conclusion that as a general rule cases will not be regarded as eligible for scholarships under fourteen years of age. No society in New York would deny that a child under fourteen is properly a care for philanthropic aid. But, as much of the criticism of the law was focussed on the difficulty by proving the child's age and meeting the educational standard, the committee believes that it is up to them to meet this criticism in a practical way. A great many cases that have come before the committee have proved not to be properly within the scope of the fund. The difficulty of getting the required evidence of age necessary to obtain an employment certificate has not been so great as was thought, as with some

personal effort on the part of the secretary in several instances the needed proof of age has been secured. It has been found that the acceptance by the officials who have charge of issuing employment certificates of "other documentary evidence" (allowed under a recent amendment of the law) has made it possible for many children to secure working papers who could not otherwise have done so.

"Since the announcement of our scholarship plan was made, about four months ago, 117 applications have been received and investigated, either by the committee or by representatives of the relief societies. Of this number eighty-three, or 72 per cent., were found not to be in need of aid. Of the remaining thirty-four cases help in the form of scholarships has been given in thirteen instances, while in the other twenty-one cases, in many of which the need was only temporary, assistance has been given by the various relief societies. The scholarships vary in amount from \$1 to \$3 a week, and extend over a period of from one to twelve months. The scholarship holders are required to present weekly at the office of the committee a card signed by the school principal certifying to their regular attendance at school. In cases in which the investigator has shown that there is no need of assistance a report to this effect is made to the principal, and by means of a 'tickler' system ten days later the case is followed up, to learn from the principal whether the child is again regularly attending school.

"I cannot give a full report, but it is extremely interesting as each case comes up to find the difficulties are not altogether insurmountable. In many instances the trouble is solved by referring the cases to one of the philanthropic societies, who have for some time been carrying the burden and are willing to carry it a little further. In other instances the solution of the problem is found by securing employment for the parents. In this manner, as well as by means of our scholarships, the purpose aimed at is attained; namely, to prevent the child becoming a violator of the law. The philanthropic societies, of course, have the privilege of coming under the limitation which the Scholarship Committee has placed upon its fund.

"I do not know anything further I can say now. The \$2500 has not yet been exhausted, but when it is more widely known there will undoubtedly be as many cases as the fund can take care of. It is very difficult to properly and suitably investigate the applications, because, where the families have been self-respecting and perhaps have made efforts for many years to keep from applying to relief societies for aid, the Scholarship Committee believes that their dignity should be respected, and that the committee should try to make a private investigation. That, of course, will make additional expense to the committee, but so far the work has been done by volunteer visitors."

Mrs. Kelley: "You have not mentioned how many cases the philanthropic societies find it necessary to help in the support of children."

Miss Wald: "That is true, because in this, as in all other cases, it is impossible to enforce the law or to know just where we are without having a school census. The committee intends to bring this to the attention of the superintendents of philanthropic societies. In one instance four children

have been for five years under pension from a philanthropic society where the almoner had been going there regularly and never discovered that not one of the four children had ever been in school, although they were all born in America. The oldest, fifteen years of age, had been one week in school some years before. These facts have been brought to the attention of the superintendent of the philanthropic society, who did all within his power to have the children at school and the family supported.

"The next effort, in order to protect the superintendents of these societies, would be to have a system of reports from the school superintendents. Our committee is asking for the full measure of our bond. We are asking that not only the child shall bring a report that he is regularly attending school, but a similar card showing the attendance of his brothers and sisters is also required, so that we really get the worth of the scholarship—that is, that there may not be substitution of children."

The next speaker called upon was Miss Laura N. Platt, representing the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, who gave an interesting account of the recent efforts in that state to secure the new Pennsylvania law. Miss Platt spoke as follows:

"Although the child labor features of the factory law as revised by the Legislature of 1905 did not accomplish all which the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee had worked for, and although the standard of legislation was not reached which is held up by New York and Illinois, a long stride has been made toward not only a higher standard, but toward effective regulation. The gain in standard is:

(a) Protection for all working children except those engaged in domestic or farm labor.

Against. Protection for only those engaged in factories and certain classes of stores and workshops.

(b) Prohibition of night work to all children between fourteen and sixteen years (excepting those employed in certain class of manufacture).

Against. No prohibition of night work.

(c) An advance in age limit at which children may commence work from thirteen to fourteen years.

The gain toward *effective* regulation is:

(a) Requirement of record evidence of age.

(b) The issuance of certificates by school authorities.

(c) The filing of duplicate certificates and record evidence in a central office, where the documents filed are open to the inspection of the public.

"A recount of the work of the Pennsylvania Committee prior to the introduction of its bill in the Legislature will give some idea of the foundation on which the committee worked, as well as its qualifications. The initial work of the committee was its investigation into child labor conditions, which covered, in time, four months. The investigation was so planned as

(1) to cover the sections of the state and localities where children are employed in the largest numbers; (2) to discover to what degree and in what respect the law failed to protect the children.

"In Philadelphia a probation officer gave three months to the investigation. She interviewed the children personally, as well as others who knew them as school children, club children, employees; who knew them at home and as friends. A resident of the east-central part of the state, and a well-known student and writer on labor conditions in his own locality, spent six months on a special investigation for the committee. A teacher of South Pittsburg, well acquainted with the children who worked in glass houses, gave a month to the investigation in that locality. The Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, also investigated and reported on the condition of children in glass houses in the western part of the state, in connection with the cross state investigation of the glass industry. His valuable report was placed at the disposal of the committee. A special investigation, undertaken for the committee, was made by the Public Education Association. The material collected showed that night schools are not a substitute for day schools, and that young children who work, either do not attend the schools or, if they do, receive little or no benefit, on account of the fatigue of their day's work. A dozen or more superintendents of schools, as well as superintendents of parochial schools; the officers of school boards; teachers of both parochial and public schools; Sunday-school teachers; between thirty-five and fifty leaders of working boys' and working girls' clubs; the residents of settlements in both the eastern and western part of the state; superintendents and visitors of charitable societies; eminent physicians, as well as physicians acquainted with the working people; manufacturers; managers of telegraph and district messenger offices and trade unionists were all consulted and all furnished the committee with data which threw light on the various phases of child labor. Aside from the expert testimony which the individual investigations brought together, the records of the Boys' House of Refuge were carefully examined, as well as the records of the court officers in the eastern and western part of the state. The records told, as nothing else could, the heavy cost of early employment. The Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education, at the suggestion of the committee, noted in its school census the kind of labor performed by children between thirteen and sixteen years.

"The results of the investigation were sent in to the secretary in the form of notes and schedules. One thousand schedules were filled in, some giving the history of a child and the others a few items of interest in connection with its age, work and schooling. From these notes and schedules the secretary compiled reports, which were printed in five pamphlets by the National Child Labor Committee. Each of these pamphlets gives some one phase of child labor as it exists in Pennsylvania. 'Illiteracy Promoted by Perjury' illustrates the importance of requiring record evidence of a child's age in place of depending on a parent's affidavit. 'Children Who Work at Night' is an account of the children on night shifts in the messenger service, glass houses, foundries, theatres and bowling alleys. The 'Unprotected

Children' are the working children who had not, previous to the enactment of 1905, been protected in their employment. 'Dependent Parents' answers the old-time inquiry whether the state shall allow the burden of supporting a family to fall on its youngest children. 'The Cost of Child Labor, a Study of Disabled and Delinquent Children,' does not estimate, but indicates the social loss through the employment of children. The Pennsylvania Committee also compiled and published a more popular presentation of the whole subject in an illustrated pamphlet called 'The Working Children of Pennsylvania.'

"When the greater part of the data had been collected, but four months before it was published, a sub-committee on legislation was appointed by the Executive Committee, for the purpose of drafting a bill. The measure recommended by the sub-committee was the result of careful consideration for three months of the findings of the investigation; of the experience of those directly and indirectly connected with the enforcement of the old law; and of the experience of other states. The Legislative Committee held conferences with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; various local superintendents of schools; grade teachers; the Chief Inspector of Factories and deputy inspectors; Chief of the Bureau of Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Chairman of the Committee on Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Superintendent of the Boys' House of Refuge; the Chief Probation Officer of Pittsburg; probation officers in Philadelphia, as well as manufacturers, trade unionists and others unofficially but actively interested in the enforcement of the law.

"The bill was re-drafted twenty-two times and every detail carefully considered before it was finally presented to the Legislature by the representatives of the Executive Committee. The committee was fortunate in securing the criticism of one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the country, Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr., as well as the legal advice of such members of its committee as Hon. Lyman D. Gilbert and Mr. J. Percy Keating. The bill was an attempt, primarily, to secure three points: (1) A true age limitation, through certificates based on record evidence of age rather than on affidavits; (2) prohibition of night work for all children under sixteen years; (3) extension of legal protection to all children regularly employed in industry and commerce.

"The bill was introduced in the House and in the Senate and given a hearing before a House committee. The Legislative Committee in charge of all the child labor measures introduced decided to report no bill favorably until those interested in the legislation succeeded in effecting a compromise. The Textile Workers' Union of Philadelphia introduced what it called a child labor bill, which did not attempt to remedy the weakness in the old law which made impossible the enforcement of an age limitation. The bill introduced by the Factory Inspection Department was also defective on this point. The three groups of advocates of child labor legislation had failed to agree on a measure previous to the hearing, because they differed as to what was vital. Before the Legislature adjourned, however, the Department

of Factory Inspection and the Child Labor Committee agreed upon a compromise. This compromise was the bill signed by the Governor May 2d, 1905.

"The important work of the campaign and the work immediately responsible for the passage of the bill was done by Dr. Samuel McC. Lindsay, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. It was Dr. Lindsay's skillful handling of the situation at Harrisburg which gave Pennsylvania the new statute, of which it has been said: 'It is the most important law of its kind in the country, because it contributes to the welfare of the greatest number of children.'

"The work of the campaign carried on from the office of the Pennsylvania Committee, while playing no part in the successful issue of the law itself, was of importance from an educational point of view. The campaign will have aroused, it is believed, interest in the enforcement of the law and criticism of it which will be at once intelligent and effective.

"While the Legislature was in session the committee sent out over 9600 letters to individuals throughout the state, asking for their indorsement of the bill. Support of the bill was also urged upon local and county superintendents of schools as well as selected lists of teachers and on the officers of clubs and educational and philanthropic societies. Along with these letters, and in explanation of the necessity of the legislation which the committee advocated, 23,000 pamphlets were circulated and 6000 printed synopses of the bill. Arguments for the child labor bill were sent to all the important daily and weekly papers in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia.

"For reference during the campaign, a card index of all the members of the Legislature was compiled. This recorded the action of the various members during the past five years on bills of importance similar to the child labor bill. A committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which Mrs. Wilbur F. Rose was chairman, sent a circular letter to all the federated clubs of Pennsylvania. In answer to this appeal forty-three clubs endorsed the bill drafted by the committee.

"Meetings inaugurated by the Women's Clubs in Pittsburg stirred the interest of the people in the western section of the state.

"Since May 3d, when the new factory act became a law, the committee has undertaken the task of informing, in an unofficial way, all people interested in the enforcement of the law, whom the factory inspectors could not reach officially. As the new law became operative as soon as it received the signature of the Governor, these unofficial announcements were important as a prevention against the illegal issuing of certificates. Of special importance was a printed letter sent to notaries public, who, under the new law, are not permitted to issue certificates, but are required to administer the oaths. One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two of these letters were mailed directly to notaries, with printed extracts of the law. As it was impossible to secure a full list of names and addresses, the work was supplemented by a notice through the Associated Press. The committee also, at the suggestion of the State Superintendent of Schools, informed local superintendents and county superintendents of the passage of the law.

"The committee has had printed 5000 cards, which have been placed by the Bureau of Compulsory Education in all the school rooms and lower school halls in Philadelphia, and in 150 parochial schools. These cards, on the side turned to the wall, notify teachers of the new provisions, and on the other side children are told where certificates of employment are issued and under what conditions they may be secured.

"Extracts of the new law were mailed to thirty-six associations of manufacturers. In response to these notices requests have been received for 6299 copies of the law.

"Immediately after the passage of the law the Chief of the Factory Inspection Department appealed to the Pennsylvania Committee to draft a form for the employment certificates which would comply with the requirements of the new law. The draft now in use is a compromise draft of the form compiled by the committee and the Factory Inspection Department.

"As the committee was primarily responsible for the certificate features of the new law it had more clearly in mind, as to details, than any of the officials concerned with the issuing of the certificates, the details of the new requirements. As the law took effect immediately, the committee found it necessary to act, so far as its services were acceptable, as interpreter. The work of issuing the certificates from the Bureau of Compulsory Education was facilitated by the appointment in June of a deputy for that purpose, who had been for the ten months previous a clerk in the office of the committee. In July the annual convention of State Teachers' Association was held. During that convention it was discovered that the majority of superintendents of schools, on whom devolved the duty of issuing employment certificates, were anxious for advice and interpretation of the new law—which the representative of the committee was able to give them.

"Although this committee had no part in the successful passage of the law relating to children working in the mines, it was gratified that the United Mine Workers accepted, with some verbal modifications and higher qualifications, the bill which the Pennsylvania Committee had drafted and hoped to pass for the protection of the children in the foundries and other establishments."

Dr. Lindsay added to the report from Pennsylvania a statement concerning the recent decision of Judge Wheaton, of Wilkes-Barre, in which the employment certificate feature of the child labor law relating to mines was declared unconstitutional. The decision was due to defective wording of one section of the law, which, in Judge Wheaton's opinion, required an employment certificate from all minors employed in mines between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, whereas the intention of the law was to require such certificates only for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. That intent was expressed in a report to the Legislature of which the court might have taken cognizance, but it regarded the statute as a penal statute, and therefore subject to the strictest interpretation, and preferred to construe the law as applying to all minors. The fact that a different educational standard was required of those who could not present record

evidence of birth was, in the opinion of the court, an unjust discrimination, and hence the law was held to be unconstitutional. The Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee has appealed this case to the Superior Court and engaged legal counsel to test the validity of the decision just rendered.

The next committee to be heard from was that known as the Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts, which in a sense acts as a state child labor committee. This committee was represented by Howard W. Brown, Esq., of Boston, who reported on its work at the last session of the Legislature of Massachusetts. He said in part:

"What we did at the last session of the Legislature first of all related to the condition of illiterate minors under sixteen. An amendment was secured to the existing law doing away with the requirement that illiterates from fourteen to sixteen legally employed were obliged to attend night school, and in place of a requirement that only inflicted additional hardship upon the children was substituted the legal requirement that no illiterate under sixteen years of age may be employed in factories or mercantile establishments. The second piece of legislative work that the committee had in hand was to successfully combat an attempt to do away with the fifty-eight hour a week restriction for the working women and children under eighteen in factories and other establishments. There was a desire to suspend the operation of this clause during the period of the holiday season in stores. The committee considered this a dangerous exemption, and successfully defeated the proposed legislation."

For the coming year Mr. Brown stated that the committee had in mind an attempt to strengthen the legislative protection for children engaged at night by prohibiting the employment of all children under sixteen after 7 o'clock in the evening and before 6 o'clock in the morning, and another contemplated change in the factory law was to extend the fifty-eight hour law, now covering only factories, workshops and mercantile establishments, to all children under sixteen in all trades and occupations. This provision would benefit especially the messenger boys, and boys working in business houses, apartments, restaurants and hotels.

Mr. H. H. Jacobs, of Milwaukee, Wis., representing the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee, from whose chairman, E. W. Frost, Esq., a written report had already been sent to the meeting, was the next speaker. Both Mr. Jacobs, who spoke informally, and Mr. Frost, in his written report, called attention to the fact that the committee was organized on September 12th, 1905, consisting of sixteen persons, representing various sections of the state, to which additions will be made from time to time until the number reaches from twenty to twenty-five. The committee has already published a pamphlet concerning the child labor and factory laws of Wisconsin, giving the text of existing laws and preparing to enter upon an educational campaign for the extension of the law, and especially for the inclusion of an educational test. In the two years and a half that the present law has been in operation the committee estimates that at least one thousand children who were working illegally have been taken from such work. The new

requirements of the law as to permits and the ascertainment of the age of the children have worked well. The National Factory Inspectors' Association has pronounced it one of the best laws for practical enforcement, "because," says Mr. Frost, "of the fact that our laws provide a definite and practical way to ascertain the age of the child who applies for work. Inasmuch as the factory inspectors or other official to whom the child applies for a permit may, and do, demand either a verified birth certificate or a verified baptismal certificate or proper proof of the age of the child at the time of entrance into school. In the large percentage of the applications one or other of these requirements gives the child's correct age. There has been, naturally, trouble, as in the case of children of immigrants, who cannot produce either of these three proofs, and the factory inspectors here have demanded vaccination certificates, passports and other forms of record evidence. The enforcement of the law in Milwaukee is increasingly thorough, and in the state at large, in certain counties where its provisions are better known. There is, however, much ignorance on the subject. There is a great need of a proper educational test, and it goes without saying that there is much to be said in favor of an eight-hour day for children under sixteen, but I doubt the advisability of any such movement at present, although we may get public sentiment up to it by 1907. Some of the factory inspectors strain the law and refuse permits in cases of great illiteracy, although such permits could be obtained by going to the courts. There is an increasing disposition on the part of all Judges, who have also the right to issue permits, to send all applicants to the factory inspectors, of whom there are soon to be twelve in the state at large, or about one for every 200,000 people; still an insufficient number, though a great improvement on previous conditions. The next regular session of our Legislature is in January, 1907, and meanwhile we hope to stimulate public sentiment to the better enforcement of the law."

Mrs. Kelley, in commenting upon the report from Wisconsin, said that theoretically she thought that the provision of the Wisconsin law in practically placing the issuing of employment certificates in the hands of the factory inspectors was a bad one, that the duty of inspection should not be to inspect one's own work, and, furthermore, that the work that factory inspectors have to do in any community is too important and too vast in amount to permit of their time being taken up to issue certificates. Mrs. Kelley suggested that the issuing of certificates should be turned over to the educational or health authorities.

A written report from the state of Missouri was made by the Secretary of the Missouri Child Labor Committee, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, of Washington University, as follows:

1. *Recent Legislation.*—The laws concerning the labor of children in force in Missouri up to the year 1905 have prohibited the employment of children under fourteen years in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment where steam, water or any other mechanical power is used, or where the work to be done would, in the opinion of two reputable physicians, be dangerous to the child's health; have also prohibited the employment

of boys under twelve or females of any age in any mine, and the employment of boys under fourteen in any mine unless able to read and write; and have also provided that no person having the care of any child under the age of fourteen shall "in any manner sell, apprentice, give away, let out, or otherwise dispose of such child to any person in or for the vocation or occupation of singing, playing on musical instruments, rope or wire walking, dancing, begging or peddling," or as a gymnast, or for any immoral purpose or exhibition, or in any business or vocation "injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child, or cause, procure, or encourage any such child to engage in such occupation."

These last provisions of the law would apparently make it possible to prevent children from being employed in any sort of peddling and in unhealthful or dangerous trades; but this part of the statutes has never been so construed, and has served only to diminish the use of children in public exhibitions of a dangerous or immoral character. The enforcement of these laws has been entirely in the hands of the state factory inspector and his assistants, whose duties require them also to secure the enforcement of the other multifarious state laws relating to factories.

During the last session of the Legislature a compulsory education law was adopted, which requires that all children under fourteen shall attend regularly some day school (public, private or parochial) not less than one-half of the entire school session; and further contains the following sections relating to child labor:

"No child between eight and fourteen years of age shall be employed in any mine, factory, workshop, mercantile establishment, or in any other manner, during the usual school hours, unless the person employing him shall procure a certificate from the superintendent or teacher of the school he attended, stating that such child attended school for the period required by law, or has been excused from attendance as provided in section two; and it shall be the duty of such superintendent or teacher to furnish such certificate upon application of the parent, guardian or other persons having control of such child entitled to the same. Every owner, superintendent or officer of any mine, factory, workshop or mercantile establishment, and any other person who shall employ any child between eight and fourteen years of age contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined for each offense in a sum not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars and costs."

The appointment of truant officers for the enforcement of the compulsory education law is left optional with local Boards of Education, and such officers will probably be appointed only in the large cities. Duly appointed truant officers have power to enter factories and business houses to ascertain whether any children who should be in school are being employed there. The law thus has the effect, where put into operation, of prohibiting all labor of children under fourteen years of age in the day time during at least the first half of the school year. The St. Louis Board has appointed five truant officers, and the law is being vigorously enforced in that city. The effect

during the first two months since it went into effect has been to increase greatly both the enrollment and regularity of attendance in the public schools, and to reach a considerable number of children employed in forms of labor not covered by the older child labor laws. Thus the truant officers have taken a number of boys under fourteen from the messenger service, and placed them in school. The new law will probably continue to be of considerable service in this respect.

2. *Deficiencies of Present Missouri Laws.*—The most notable deficiencies of the Missouri legislation on child labor are the following:

(a) The laws do not apply to a sufficient number of trades; in particular, they permit children to be employed during a large part of the year in certain sorts of work highly injurious to health or morals.

(b) They contain no special provisions in regard to night work.

(c) They do not restrict the total hours of labor per week for all children under sixteen.

(d) They permit the exemption of children in the case of "extreme poverty of the parent."

(e) They place the burden of proof in respect to the child's age upon the factory inspectors.

(f) The appropriation for the factory inspector's office does not permit the employment of a sufficient number of inspectors to visit factories with sufficient frequency and unexpectedness to prevent a considerable evasion of the child labor statutes by employers so inclined. The provision that the opinion of two reputable physicians may be taken as evidence that a given sort of work would be injurious to the health of a child appears to be construed to mean that no work is injurious which any two physicians will swear that they believe to be not so.

3. *Organization for Improvement of Conditions.*—A meeting was held in the Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, on May 12th, 1905, at the call of the Secretary of the National Committee, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, at which an organization was formed for agitating the question of child labor in Missouri and for securing the adoption of an improved law by the next Legislature, which meets in 1907. A state committee was created, which is at time of writing composed as follows:

N. O. Nelson, President of the Nelson Manufacturing Company, St. Louis, Chairman; Mrs. Philip N. Moore, President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Vice-Chairman; A. O. Lovejoy, Professor of Philosophy in Washington University, Secretary; Miss Mary E. Perry; Rev. J. W. Day, minister of the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis; H. Steinbiss, General Secretary of the International Building Trades Council.

This committee has power to increase its membership, and will eventually be a committee of ten. The committee's duty will be to promote the organization of local committees in the cities and towns of the state, to make investigations into the conditions in the several trades not now adequately reached by the existing child labor laws, and to secure public support for the improved bill which will be presented to the Legislature in 1907. The women's clubs

of the state are taking an active interest in the matter, and an effective system of co-operation between those clubs and the State Committee is now being arranged. The plans and the investigations of the committee are not as yet sufficiently matured to justify a more detailed report at this time.

Informal verbal reports of the situation in Iowa and Oregon were made by the Chairman, Dr. Lindsay, who had recently visited those states.

Dr. A. J. McKelway presented a report from the southern states, referring to the work done by several of the State Committees that have been organized in the South. Dr. McKelway said:

"In regard to the situation in the whole South to-day, I believe that conditions are worse now than they have been, in spite of some remedial legislation that has been adopted. The cotton mill industry is growing by leaps and bounds, while at the same time the price of raw cotton is high, and thus there is strenuous competition in the labor market between the factory and the farm. In this pressing demand for labor the children are being employed in greater numbers than ever before in the factories.

"Taking up the states one by one, Virginia has a pretty fair law on her statute books, prescribing a ten-hour day for children under fourteen, forbidding night work for children under fourteen, and forbidding the employment of children under twelve in any manufacturing, mechanical or mining operation. There is no provision for factory inspection, however, and the belief is general that the law is not enforced. The Labor Commissioner in Virginia hopes to have a law passed by the next Legislature, which meets in January, 1906, giving him the authority for the inspection of factories and the enforcement of the law. A state child labor committee is now being organized in Richmond among the friends of our cause.

"North Carolina has a twelve year age limit, but the same difficulty with regard to factory inspection and legal enforcement. A strong State Committee has been organized in North Carolina, with Raleigh as headquarters, which will push the matter of amending the law before the North Carolina Legislature, which meets in January, 1907.

"South Carolina has now an age limit of twelve years, but with exceptions which really reduce the age limit to ten. A strong State Committee has been organized in South Carolina, which will advocate before the South Carolina Legislature, meeting in January, 1906, the appointment of a factory inspector, the raising of the age limit to fourteen for girls and for boys who cannot read and write.

"An interesting letter from Rev. W. H. Mills, Secretary of the State Committee, states that the present law is little else than a dead letter.

"The Legislature of Florida failed to pass the child labor bill at its meeting last spring. A letter from Rev. John G. Anderson, of Tampa, Fla., a member of our committee, who had charge of the bill, attributes its defeat to the confusion of the closing hours of the session. The bill passed the Senate unanimously, and a conference committee from the two Houses had recommended its adoption. The bill was opposed by the cigar manufacturers and the canning industries, and Dr. Anderson reports that the evil of child

labor in the cigar factories is on the increase. It is hoped that a better law can be passed at the next Legislature, which meets in the spring of 1907, than the one which was defeated in the last.

"Georgia is still without a child labor law. After a hard fought campaign last summer, in which the whole state was aroused as never before, the bill which passed the House by forty-one majority failed by four votes of passing the Senate. The Georgia Child Labor Committee was reorganized during the year, with an Executive Committee in Atlanta and representation throughout the state. The Georgia Legislature meets every summer, each having two annual terms. It is possible that a bill can be passed at the coming term of the same Legislature which defeated the last bill, but it is confidently believed that the popular interest in the cause will secure the passage of an adequate law by the Legislature of 1907.

"The Alabama Child Labor Committee, which had the honor of passing the first child labor law in the South is beginning a campaign of agitation for the amendment of the law providing for factory inspection and enforcement. I have an interesting letter here from Judge N. B. Feagin, of Birmingham, Ala., who describes the political situation now existing, and believes that in the conflict of opposing forces there is hope for the passage of a child labor law for Alabama.

"Mississippi has no child labor law as yet, though the child labor evil is a slight one in that state, as a large majority of the population is rural and there are only twenty-one cotton factories in the state. An effort will be made to organize a Child Labor Committee in January, and to promote the passage of the bill through the Legislature which meets in that month.

"The Legislature of Louisiana, at its last session, defeated an amendment to the present law which would have rendered it much more effective. Much interest in the cause has been aroused in the state, and the effort at amendment will be renewed at the coming session of the Legislature.

"I have no reports from Texas or from Arkansas.

"The activity of the factory inspector in Kentucky has been noticeable of late, and several prosecutions for violations of the existing law will undoubtedly make it more respected than it has been. The Kentucky law has an age limit of fourteen for children working in factories and mines, and also a compulsory education law.

"Tennessee has the same age limit of fourteen, but a letter from Chancellor Kirkland, of our committee, indicates that the law is not adequately enforced. An effort will be made to organize a State Committee in Nashville in January, 1906."

A strong delegation from Maryland was present. The Vice-Chairman of the Maryland Child Labor Committee, Mrs. John M. Glenn, presented a most interesting verbal report, telling of the recent organization of that committee and of the investigations made by the Consumers' League and the efforts made to frame a child labor law to be presented at the coming session of the Maryland Legislature, looking to the adoption of a child labor law covering the entire state. Mrs. Glenn said:

"We have a child labor law on the statute books applicable to children under fourteen years of age, but there is no machinery provided for its enforcement. It applies to only four counties in the state, and it exempts the canning industry and the children of widowed mothers. We want a law to cover the entire state and all its industries. If we cannot begin with the fourteen year standard, we will start with less, and if possible secure adequate enforcement and investigation, so as to be in a stronger position two years hence to raise our standard."

Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the District of Columbia Citizens' Child Labor Committee, reported on the work of that committee and the difficulties it had encountered in arousing sufficient interest in Congress to get any legislation on the subject at all. The committee is very anxious to have the District of Columbia removed from the black list of communities in which there is no child labor legislation.

Mr. Lovejoy reported informally for the states of Michigan and Ohio, in both of which State Committees have been recently organized.

The following is a list of the general or state child labor committees, with the names and addresses of their chief officers:

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

Buffalo (N. Y.) Committee on Children.—Hon. George A. Lewis, Buffalo, Chairman; Porter R. Lee, Buffalo, Secretary.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.—Dr. George M. Kober, 1600 T Street, Northwest, Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

Georgia Child Labor Committee.—Ex-Governor Allen D. Candler, Gainesville, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 16 Houston Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

Hull House Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Ill., Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. H. Van der Vaart, Secretary.

Iowa Child Labor Committee.—Professor Isaac A. Loos, Iowa City, Chairman; Hon. Edward D. Brigham, Des Moines, Secretary.

Maryland Child Labor Committee.—Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Chairman; H. Wirt Steele, 101 West Saratoga Street, Baltimore, Secretary.

Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts.—Edith M. Howes, 415 Marlborough Street, Boston, Chairman.

Michigan Child Labor Committee.—Professor Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Chairman; Luman W. Goodenough, Detroit, Secretary.

Missouri Child Labor Committee.—N. O. Nelson, Eighth and Charles Streets, St. Louis, Chairman; Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, Washington University, St. Louis, Secretary.

New Jersey Child Labor Committee.—Hugh F. Fox, Plainfield, Chairman; Miss Florence D. Dale, Montclair, Secretary.

New York Child Labor Committee.—Robert Hunter, 88 Grove Street,

New York, Chairman; George A. Hall, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, Secretary.

North Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Hubert A. Royster, Raleigh, Chairman; C. L. Coon, Raleigh, Secretary.

Ohio Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, 19 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Chairman; Wallace E. Miller, Columbus, Secretary.

Oregon Child Labor Commission.—H. G. Kundret, 232½ Washington Street, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. B. H. Trumbull, 921 Corbett Street, Portland, Secretary.

Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee.—Hon Lyman D. Gilbert, Harrisburg, Chairman; Scott Nearing, 708 North American Building, Philadelphia, Secretary; George Woodward, M.D., North American Building, Philadelphia, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Rhode Island Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Gardner, of Brown University, Providence, Chairman; Miss Conington, Secretary.

South Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Rev. W. H. Mills, North Augusta, Secretary.

Tennessee Child Labor Committee.—Dr. James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chairman; Rev. G. W. Bull, Secretary.

Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.—Edward W. Frost, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Chairman; H. H. Jacobs, University Settlement, Milwaukee, Secretary.

The closing session of the annual meeting, constituting the supplementary session held in Chicago on December 16th, was presided over by the Governor of Illinois, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, who referred to the excellent record made by the comparatively limited force of factory inspectors in Illinois. The Governor said:

"I have been invited to act as presiding officer, not to speak, and I shall observe the rules of hospitality. It is fortunate for this audience, and I believe also fortunate for the state, to have a meeting of this kind in this church. It is still more fortunate that we have speakers of national reputation who will present the cause of children to the people here to-night and to the greater public to-morrow. Those who will speak to you have acquired a familiarity with their subject by actual work rather than through study alone. Illinois has a good child labor law, but we are handicapped in the enforcement of it by the fact that there are only seven women inspectors and eleven men inspectors. Last year, however, over fifty-five thousand inspections were made, and by means of this department the school attendance in Chicago was increased eight thousand within the year. I believe that the next General Assembly will come to the aid of this department and enlarge it and enable us to appoint inspectors who will see that the children are protected in this state."

A large and enthusiastic audience welcomed the speakers whom the Governor introduced, the first of whom was Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, in whose church the meeting was held. Dr. Hirsch made the following brief address of welcome:

"This house has greeted often movements of great and deep importance for the community at large, as well as for the nation, but I dare say we had never the pleasure of being hosts at a movement that is nearer to our hearts than the one that will be presented to you to-night. In our own old literature the injunction is often repeated that the child shall not be burnt at the altar of Moloch. While no bones whiten to-day the Valley of Hinom, in Jerusalem, we cannot claim that the Moloch has to-day no altar and no shrines on this wide globe. Mines and mills, factories and fields are worshipping that old hideous idol and in the service of him, which is the service of selfishness, child life is sacrificed without concern, further than in calculation that it is profitable, in the sense in which profits are reckoned in business and in the market; but even in terms of commercial success child labor is most expensive. It is short sighted to claim that sound business principles are in favor of consuming these children at the shrine of the Moloch of commercial success. Our hill tops are bared to-day, and why? Because of our short sighted policy we have acted on the principle that the present generation need have no thought of those that come after. '*Après nous le deluge*;' if the deluge come after us what do we care, and we will engage in robber tactics, in countenancing the burning of children at the shrine of Moloch.

"These children are the future men and women; as they are so will be the nation. Stunted in their growth, deprived of mental development, immoralized, their souls touched by the fires of lust, their sense of human decency burnt away, these children will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation, and we all can easily foresee the result. Whatever be our policy of life, whether we believe that selfishness is finally decisive in the struggle that wages in every field of human activity, whether we believe that there is a higher law of responsibility that cannot be ignored, and if ignored will visit dire retribution on those that ignore it, or whether a tender sentiment touch our heart, we must, from whatever point of view we approach this question, agree that this Moloch service of children with the smoking fires and burning mines shall cease, and the sooner the better. Good business policy, good patriotism, humanity and submission to the highest law of morality demand that it shall cease."

The other addresses of the evening, by Professor Adler, Mr. Frost, Professors Lindsay and Taylor and Miss Addams, are all, except that of Professor Adler, published in full in this volume. The Committee of Arrangements for the Chicago meeting was composed of the following persons: Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Edgar T. Davies, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Stanley McCormick, Graham Taylor, Mrs. Harriet M. Van der Vaart.

At the closing session in Washington the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the National Child Labor Committee, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, made a statement to the effect that about \$20,000 per annum would be necessary to carry on the propaganda planned by the National Committee. He spoke of the interest manifested by those who have written or who have sent money from quarters from which it was not expected. He

said that he believed that this amount of money and much more could be spent effectively in helping to lighten the burdens of childhood, and that it would come back many fold in the future. He closed with an appeal to those who are interested in this subject to enlist the active co-operation of every worker, and, if possible, of those who can give of their substance to the financial support of the work of the National Committee and of the several state and local committees.

Civic Organizations and Municipal Parties

A Symposium on

Reform Organizations in

Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, New Orleans,
Minneapolis, Kansas City, Mo., Denver, Los Angeles, Seattle.

PHILADELPHIA

CITY PARTY.

By WILLIAM CLARK MASON, ESQ.

On the 7th of last November the fusion forces in Philadelphia, led by the City Party, after a campaign such as had never before been seen in our city, polled 148,000 votes against 100,000 cast for the regular Republican organization, the candidates of the City Party being elected by a clear majority of 48,000 votes.

As soon as the "Organization" had recovered from the shock of defeat, the prophets found their voice, and it was very generally stated that this victory for the City Party was the result of a spasm on the part of the public, and that before very long the eminently respectable citizens would go to sleep, and the "Organization" would come to its own again. But for once the prophets misjudged the sentiment of the people. The organization of the City Party successfully withstood the temptations which come with victory, and maintained intact its membership in the various wards.

The municipal election which was held on the 20th of this past February was the anniversary of the first contest in which the City Party engaged, and was regarded by all to be the test of the strength of the City Party. At this time there was nothing unusual to arouse the interest of the voters; there were none of the dramatic elements present which attended the November campaign, and the managers of the Republican organization predicted a victory of at least forty thousand for their candidates. The offices to be filled were those of Magistrate, to be elected by the city at large; members

of Select Councils in sixteen wards; members of Common Councils in eleven wards; school directors and election officers in all of the forty-three wards of the city. In those wards where there was a councilmanic contest an energetic campaign was waged, and in some wards where the school directors presented the only issue the lines between the City Party and the Republican organization were clearly drawn—but in none of the wards was there the same personal interest of all the independent voters that was shown in the November campaign. The burden of carrying on the February fight fell upon the "workers" of the City Party in the several divisions. The campaign lasted about four weeks, and instead of red fire and sensational newspaper support which aided much in November there was the sober personal argument of the earnest adherents of the City Party, interested in obtaining the proper type of men as municipal servants. When the polls had closed and the votes were counted, in spite of the fact that the total vote cast was less by 50,000 than it was in November, the candidate for Magistrate on the City Party ticket received a majority of 11,000 over the candidate of the Republican organization. Out of sixteen Select Councilmen to be elected the City Party elected eight, and also elected eight Common Councilmen out of the thirteen voted for, in addition to 234 school directors out of a total of 516.

In February, 1905, the City Party failed to carry a single ward; in November, 1905, the candidates of the City Party carried twenty-eight wards, while in the recent election the City Party carried eighteen wards for school directors and twenty-two wards for Magistrate. The most important feature of the victory, however, is that the City Party elected the majority or minority election officer in nearly every one of the eleven hundred election divisions in the city, thus ensuring an honest conduct of elections for the period of at least one year. The control of the elections boards has been the source of greatest power for corruption and fraud on the part of the Republican organization in the past, and with this element of strength eliminated from the "Organization," it only remains for the independent citizens to cast their votes at the ensuing elections to assure the election of the candidates of the people.

The success of the City Party in February means that the victory in November was not a mere outburst of enthusiasm due to the emotions of a day and the glare of red lights. It means that the people of Philadelphia have seriously and soberly expressed their will that the government of our city shall be retained in the hands of the citizens, and that the public servants shall represent their constituents and not a group of public service corporations or municipal contractors.

The effect of this second victory of the City Party will be shown when the City Councils organize in April, and from present indications it would seem likely that, although the Councilmen elected by the City Party are in the minority in both branches of Councils, the president of both branches will be elected from the supporters of the City Party. The fact that this is possible shows that members of the old organization appreciate that the

people are aroused and will insist that their will be obeyed. It means that once more the people shall have a government which shall be representative of the majority instead of the minority, and that the day is not far distant when every citizen shall be an active participant in the government of the municipality of which he is a member. The result will be a higher type of public officials, more intelligent legislation, and more efficient administration of all departments of the government, to the betterment of the moral and physical welfare of the entire community.

BALTIMORE

a REFORM LEAGUE.

b MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By SOLOMON BLUM, Johns Hopkins University.

Baltimore's political position, while not unique among our large cities, is certainly unusual in that the question of corruption in our civic life has not been predominant for the last decade or more, nor has any new problem such as municipal ownership assumed sufficient proportions to cause the formation of a municipal party antagonistic to the two old parties. The interest has shifted to a great degree from the political to the economic field. As a consequence, civic organizations and third parties do not play the conspicuous part in Baltimore's political life that they do in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

In every municipal campaign within recent years citizens' organizations have been formed either by the party machines or by Independent Democrats, Independent Republicans or by "Simon Pure" Independents for the purpose of aiding some candidate or measure. Frequently their campaigns are carried on with great vigor through the press, by public meeting and by direct canvass of the voters.

After the elections these organizations disband. At times they have exerted considerable influence. In the recent election the Democratic Anti-Amendment Association opposed the proposed constitutional amendment which was being fathered by the Democratic organization, and was one of the potent factors in its overwhelming defeat. In the elections which resulted in the passage of the bills authorizing the issue of municipal bonds an organization of Independents was influential.

The Baltimore Reform League, which I described in some detail in the March, 1905, *ANNALS*, is supposed to be entirely non-partisan. It is a small compact organization composed of many of the most valued citizens of Baltimore, and maintains its influence because the great body of the citizens believe in the sincerity of its purposes and have confidence in the men who are at its head. The chief work of the league at present is to investigate the

qualifications of judges of elections and to bring before the Supervisors of elections the results of its labors.

It is probable that if any crisis in our political situation should arise this body would become, as it has been in the past, the nucleus for the independent movement in the city. At present any positive policy which it may have has been subordinated to its efforts to promote pure elections.

The Municipal League of Baltimore was organized in February, 1905. Its purpose is somewhat similar to that of the reform leagues. Its methods are different, however. A call was issued to one hundred citizens supposed to represent the various elements of our population irrespective of political affiliation. The attempt was then made to enlist the support of as many voters as possible by the circulation of petitions. As no obligation was incurred by signing this petition, the number of signers was not in any sense an adequate index of the league's strength. The league then started an investigation of the councilmanic candidates of both parties; and in an elaborate report given to the press the qualifications of the candidates were set forth. In the primaries which followed the league was not as influential as its organizers had hoped it to be. And in the election the results were not more promising for its future influence. It is too early, perhaps, to state with certainty either the future policy or influence of the league.

There are two reasons which make the formation of a municipal party particularly difficult. In recent years, owing either to the improved election laws or to an actual increase in numbers, the Republican party has been able to make a vigorous contest both for the Mayoralty and for members of the Council. In two instances it elected its Mayoralty candidate, and in the last campaign the result had to be decided by the courts. This has put both parties upon their mettle, and has prevented the evils of one-party domination which have afflicted other cities. This, too, has made the independent voter a factor to be counted on and catered to by both parties. The most distinctive feature in our municipal life is the importance of the negro vote. Of all our large cities Baltimore has, next to Washington, the largest negro population in the country, and by far the largest effective negro voting population. Of the registered voters October, 1904, there were, of a total of 119,271, 17,880 negroes, or about 15 per cent. of the registered vote. This vote is almost solidly Republican and the most immobile of any class of the population. No third party could hope to change the allegiance of the negro vote. As a consequence, any such party would be looked upon by the Democrats, who might otherwise have been attracted to it, as an adjunct to the Republicans, and, in fact, it would be so. It seems, therefore, that unless both of the present parties become hopelessly corrupt or incompetent or the demand for some special reform as municipal ownership becomes crystallized into a great civic desire which both parties refuse to satisfy, the prospect for the success of a municipal party is decidedly remote.

BUFFALO

a REFERENDUM LEAGUE.

b MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By ROBERT S. BINKERD, Secretary Municipal League of Buffalo.

The Municipal and Referendum Leagues took an active part in the municipal election of last November. The Referendum League ran three unsuccessful independent candidates for Alderman, and secured the submission on the voting machines of the question, "Shall the City of Buffalo own a municipal electric lighting and power plant?" About 12 per cent. of the citizens voted on the proposition, four-fifths of the vote cast being in the affirmative.

The Municipal League followed the well-known Chicago plan and ran no independent candidates, but investigated and published the records of party candidates. Of twelve candidates for Alderman recommended six were elected. Notable victories were secured in the defeat of two boodle candidates for nomination in the Sixth and Twenty-fifth Wards, while in the final election an indicted boodle Alderman in the Fifth Ward was defeated. The greatest victory, however, was the defeat of "Honest John" Martin, of the Twentieth Ward, one of the worst figures in the Common Council. His former plurality of 656 was changed to defeat by 45 votes.

Out of thirteen candidates for supervisor recommended six were elected, and at the primaries the former leader of the Republican gang was defeated for renomination. The independent conduct of the new supervisors has had a tonic effect on that board.

The league set out to elect one assessor and to defeat another, and succeeded. The recommended candidate received the highest vote cast, 39,000, and the condemned candidate the lowest vote cast, 23,000.

For Councilman the league recommended only two candidates, one of whom received the highest Councilmanic vote cast, the other running at the head of the Republican Councilmanic candidates. Both of the league's recommendations for morning justice were elected by large majorities.

No attempt has been made to organize a distinctly municipal party. The idea of independent voting in municipal elections is just beginning to take hold of Buffalo, which is not yet sufficiently awakened. The presence of about 80,000 Poles and 20,000 Italians creates a serious problem, while the large German vote moves slowly to independent action.

The Municipal League is a permanent organization, carefully watches the work of the city and county governments, keeps up to date the records of all officials, and stands ready at any time to crystalize public sentiment and action against bad measures.

CINCINNATI

a CITIZENS' MUNICIPAL PARTY.

b HONEST ELECTION COMMITTEE.

By MAX B. MAY, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The only city organization that has participated actively in municipal elections is the Citizens' Municipal Party, which was organized in the spring of 1903 in the municipal election of that year, nominating a municipal ticket. That party was supported by the Democratic organization, but the ticket was not successful. The Citizens' Municipal Party aims to be entirely independent and to bring about a total separation of national, state and municipal politics, but owing to the fact that in 1904 the spring elections which had heretofore occurred in Ohio were abolished and the elections this year were held on the same day that the state and county elections took place, the Citizens' Party as such was unable to nominate a ticket of its own, and therefore co-operated with a Democratic party by endorsing the municipal ticket, which was successful.

On November 7, 1905, there took place in Cincinnati one of the most important elections in her history. For many years past the city and county have been under the domination of the Republican machine. In the spring of 1903 there was nominated against the Republican city ticket the Citizens' municipal ticket, which was defeated by a majority of 15,000. In the county and city election in the fall of 1903, and in the Presidential election of 1904, the Republican majority in the county was so large that there seemed little hope of dislodging the machine. So confident were the Republican leaders that, during the legislative session of 1904, there was passed a bill abolishing spring city elections and providing that the next city election should take place in the fall of 1905. In Hamilton county there was nominated in the last week of September the usual city and county ticket. The leaders of the City Municipal Party, seeing that the only chance of success lay in the nomination of a strong Democratic ticket, wisely agreed to lend its support to this ticket. One of the strongest Democrats in the city, Judge Edward J. Dempsey, was nominated for Mayor. At the time of the nomination it seemed almost of an herculean task to overcome the Republican majority of 1904, which amounted to 42,000 in the county and some 36,000 in the city. However, all friends of good government united in this great task, and a victorious and aggressive campaign was begun. The Republican organization did nothing. The Times-Star and the Commercial-Tribune and the Republican German papers made a vigorous campaign on behalf of the ticket. The only support the Democratic ticket received in the way of active campaign work was from the Evening Post and the Citizens' Bulletin, a small weekly that has appeared regularly since the spring of 1903. The prospects did not seem the brightest, but when the citizens of Cincinnati, Sunday morning, October 21, read in the Cincinnati Enquirer (the only morning paper in Cincinnati that carried the speech in full) the great speech of

the Secretary of War, Honorable William H. Taft, that had been delivered the day before at Akron, Ohio, in which he stated that if he were in Cincinnati he would vote against the Cox municipal ticket, every one felt that the knell of the Cox reign had been sounded. From that time on the work in favor of the Democratic ticket became more aggressive, and it was in the air that Judge Dempsey and the entire Democratic ticket would win. At the election held in November last this prediction was verified, Judge Dempsey being elected by a majority of nearly 7000, and the county ticket, with the exception of Probate Judge, was elected by a majority of 6000; the Republican state ticket only carried Hamilton county by majorities of less than 500.

The defeat of the Cox machine is not entirely complete, because the City Council is still Republican, but there are not enough Republican votes to override the Mayor's veto.

Of course, the question now asked by every one is what will the Democrats do with their victory? This remains to be seen. The Legislature that meets in January next, though Republican by a small majority in the House, will be called upon to enact some very important remedial legislation, such as a new ballot law. An effort will be made to have the state adopt the pure Australian ballot. Should this be done, the friends of the ballot and of good government expect to repeal the Dana law, which prohibits the candidate's name from appearing more than once on the ballot. The Legislature will also be called upon to enact a civil service bill for the state, county and city, and the local branch of the National Civil Service Reform League is now preparing such a bill.

Two important constitutional amendments were adopted at the November election—the one exempting from taxation all bonds of the state of Ohio, bonds of any city, village, hamlet, county or township in the state, and bonds issued in behalf of the public schools of Ohio and the amount of instruction in connection therewith, and the other amendment provides that hereafter municipal elections shall be in odd years and county and state elections in even years. The adoption of this amendment will give the Ohio cities a separate municipal election.

The Citizens' Municipal Party, now that municipal elections are to be held in odd years by constitutional amendment, is endeavoring to organize on a permanent basis. It is securing pledges from citizens generally to become members of the party whose platform is total separation of state and national from city politics and the nomination of candidates solely upon merit. This party has an executive committee, and its leaders publish a weekly paper devoted to its cause called the "Citizens' Bulletin."

The maintenance of a distinctively municipal party is particularly difficult in this city, because the regular election machinery is in the hands of the central committee of the two dominant parties, parties which are national in scope, and under the existing election laws it is impossible for a purely municipal party to have its ticket placed upon the official ballot without presenting petitions properly signed as required by law. Then, again, the local press, with one exception, has given no support whatever to a dis-

tinatively municipal party, and heretofore the public at large has to some extent been so terrorized by the local machine that the majority of people were afraid to come out publicly in support of any movement opposed to the machine.

During the last campaign the Honest Election Committee was organized and did effective work. This committee has prepared important legislation which has already been introduced into the legislature, and when adopted will remove many of the difficulties which now stand in the way of independent movement. It is too early to state whether or not such movement will be successful. This legislation contemplates the Massachusetts ballot law, the direct primary law, a new registration law, a corrupt practice law and also the repeal of the Dana law, which prevents a candidate's name appearing more than once on the official ballot. Without some change in the election laws it will be extremely difficult for an independent municipal movement to succeed permanently.

PITTSBURGH

VOTERS' CIVIC LEAGUE.

By TENSARD DE WOLFE, Secretary Voters' Civic League, Pittsburgh, Pa.

On February 20th Pittsburgh elected as Mayor George W. Guthrie. He is a Democrat in national politics, but his election was made possible by the support of the independent element. This is a decisive victory for the independent voters of Pittsburgh. It also means the end of the present Republican machine in this city. A reorganization will be necessary, and it is believed that it will be headed by a better element than has heretofore taken part in political affairs.

The present reform victory, which is complete and substantial, comes after four years of constant political warfare. In 1902 the old Republican machine, which had ruled the city for twenty years, was overthrown. But the new machine was just as bad as the old, and its three years of administration were no improvement on the past. Mr. Guthrie was nominated for Mayor by the independent element, and through various political deals all the machine bosses—both new and old—were arrayed against him. Thus the independent victory was complete. Mr. Guthrie is a man of the highest character, wide experience, large ability.

Several independent municipal parties have been formed in Pittsburgh to meet the needs of the occasion. None of them have been permanent, although they may have lasted through one or more campaigns. They were formed along distinctively municipal lines. They have had the support of the best element in the city, and had much to do with the present independent victory.

The only permanent organization looking forward to a betterment of civic conditions is the Voters' Civic League. It takes no other part, however,

in active politics than investigating and reporting on candidates for city and county offices. Its work has been very effective, and the league in the future must be reckoned with by political parties.

Pittsburgh has suffered much from machine rule, but from the recent mayoralty election it is apparent that the honest voters of the community have discovered that they can elect their own officers. For the future it is believed that no machine will be able to entrench itself so substantially that it cannot be dislodged.

NEW ORLEANS

a CITIZENS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

b CITIZENS' LEAGUE.

By JAMES J. McLOUGHLIN, New Orleans, La.

The reform element in municipal elections in New Orleans has been spasmodic in its manifestations. The city being overwhelmingly Democratic in its politics, of course all reform movements to be successful must be within the party, and whenever they have succeeded, they have worked in line with the principles of the national Democratic party.

In 1888 the first reform movement of any consequence began; it was organized under the name of the "Young Men's Democratic Association," was formed within the party, and was composed principally of citizens of means and influence. Their organization was throughout the entire city, and was in a sense semi-military in this, that armed guards were used at all polls where trouble was anticipated, to ensure an honest count of the votes. The election was won by the reformers, and their government controlled the city for four years. This "Young Men's Democratic Association" was purely a local affair, taking no part in state or national politics, and during the four years of its office-holding it lost most of its virility through inaction on the part of the better element of citizens of the city, and in 1892 one of the worst municipal tickets ever known was put before the people by the regular party and was elected.

This administration had not been in office very long before rumors of corruption were in the air. A franchise was granted to a railroad company to run its tracks through one of the most aristocratic residence avenues of the city. The franchise was of enormous value and covered some of the most valuable and influential sections of the city. The people were aroused at this grant on the part of the Council, and demands were made for the repeal of the ordinance. Immediately the "Citizens' Protective Association" took the matter up, and almost the entire Council was indicted, some of them being sent to the penitentiary. The Mayor was impeached before the court, but the court acquitted him on the ground that what he had done was done upon the advice of his counsel. The association, which was formed primarily

to punish these corrupt officials, grew in numbers, and was converted into the "Citizens' League," which led the next reform movement, in 1896.

It was carefully organized, with a central body and branches in each ward. Wealthy citizens contributed large sums of money, and as the months passed by it was seen that this association had gotten control of many of the wards of the city. The evidence of corruption brought out in the trials of the Councilmen and Mayor no doubt contributed largely to the success of the "Citizens' League."

In the election of 1896 the league elected twenty-seven of the thirty City Councilmen and all of its usual ticket.

Its plan of organization was, while nominally independent of both parties, still to retain the support of both. In this election of 1896 the "Citizens' League" carried the city of New Orleans for the Legislature, and its members in the Legislature secured a new city charter, which was a vast improvement upon the old one. As the state election was a close one, the Republican candidates coming within a few thousand votes (some say even closer than that) of being elected, the independents sought to elect a United States Senator, and came within one vote of electing their man to the United States Senate. This was their greatest achievement outside of the municipal government.

They controlled the city for four years, from 1896 to 1900, and it is agreed by all parties that the "Citizens' League" administration was the best ever known in the history of New Orleans. This administration carried into execution the sewerage and drainage scheme, by which the city of New Orleans will spend \$16,000,000 under a non-partisan board for sewerage and water.

An attempt was made to make this "Citizens' League" a permanent independent movement. The league was incorporated; but towards the end of its administration politics began to creep in, and the leader of the league, who successfully led it through a victorious campaign, deserted its colors, and, with a number of followers, went over to the regular Democratic party. This, and a widespread belief amongst a large number of people that the "Citizens' League" Mayor was in sympathy with certain corporations, contributed materially to the defeat of the league in 1900. Again, in 1904, an independent movement, including some of the old reform element, took up the municipal campaign, but the regular party was so well organized, and the people were so generally apathetic, that the result was a complete victory for the regulars. Since then nothing has been done to organize a distinct reform movement, although several suggestions have been made by various prominent citizens.

One peculiarity of the local situation which makes it difficult to organize a successful reform movement is our poll tax law. Under the laws of Louisiana no one can vote unless he has paid poll taxes for the two preceding years. In other words, in order to take part in the elections of 1906, he must have paid his poll taxes for 1904 and 1905 during those two years; he cannot pay them after the last day of the year for which they are levied.

Consequently, citizens have to prepare themselves two years in advance in order to be legal voters. Many of our most prominent citizens neglect to pay this poll tax and, consequently, are disqualified from voting. The president of the cotton exchange the other day was pronounced ineligible for election to a State Financial Board because he had not paid his poll tax for 1904. The result of this is that when some great popular movement arises, the citizens who compose it find themselves in a position where they cannot vote, because they neglected to pay their poll tax.

At present the great era of material prosperity which seems to prevail in New Orleans has taken possession of the better element of the city, and they take little part in politics, and the regular ward politicians have no opposition to their schemes of government.

Nevertheless, and beyond it all, I believe that our present municipal government is less corrupt than that of almost any of the large cities, and, as for actual bribery, I think that has passed away with the great victory of the "Citizens' League" when it drove out of office, and to the penitentiary, the corrupt officials of that day.

Our present City Council, while not to be compared with the "Citizens' League" government of eight years ago, is nevertheless a fairly good working one, and I think it is doing all it can, hampered as it is by its traditions and the manner in which it was chosen, to give the people of New Orleans a fairly good system of municipal rule.

MINNEAPOLIS

VOTERS' LEAGUE.

By S. P. JONES, Secretary Voters' League, Minneapolis, Minn.

Only one civic organization participated in the last municipal election in Minneapolis, that of 1904—the Minneapolis Voters' League.

This is an organization enlisted for practical and permanent effort for good municipal government in Minneapolis and Hennepin county. It works along exclusively non-partisan lines and confines its activities to the election of members of the City Council and the Board of County Commissioners, limiting its work chiefly to the investigation of the records and qualifications of candidates and publication of the same to the world through the local papers. The league co-operates with all existing party organizations, endorsing and supporting for nomination and election the men who, regardless of their party affiliations, are, in its judgment, best qualified for public service.

The Voters' League is a strongly centralized organization. Its immediate sponsors were sixty-five prominent business and professional men of Minneapolis. From this number an executive committee of seven was selected to shape the policy and to direct the details of the work. This committee is self-perpetuating and wholly independent of all direction from any source.

It reports only to the public. The original sixty-five members, known as the advisory committee, never meet as a committee. Individual members are called in consultation with the executive committee as their services are needed. There is an associate membership of about 500, made up of those who have by card expressed approval of the purposes of the organization.

The league is a permanent organization, keeping constant watch of municipal affairs within its jurisdiction, and at the conclusion of a campaign beginning immediate preparations for the next one. It rarely seeks to direct legislation in either city or county government.

No attempt has been made in Minneapolis to organize a distinctively municipal party. There has been very little sentiment for such a move, the prevailing opinion being that, with the large independent vote in this community, better results can be reached by the plan of the league to raise the standard of the respective party nominees by organizing disinterested citizens for the support of the best qualified men, irrespective of their party brand. We have found that a large share of the voters will choose rightly, if given proper direction from a reliable and disinterested source. The direct primary system in Minnesota gives such an organization the opportunity to take an active part also in the selection of the party nominees.

The local issues have not, up to date, been sufficiently clean cut, or the situation in the dominant parties so discouraging, as to necessitate the formation of a distinctively municipal party. The large independent vote tends to keep up the standard of candidates as well as of official performance.

KANSAS CITY

CIVIC LEAGUE.

By ALLAN O. HARRISON, Secretary Kansas City Civic League.

The Kansas City Civic League was organized in the fall of 1901, and incorporated under the laws of Missouri January 11, 1902. The purpose of the league is to "secure the nomination and election of aggressively honest and capable men to all city, township and county offices." The conditions which called for the civic league were: a generally demoralized city government, failure to enforce the law, graft, election frauds, incompetency of appointees, and indifference of good people to these things.

The plan of the league is to investigate the character and fitness of candidates for local offices and issue a report to the public, urging the election of those found worthy, and the defeat of those found unworthy, regardless of political party. After the election the league watches the conduct of those elected to office, and before the expiration of their term the league issues another report covering their official conduct. At the last two local elections it was noted that fully three-fourths of the League's recommendations had been followed by the voters.

The chief obstacles we have found in the way of electing high grade officials have been spoils, politics and election frauds. We have sought to remove the former by advocating civil service, and the latter by aiding in the prosecution of those found violating the election laws. Through the efforts of the league three men have recently been convicted and sentenced to two years each in the penitentiary for election frauds.

There is no distinctively municipal party in Kansas City. The two leading national parties are strongly intrenched in local elections, and there has been little or no effort to start a municipal party. The chief difficulties in the way of a purely municipal party are: First, the strong allegiance to one of the other of the national parties, which has amounted to a reverence with many Missouri voters in the past; and, second, the form of ballot used in Missouri. Each party has a separate ballot, and thousands of voters cast their ballots, not according to the merits of the candidates, but according to the caption of the ballot. This form of ballot is also conducive to vote buying. The Civic League is advocating the abolishment of the separate ballot or party column and the substitution of the single ballot, with the names of all candidates for each office under the designation of that office.

The Civic League is the only civic organization in the city that participates actively in municipal elections. During its early efforts the League was ignored by the politicians, but later they came to respect it, and candidates now respond promptly to the questions put to them by the league for information. The league is generally recognized as a power for good, and a large number of voters look forward regularly to the league's report as a guide for voting.

DENVER

LEAGUE FOR HONEST ELECTIONS.

By JAMES H. CAUSEY, Denver, Col.

The only civic organization which has taken an active part in our elections has been the League for Honest Elections.

This organization has not co-operated with any political party, but has devoted itself entirely to the work of purging our city of election frauds. The plan of organization was the simple one of forming fifteen men into a non-partisan body, with a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. It opened a permanent office, which it has maintained until this time, by having an office secretary and keeping the public in touch with its progress. It did not attempt to organize a municipal party for the reason that the field is pretty well covered by the two principal national parties. The flood of light which it threw on our election situation resulted in the arrest and conviction of many of the tricksters. A new registration law has been obtained from the Legislature which we think will be of great benefit hereafter.

The work of the League for Honest Elections is now being supplanted

by the State Voters' League along the lines of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, which will attempt to bring pressure to bear on both parties to nominate good men.

LOS ANGELES

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

By C. D. WILLARD, Secretary Municipal League, Los Angeles, Cal.

Los Angeles, California, is a thoroughly American city of from 175,000 to 200,000 population. It is normally Republican about two to one. There are 108 precincts in the city. At the last Presidential election Roosevelt carried 107 of these, his total majority being 13,000. One month later a municipal election was held, at which the Democratic nominee for street superintendent, endorsed by the Municipal League, carried 104 out of the 108 precincts. The Republican candidate secured the nomination fairly and was supported by the party organization. He and his friends put up a courageous fight, but went down to defeat with the overwhelming majority of 9,500 votes against him. This vote would seem to indicate that about half the electors of Los Angeles are prepared to vote independently of party nominations.

Up to 1896 there was no organized independent movement in Los Angeles, although a strong independent tendency showed at times in municipal and county affairs. The municipal election occurs every two years, just one month after the national or state and county elections (alternating). This arrangement is not much better than the simultaneous holding of the city and national elections. The partisan activity and enthusiasm stirred up by the larger issues is still in force when the municipal battle comes on, and nominations for city offices are often used as trading material in the county, state and national conventions.

In 1896 an organization known as the "League for Better City Government" came into existence, with an active membership of several hundred and an allied membership of about 6,000. The latter was obtained by taking signatures of citizens who would pledge themselves to the principle of non-partisan voting. All these signers were allowed to participate in a ballot through the mail. In this way a direct primary vote was secured and vacancies in the ticket (where there was no majority) were filled in by a convention of delegates chosen through this same postal primary. Several independent nominations were made, but for the most part the nominees of the regular organizations were endorsed. The result was the most satisfactory Council the city ever had, and the suppression of a systematic graft that had been carried on for years in the Board of Education. The league, however, went out of existence before the next municipal election was held.

The present Municipal League was established in the fall of 1901, with a resolve to "keep out of politics," and devote itself to civic improvement. It

passed the election of 1902, but by 1904 the bad condition of the city's streets brought the organization in direct conflict with the street superintendent, and a protest was entered against his renomination. The outcome of this contest is narrated above. At the same time the league advocated the election of a non-partisan school board, and secured the nomination of seven men of high standing for membership in that body. These were refused by the Republican convention, but accepted by the Democrats. They were elected by 3,000 majority against the Republican nominees. The remainder of the city ticket was left to itself. Most of the administrative offices were excellent, but the Council is very unsatisfactory.

Possibly by the time the next municipal election occurs the members of the league will be prepared to order that organization to take a hand in the contest. The league has procured an amendment to the city charter whereby the next election will be for a three years' term. This brings subsequent elections to non-political years, with an increase, it is believed, of the strength of the independent sentiment.

SEATTLE

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP LEAGUE.

By Prof. J. ALLEN SMITH, University of Washington.

There is at present an active sentiment here in favor of municipal reform. Seattle, like other rapidly growing cities, has learned something of the power of public utility corporations to defeat the will of the people. The subserviency of the City Council to the street railway and allied interests and its disposition to grant new privileges to these corporations without exercising such power as it now possesses to ensure adequate service, has awakened the people to the fact that something must be done to protect their interests. The opposition to these evils has within the last few weeks crystallized in a municipal ownership movement, or rather two movements—a municipal ownership league largely made up of business and professional men and a similar movement having its origin in and supported by the labor unions of the city. These two organizations have united in placing a municipal ownership ticket in the field, and are making an active campaign. It is probable that the Democrats will endorse the candidates of the municipal ownership party.

The platform adopted favors the direct nomination and the recall of public officials, and the prohibition of campaign contributions by public utility corporations. It opposes the grant of any franchise or other privilege except by direct vote of the people, and demands that no new franchise shall be granted to any street railway corporation, but that the city shall at once proceed to construct and operate a municipal system to supply the transportation facilities now badly needed in many parts of the city, which system shall be extended as the growth of the community may require.

The municipal ownership movement really began several years ago, when the city purchased the old water plant and built the present gravity system, which has proved to be a most satisfactory and profitable venture. Encouraged by the success of municipal ownership in this field, the people demanded and finally compelled the submission of a proposal to vote bonds for an electric light plant. The vote in favor of this was overwhelming, but, although the plant has been built, it has not yet become a serious competitor of the corporation which controls the distribution of light and power as well as the street railways. The extension of this municipal service to private consumers has been opposed and retarded in every way possible by the corporations, whose profits would be endangered by the active competition of a municipal plant.

The present municipal ownership movement here is in reality an effort to secure democracy. What the people want more than any thing else is a local government that will represent them rather than the public utility corporations.

Just what the local Republican machine will do remains to be seen. Its leaders have been consistent opponents of any thorough-going municipal ownership policy, but they now realize that some concessions must be made to public opinion before they can hope to win the support of a majority of the voters.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES.

Adams, G. B. *The History of England* (1066-1216). Vol. II of "The Political History of England." Pp. x, 473. Price, \$2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

The Charity Organization Society of New York. *Twenty-third Annual Report*. Pp. 230. New York, 1906. 105 East Twenty-second Street.

Such an annual report as this is worthy of note. We have not merely the customary accounts of the work of various committees, and of the several officers of the organization, but we have likewise some monographs written by experts in philanthropic work, which deserve general attention. For instance, twenty-three pages are devoted to a report of the Committee on Social Research, which gives very definite information regarding the work done for a large number of families which have come under the care of the society in recent years. Any student of such conditions will find in this report of Miss Lillian Brandt much information which he would have difficulty in getting elsewhere. There is likewise a report of an investigation in regard to the purchase and management of food by one hundred tenement house families, which is of decided interest. The work of the School of Philanthropy for the past year is given, together with a report of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

In the appendix are studies dealing with "Tuberculosis Among Negroes," "Lodging House Investigation," and an article telling of country employment for poor consumptives. It is impossible to do more for them in this bald way, to hint at the contents of this interesting volume, which may be obtained free, so long as the edition lasts, by sending ten cents to cover postage.

Crosby, O. T. *Tibet and Turkestan*. Pp. xviii, 332. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

D'Eichthal, E. *La Formation des Richesses et ses Conditions Sociales Actuelles*. Pp. xxvii, 456. Price, 7.50 fr. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

Denby, Charles. *China and Her People*. Two volumes. Pp. xvi, 256; viii, 276. Price, \$2.40. Boston: L. C. Page & Co., 1906.

The author, the late Colonel Charles Denby, was the United States Minister to China from 1885 to 1898. He kept his position at a time when partisan politics ran high and made a splendid record in face of many difficulties. Exceptional opportunities were his, therefore, to become acquainted with Chinese character. The present work is rather to be viewed as extracts from his journal than as a comprehensive attempt to describe China. It is an interpretation of recent events in China, as well as a description of native life.

It would seem that those Americans who continually depreciate the Chinese would ultimately awaken to the fact that all those who know the Chinese have a very high respect for them and a firm belief in their future. Colonel Denby is no exception. He admires them—and incidentally says our present policy of exclusion will cause us trouble, and he is strongly opposed to their exclusion from the island possessions.

The author begins with his appointment as Minister, tells of his life in China, of the diplomats, the government, the emperor and empress, the people and their habits, in the first volume. The second is devoted more specifically to present movements in China; the development of trade; China and the foreign powers; the Boxer uprising; the Russo-Japanese war, with a few chapters on America in the Far East; the development of a national spirit in China and the like.

The material is arranged in an interesting fashion. The books are readable and, more important, reliable. They give a good picture of China. The author speaks in high terms of the work of the missionaries. The publisher has done his part well. The volumes are very attractive and neat. The illustrations are many and good. They will be most acceptable to one who wishes to get a good idea of the Chinese.

Devine, Edward T. *Efficiency and Relief*. Pp. viii, 45. Price, 75 cents. New York: Macmillan Co., 1906.

Deserving of far more than passing notice is this little volume, which is a revised form of the inaugural address of the author, as Schiff Professor of Social Economy in Columbia University. For many years Dr. Devine has been known as one of the ablest of the men actually engaged in philanthropic work in the United States, and his call now, to possibly a wider field of usefulness in Columbia University, his position as Director of the School of Philanthropy, lends added interest to what he may suggest as a "Programme of Social Work." He seeks in this address to show how "Efficiency" and "Relief" may be brought in close relation, and to show how society, if it really faced its duty as regards the unfortunate, may help to work out the modern social ideal, "A nearer approach to equality of opportunity." The address, therefore, is a call to a direct concrete struggle with those elements in society which are hindering social welfare and not the vision of the doctrinaire. Those who are interested in these great problems of social advance will find this address most helpful and stimulating.

Dorsey, George A. *The Cheyenne*. Two volumes. Pp. lv, 186. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1905.

The author, who is Curator, Department of Anthropology of the Field Columbian Museum, has in these volumes given us a most interesting and valuable account of some of the social organizations of the Cheyenne Indians.

Volume I deals with the ceremonial organization and tells of the myths relative to the origin of the different societies and describes the ceremonies.

Volume II is devoted to the sun dance, and relates in extenso the preparations and methods of observance. Both volumes are illustrated, the second calling for special notice because of the very complete photographic reproductions of the ceremony of the sun dance.

Fleming, W. L. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*. Pp. xxiv, 815. Price, \$5.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1905.

See "Book Reviews."

From Servitude to Service. By Various Authors. Pp. xx, 232. Price, \$1.10. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905.

Taken all in all, this little volume will give the reader a better idea of the spirit and achievements of the educational institutions for the negroes than any other single work. Originally delivered as lectures in Boston, the chapters are of unequal merit and contain some irrelevant matter. Mr. Robert C. Ogden contributes the introduction. Professor Kelly Miller tells of Harvard University; President W. G. Frost, of Berea College; Professor R. C. Bruce, of Tuskegee Institute; Principal H. B. Frissell of Hampton; Professor W. E. B. Du Bois of Atlanta University, and President James G. Merrill of Fisk University. No one can fail to be impressed by the work done by these five institutions—and there are many others deserving of mention. By its freedom from the polemic spirit and by its adherence to actual facts and conditions, this book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of what is happening to the negro.

Garner, J. W., and Lodge, H. C. *The History of the United States*. Four vols. Philadelphia: J. D. Morris & Co., 1906.

Reserved for later notice.

George, Henry, Jr. *The Menace of Privilege*. Pp. xii, 421. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905.

An unusually powerful book. Mr. George has been fortunate in the choice of a title. He is equally happy in his thesis. If advancing society means, as is often said, the socialization of the achievements of the race, the main argument is unassailable. He goes beyond his father in that he emphasizes the danger of other privileges than those arising from control of land. There are four main classes of privilege: (1) Private ownership of natural opportunities; (2) tariff and other taxation on production and on its fruits;

(3) special government grants; (4) grants under general laws and immunities in the courts. The author makes "a study of the dangers to the republic from the existence of a favored class." He then traces the history of some of the wealthy families to show how the control of privileges has given them their wealth. Then he seeks to show how this involves a moral deterioration both of the privileged and those who suffer therefrom. He discusses in strong fashion the dangers arising from the control of the courts; from government by injunction; the growing use of the militia and army in strikes, etc. The effect of this increased control of the privileged classes is traced in national and municipal politics, and likewise in the increasing subserviency of the press, the university, the pulpit. Then Mr. George seeks to trace parallels with other civilizations to make plain the way we are travelling. This done, the remedy is suggested in the freeing of all natural opportunities and the abolition of all forms of privilege. The government should appropriate all economic rents by taxation. Then and then only can the trend of government be turned from centralization to more democratic decentralization.

One need not agree with all the conclusions of the author to profit by his arguments. The volume deserves careful study.

Gladden, Washington. *The New Idolatry*. Pp. viii, 263. Price, \$1.20. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1905.

No man in this country deserves a more respectful hearing on matters of social morality than the author. One does not have to agree to all that is said to appreciate the importance of the subjects discussed. The present volume is a collection of essays upon various topics, but all dealing with the growing commercialization of the country. The author says a deep religious revival, a new sense of social ethics are deeply needed. Money worship, power worship, class worship are the new idols. The author's recent protest against the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's donation to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions occupies a prominent place. The volume should be widely read.

Grinnell, William Morton. *Social Theories and Social Facts*. Pp. ix, 146. Price, \$1.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Nowadays it is comparatively rare to find any one holding so consistently a laissez faire policy as does the author in this little volume belonging to the "Questions of the Day" series. He thinks the facts squarely refute our popular notions. General conditions are better than they used to be and the per capita wealth is greater. It is to be expected that there should be greater fortunes. Political socialism would result in a form of slavery, but we are getting industrial socialism of a valuable type—widespread ownership of corporations. Competition is a chimera. We must respect economic laws and not seek to control trusts or corporations by the government. The owners will look out for them. Trades unionism is a growth of foreign origin very harmful to the independence of our laboring men. Conditions of life are easier. We discover difficulties, then pass new laws without regard

to real causes. Public ownership is a failure. The only equality the state can effect is on the scale of the least efficient people. Nature abhors equality.

Grunzel, Dr. Joseph. *System der Industriell politik*. Pp. vi, 393. Price, 8 m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Guilmard, E. *Reorganisation de la Bourse du Commerce*. Pp. 144. Price, 2 fr. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1906.

Hume, John T. *The Abolitionists*. Pp. vi, 224. Price, \$1.25. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The aim of the author was "to vindicate the character of a portion of the citizens of this country * * * from * * * the unmerited aspersions of a man who has since come into a position so conspicuous and influential that his condemnation necessarily carries with it a damaging effect." This person is President Roosevelt. The volume is, therefore, a defense rather than a study. We are told who the abolitionists were and something of their work. One chapter is devoted to Lincoln and Douglass; one to "Anti-slavery Women." Others deal with the underground railroad, mobs, the Missouri Compromise, anti-slavery martyrs, etc. In spite of its motif, the volume contains in accessible form much information concerning all these matters which will be of value to the student. The fact that the author was an active participant in the anti-slavery movement lends added weight to what he says.

Johnston, Alexander. *American Political History, 1763-1876*. Part I. Pp. xii, 446. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.
Reserved for later notice.

Kildare, Owen. *The Wisdom of the Simple*. Pp. 353. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: F. H. Revell Company, 1905.

Of more value than many ordinary sociological studies, and far more interesting reading, is this story of the development of a strong, good man from the street gamin of lower New York City. The villain is a country lad of good instincts grown sour because of neglect, and becomes a criminal and a politician. Except that the transformation of the district is a bit too sudden, the story rings true to life. Mr. Kildare knows his subject, and many a reader will here get a true insight into real facts of life among the poorer workers of a great city—and enjoy at the same time the literary skill of the writer.

Kirkbride, F. B., and Sterrett, J. E. *The Modern Trust Company*. Pp. xii, 309. Price, \$2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.
See "Book Reviews."

Knapp, George Frederick. *State Theory of Money*. Pp. 396. Price, 8.80 m. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1905.

First Chapter.—Theory of Money—Payments—Gold and Metal. Second Chapter.—Regulation of Money Values at Home. Third Chapter.—Interchange of Money with Foreign Countries. Fourth Chapter.—A Survey According to Countries—England—France—German Empire, Austria from 1857 to 1892; Austria from 1892 to 1900.

An interesting and exhaustive treatise on money and monetary values. In the first chapter the theory and history of money as a circulating medium is fully discussed. The author holds the view that money, like any other commodity, is fixed by the law of supply and demand. Gold is subject to fewer fluctuations in value than any other commodity known, hence is the best. In exactly the degree in which the value of money is unstable it ceases to be a trustworthy standard of value. The change in the value of legal tender; the fixing of legal tender according to new values; the fixing of new value in accordance with old standards are all free acts of political power. The practical man is a metallist, the theoretical man a nominalist. A full history of bimetallism is given, with different theories in its favor. The author is a monometallist.

Lang, Andrew. *The Secret of the Totem*. Pp. x, 215. Price, \$3.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Mr. Lang has already given us in his *Social Origins* his views on the subject of totemism and the tabus which are everywhere associated with the totemic system for the regulation of savage society. The present work is an amplification of the same theory, which does not differ fundamentally from that of several other writers, though much credit is due to Mr. Lang for bringing together in this volume a great deal of material in support of the argument. Totems originated, according to Mr. Lang's theory, in the efforts of primitive human groups to distinguish each other by names which would be easily expressed by sign or gesture, and, therefore, readily communicated. The name so applied was always that of an animal or plant, and, having been adopted by the group to which it was originally applied as a sobriquet, its origin was forgotten, and the belief arose that there was an actual blood relationship between the members of a group and the animal or plant bearing the same name as the group—that is to say, the totem. The mystical relationship having once been established and its sacred character avowed, a system of tabus was introduced, in harmony with these ideas, and among them the prohibition of marriage between persons having the same totem, hence totemic exogamy.

Le Roy, James A. *Philippine Life in Town and Country*. Pp. x, 311. Price, \$1.20. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

This is one of the best interpretations of the Filipino yet offered to American readers. The author, now American Consul at Durango, Mexico, was for two years connected with the United States Philippine Commission. The

result is a very sympathetic account of the life of the natives which is singularly free from prejudice. In the almost universal denunciation of Spanish misrule, it is pleasant to read that in the first part of her domination of the Philippines Spain accomplished "what no other European nation has ever done in the Orient, and did it without crushing the people under her heel." As a result there has been a development of the people, and a real middle class was supporting the revolt of 1896. In a most interesting way, aided by many illustrations, the author tells of the people, racial divisions, methods of life in town and country, discusses the complex religious question, notes the effect of education and considers the opportunities and needs of the present. Next to the educational program, the suppression of the political activity of the Friars is considered the strongest card played by the United States. The chief obstacle to social and political progress is the power of the cacique or "boss." The chapter dealing with this system is particularly good. The author has little patience with the "colonial experts" who condemn all tropical countries and Oriental peoples to perpetual inferiority. He sees certain very hopeful signs for the future, though he does not hesitate to point out some discouraging features of the situation. One who wishes a well-balanced review of conditions in the islands will find it in this little volume, which belongs in the series, "Our Asiatic Neighbors," issued by Putnams.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Pierre. *The United States in the Twentieth Century*. Pp. xxvi, 396. Price, \$2.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1906. It is not too much to say that this is one of the three or four most important books yet written by Europeans to give to fellow-citizens an idea of the United States and its possibilities. The author is the son of the well known French publicist, Leroy-Beaulieu.

The present volume is the authorized translation by Mr. H. Addington Bruce of the French edition. The information it contains will not be new to American readers, although we have very few books which cover the field so carefully and completely as does this.

The volume is divided into four parts: the first dealing with the country and its people, containing a discussion of the physical environment and the make-up of the population, the race question, and a study of birth-rates; Part Two, dealing with rural America, discusses the great agricultural interests of the country, while in Part Three the same thing is done for the industrial developments, and Part Four is reserved for the discussion of the American railway system, foreign trade, and the American merchant marine.

For his evidence the author has relied partly upon personal observation, but largely upon the census and upon other official publications, which, while he admits their inaccuracies, he thinks give a fairly adequate idea of the situation as a whole. He believes most profoundly that America is destined to play an enormous part in the movements of the "Twentieth Century," basing his belief not merely upon the stock of the American people, but also upon the enormous natural advantages possessed by the country. He does

not believe we have reached the final solution of many of our great problems; for instance, he thinks the "trust" but a passing phenomenon, which cannot permanently endure. He sees likewise a certain depression to our democratic life in proposals to extend the sphere of the state in ways which would reduce the liberty of the citizens. However, he believes that Americans will learn how to solve these social problems, and even how to control the subject races in the newer possessions. He pays great compliments to the country and its people, which, let us hope, both deserve.

Although the information contained is not new, nevertheless Americans will get much profit from a careful reading of the book, and it is to be most heartily commended to our foreign friends who desire to get as accurate an idea of our great industrial development as it is possible to put in tangible form.

Moll, D. E. *Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.*

Druck und Verlag von Schultherz & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Seager, Henry Rogers. *Introduction to Economics.* Pp. xxii, 618. Price, \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1905.

That this work has so soon passed to its third edition is sufficient evidence of its cordial reception in American schools. In the present edition Professor Seager has found it advisable to add chapters on "Public Expenditures and Public Revenues" and "Taxation and Tax Reform in the United States," to render the book more acceptable to some who missed the discussion of "Public Finance." The chapter on "Production and Distribution" has been completely revised, and many minor changes have been made. In its improved form it will find more, even general, acceptance than it has hitherto had.

Tout, T. F. *History of England, 1216-1377.* Vol. III of the "Political History of England." Pp. xxiv, 496. Price, \$2.60. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Voth, H. R. *The Traditions of the Hopi.* Pp. 319. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1905.

For two years Mr. Voth was occupied in collecting these traditions "in the vernacular and without an interpreter" of these Indians, best known to the average reader by the picturesque descriptions of Mr. G. W. James in his "Indians of the Painted Desert Region." Inasmuch as the only contributions America can make to this department of social history must come from the Indians, the Field Columbian Museum, under whose direction the study was made, and Mr. Stanley McCormick, whose generosity made it possible, deserve great credit. The author is to be congratulated, not merely upon his mastery of the language, but for the attractive form into which he has

put the legends. The different stories are summarized at the end of the volume.

Warne, F. J. *The Coal-Mine Workers*. Pp. x, 251. Price, \$1.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

Reserved for later notice.

Zueblin, Charles. *A Decade of Civic Development*. Pp. 188. Price, \$1.25. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.

In this little book the author sketches the civic improvement which is taking place among us and emphasizes the rapid progress of the last decade. He points out our many shortcomings, especially those along æsthetic lines, but cites the Columbian Exposition, with its artistic excellence, as the beginning of a new era for American cities. Since then a new civic spirit has come into existence. Finally, he takes four cities remarkable for their past efforts—Boston, New York, Harrisburg and Washington—and shows what they have been able to accomplish.

The book is optimistic in tone, and is well worth the perusal of those who have bewailed the failure of American municipal government.

REVIEWS.

Conant, Charles A. *Principles of Money and Banking*. Two vols. Pp. 940. New York: Harper & Bros., 1905.

The first of these two volumes is devoted to the subject of money. It contains an epitome of the best that has been said by sound-money writers. Theories of the economists find expression, together with the results of historical research, etc. The conclusions thus reached are treated as principles for the consideration of the many subjects of present-day interest. The work is not only a forceful exposition of so-called principles which have guided commercial people and leading nations in thinking about monetary problems, but it is unique in that the work of the author is in the nature of a collation of the thought and expression of nearly every writer of note on the several topics treated.

The second volume deals with the public aspects of banking and government paper issues. In this the author has used economic theory and historic reference in an able way to support conclusions arrived at by the "Commercial Assets" School of Bankers. In his thinking the author proceeds from the assumption that "the character of assets which sound banking practices suggest" is readily convertible commercial assets (II, 67). "This," he says, "is the natural result of the effort to render services to patrons for the lowest charges and earn profits for the bank by keeping at the minimum the amount of idle capital invested in reserves" (II, 72). The assumption that the capital invested in a banking institution for the purpose of main-

taining a "reserve" to be "idle" is again restated as follows: "All that portion of the assets held in money lies idle in a sense and reduces the profits which may be earned if the money was let out" (II, 59). Again he refers to it as "a waste of economic efficiency" (II, 283).

Representing the bank as an institution "seeking to accomplish the largest volume of results with the greatest saving of effort" ((II, 206), and "the function of the banker" as "economizing the use of money," thereby "diminishing the cost and effort of exchange," he leads inevitably to the following conclusions: (1) That as a means of further economizing the use of capital and "diminishing the cost and effort of exchange," the bankers should be given power of note-issue, limited only by the demand of the public for money; (2) to the same end, banks should be empowered to institute branches, thus giving a larger utility or "fluidity" to the capital of the community; (3) that the sub-treasury system should be abolished, in order that all of the current funds of the government may be used by the bank as a means of putting this idle money into circulation, thus still further decreasing "the cost of exchange."

In these three main conclusions the author is in strict accord with Mr. Horace White, Mr. Eckels and a large number of the leading bankers of the country. Mr. Conant differs from the others only in the method of arriving at conclusions. Laying the foundation for his theory, he defines a bank, not as an institution organized to do business on its own capital, but as one entrusted with the doing business on the "saved capital of others." "The primary function of a commercial banker is that of a broker and dealer in money" (II, 208)—other people's money. "It is in gathering up the capital of others through the deposit system that the commercial banker renders one of his essential services to the country" (II, 211, 282).

Supporting this thesis he further says: "The essential fact underlying the use of credit is the existence of saved capital" (II, 10). "The different forms of banking credit are simply devices for transfer of capital from hands where it is not needed to those where it may be put to use" (II, 16). He continually refers to credit as "a title to money" or capital saved. With such a concept, the need for independent capitalization is minimized—in fact, it is so far lost sight of as to warrant the conclusion on his part that all capital used by a bank for the purpose of supporting credit may be deemed as "idle" and is so labeled. On the other hand, the public interest in legislation which will still further permit a bank to increase its credit, or its "devices for transferring capital from hands where it is not needed to those where it may be put to use," is appealed to. This assumption serves the author as the underlying basis for his argument with respect to placing the power of note-issue in the hands of banks and taking the functions of paper money issue away from the government.

Without offering any suggestion by way of hostile criticism of conclusions reached in a work which has cost so much painstaking research as a means of arriving at the opinions and statements of students and experts, the reviewer ventures to call attention to what is regarded by another school

of banking opinion as unwarranted assumptions and inconsistencies in reason. That the bank is organized for the purpose of rendering a public service in return for which the banker hopes to derive a profit is not gainsaid. It is *not* conceded by all, however, that the business of banking is one of handling the money or capital of others. The banker is in no sense to be regarded as a broker of other people's money. On the contrary, it is asserted that every dollar the banker takes in over his counter as a "deposit" is the banker's money; that the transaction of banking is in the nature of a bargain and sale and not one of trusteeship or bailment; that when a customer hands money to a receiving teller, the bank becomes the purchaser of money so passed in, paying for it with its own credit; that this is true of money transactions in the same sense as in the case of a note sold to the bank; that, instead of being a broker, the banker is a credit merchant, buying the interest-bearing credit obligations of customers and paying for the same by means of his own demand credit obligations; that in so far as any money passes between the banker and the customer it is entirely incidental to the credit business carried on. It is held that a money broker or a money changer is not in any sense a commercial banker—neither is a note broker or a bullion broker an exchange broker or a bond and stock broker. The same may be said of dealers in these various classes of instruments of exchange. In so far as transactions of the kind are carried on by the bank, they are purely ancillary proceedings, the main purpose of the banker being that of disposing of his own demand credit at a profit.

It is also asserted by those opposing the school to which Mr. Conant belongs that there is no capital in the business of banking except that which is put into it by the banker himself or by the stockholders. The author himself in another relation admits this by accepting the following statement and definition as "sound": "The commercial bank is capitalized for the purpose of supporting its own credit obligation; these credit obligations in turn are used as a means of purchasing the current liabilities of other business concerns. This is the business of banking." Taking this as a proper view of the business of banking and the purpose of capitalizing, it cannot be conceded that the capital of a banker in any sense is "idle" unless he is unable to sell the full amount of cash that his capital may safely support, *i. e.*, to increase his deposit obligations to from three to six times the amount of the capital which he has invested.

By accepting the definition above quoted and this statement of the function of capitalization as "sound," it is held that the whole argument of the author and of the school which he represents falls to the ground. The business of the bank being one of selling its own demand credit at a profit (of exchanging it for income-producing credit assets), its credit should be supported by its own capital, and this capital should be adequate at all times to meet all ordinary demands made on its own obligations.

From this point of view the capital of the bank serves two purposes: (1) In providing an independent support for the bank's demand obligations, it operates as security or as a capital fund for the protection of the bank's

creditors against loss suffered by reason of the bad judgment of the banker in the purchase and sale of credit, and (2) the bank, having been chartered and empowered by the government to offer and sell its demand credit to the community for use as "cash," the same law which creates the bank should require that the capital of the bank should be adequate immediately to meet all of the ordinary financial needs of customers growing out of demands for payment of the bank's credit obligations, without suddenly and forcibly curtailing the volume of "cash" circulating in the community in the form of bank credit whenever there may be a financial strain. From this point of view the capital of a bank is not more idle than is the foundation of a factory. The cash and security reserve provided by the bank out of its own capital is the very foundation of the bank's usefulness in the community, and on the adequacy or strength of this foundation depends the banker's right to offer his demand credit for sale in exchange for money or commercial paper.

Exception is taken to the definition of credit offered by the author. It is held that credit is not a "title" to money; nor is bank credit a device for "transferring capital" from the community to the bank and again from the bank to another who may make better use of it. In another place Mr. Conant accepts the more exact statement or definition, viz., that credit is "an executory contract to deliver money"; that credit is a right to demand money in the future, the title, however, not passing till the money is actually delivered or paid. If credit were a "title" to money the creditor of the bank would own the banker's reserve. More than this, the banker would have no right to issue credit for a dollar more than he has in his vaults; the law deals very harshly with one giving a deed to property which he does not own. This figure of speech has led many into vicious forms of reason.

Again, commercial paper is not capital to the maker; it is given by reason of his lack of capital. When, therefore, a bank exchanges its credit for a note, it does not obtain capital; neither does it deliver capital when giving a demand credit on its own books. The difference between the idea of the author and the concept of those who are opposed to the view of the school which he represents is the difference between *capital* and *floating debt*; the conclusions resting on the assumption that there is no difference between capital and floating debt are a product of reasoning that fails to distinguish between assets and liabilities.

The three main conclusions drawn are (1) that the bank should be given greater powers of credit expansion; (2) that branch banking should be allowed without requiring increased capitalization; (3) that the gold of the government should be sold to the banks in exchange for their demand credit, *i. e.*, loaned without interest or at a nominal charge. These are all pregnant of the same fallacies. Before the first conclusion may be conceded it is incumbent on the "Commercial Assets" school to demonstrate that the banks are at the present time overcapitalized. Before the second conclusion may be safely reached they must show: that the banks are both overcapitalized, that a centrally controlled group of banks having the same

capitalization as if working independently will better serve the individual business man who is seeking accommodation, and that there is no public danger to be feared in the exercise of a banking monopoly. Before the third conclusion may be established it must be shown that it is in the interest of public welfare for banks to do business on the funds of the government rather than on their own capital.

The opponents of the "Commercial Assets" school claim that at the present time our banks are not adequately capitalized, as shown by their frequent inability to support their own credit without the contraction of the cash current in the community; that some of our banks are issuing from ten to fifteen times as much credit as they have capital invested in the business; that the banking law fails to exercise control over the banks with respect to the amount of credit which may be issued; that the proposed measures for increased powers of note-issue, for branch banking and for treasury deposits (if they become law in the form laid down) would each operate in the direction of still further weakening the capital strength of institutions which are already ill supported, and would add to the credit convulsions from which the business community and the nation suffers. In brief, the contention is that the measures proposed by the "Commercial Assets" school, while they would give increased power of expansion of credit during periods of speculation and great business activity, by virtue of the smaller pro rata capital support given, would necessitate more drastic retractions of credit in periods of monetary disturbance. It is also truthfully asserted that in the whole literature which has been produced by this school not a suggestion is found nor an argument proposed which seriously attempts to discuss, to say nothing of disposing of, the question of the amount of capital needed to support the volume of bank credit used, whether this be in the form of note-issues or obligations to depositors.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

New York.

Dunning, William A. *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*. Pp. xii, 459. Price, \$2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

This volume carries forward to the middle of the eighteenth century the work begun in the *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval*, published three years ago. Luther, Suarez, Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke and Montesquieu are the central figures, but the exposition of their theories does not unduly eclipse that of the writers of lesser importance. The Reformation was to strengthen absolutism. The reaction against the tyranny of the church brought about increased tyranny in monarchic and aristocratic institutions. But near the close of the sixteenth century the construction put by Luther and Calvin upon the Bible was dropped, and submission to any particular ruler as the representative of God's will ceased to be the presumptive duty of a Christian. Law and contract intervened between

God and the monarch, and royal acts are to be subject to the tests of mere human reason. Bodin's real work is to set the theory of the state and the science of government on a foundation of history and observation and by the side of the sciences of ethics and theology. He thinks belief in a supernatural being important for the welfare of a state, but the details of creed do not impress him. Rejection of the influences that had determined mediæval institutions and beliefs was the substantial characteristic of his spirit in politics, as it was the characteristic of Protestantism in creed and worship.

The Catholic reformers followed much the same line of reasoning as did Grotius; they worked over material transmitted by the mediæval doctors of theology, and presented their theories with all the scholasticism and sanction of the Roman Church. Jurisprudence and incidental politics of the Spanish or Catholic school lead by Suarez could get no hearing. Any development of international law or natural law would have to be through philosophy that bore the impress of Protestantism or of Humanism or both. Grotius had the happy combination, and received the glory that was the just reward of the combination. The same sort of thing which prevented the political theories of the Spanish school from coming to the fore stood in the way of the Protestant theories. Their Protestantism was too conspicuous, and their theological training set an almost impossible barrier to the spread of their influences. It was because of this tendency to radicalism by both Catholics and Protestants that the real development in political theory, which was destined to prevail on the Continent for a century, was due to the Dutch philosopher, Grotius.

The English Constitution was a product of practical political sagacity, administrative ability and a spirit of legalism in the dominant classes. The Puritan revolution gave systematic form and concrete expression to the legalistic ideas that constituted the bulk of English political philosophy, and it took over the Continental theories, blended with them the invigorating influences of the English intellect, and returned them to the Continent for undisputed sway. The military government administered by Cromwell expressed no theory, no philosophy save the recognition of compelling necessity.

Hobbes was a closet philosopher rather than a practical politician. Like Bodin, he aimed in his political philosophy to sustain the royal cause primarily through the attainment of exactness in his conception of state and sovereignty. Hobbes sets politics above religion and morals as a matter of philosophic theory. He holds that the laws of nature, nations and God have binding force upon the individual only through the will of the political sovereign. His influence upon the Continent was marked until Voltaire and Montesquieu brought forward their theories.

Locke's most distinctive contribution to political theory is his doctrine of natural rights. He stands high in that group of thinkers who promoted the rationalistic idea of life. He belongs with Grotius rather than with Hobbes. Locke and Milton established their doctrine of religious toleration by the same course of rationalistic reasoning.

Montesquieu, in the middle of the eighteenth century, like Machiavelli, at the beginning of the sixteenth, stands somewhat isolated from the general current of political theory. Montesquieu undertook to blend politics with jurisprudence, economics and general social science, while the tendency of his contemporaries was to differentiate these various sciences. He stood for history, observation and broad generalization as the method of approach to political and social truth. The reciprocal reaction of legislation on the one hand, and morals and manners on the other, is always in the mind of the philosopher.

This volume, like the one covering the previous period, is a well-made summary of the ideas of the writers of the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The interrelation of political and religious ideas is carefully worked out. While full of much that is interesting, the work, taken as a whole, lacks interest. There is too much of meat without proper and attractive setting. For one who desires a general survey of the ideas of political writers of this period, the book will fill a long-felt want, but there is a decided lack of critical analysis which, to the student of political institutions, leaves much to be desired.

WARD W. PIERSON.

University of Pennsylvania.

Fleming, Walter L. *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*. Pp. xxiv, 815. Price, \$5.00. New York: Columbia University Press, 1905.

Students of southern history have awaited a book like the one under consideration for a long time. There has been a surfeit of treatises dealing with the political aspect of reconstruction, and one who works out the subject from the point of view of national politics must travel far afield to find new material. Within the past few years the diarists and writers of reminiscence have had their hearing in court. John S. Wise, in *The End of an Era*, Mrs. Pryor's *Reminiscences*, Mrs. Clay's *A Belle of the Fifties*, and the charming *Diary from Dixes* by Mrs. Senator Chestnut, of South Carolina, have delighted all students of the period now under consideration; but these, almost without exception, have limited themselves specifically to the period of the Civil War. To that extent they are valuable, and will be *memoires pour servir* for future writers.

Dr. Fleming set before himself not merely the study of the reconstruction, in and of itself, but further an account of the ante-bellum conditions, social, economic and political, and of the effect of the Civil War upon them. Internal conditions in Alabama during the war period are discussed at some length, and special emphasis is laid upon the social problems. The division of the state into "white" counties and "black" counties exercised the strongest influence upon the development of the people. The problems of the "black belt" varied greatly from the questions which compelled settlement in the northern hill counties.

The various political movements in the state preceding the secession convention in 1861 are, in view of their importance, somewhat cursorily dealt with. In order to understand the factors in the reconstruction problem it is quite essential that their origin and development should be kept in mind. These various factors were: 1st, the slave holders owning large plantations in the fertile parts of the state, who were generally Whigs in national politics, at least prior to 1856; 2d, the small slave holders, residing in or near the local centers of population, who were more commonly Democratic in national politics; 3d, non-slave holding whites; 4th, the negroes, and 5th, the carpet bagger. To understand the attitude of the non-slave holding whites during the period in question it is essential that one should study carefully the position held by them during the political debates between 1848 and 1856. That they were jealous of the ruling class and looked with suspicion and envy upon their estates is certain. If they voted with them on occasions, it was because generally they were led by their emotions rather than by their sober judgment. Undoubtedly many of these so-called poor whites were not enthusiastic during the war and were not dissatisfied with its result. Whether they were loyal to the North or not is of not so much consequence as that they were more or less secretly disloyal to the South. In the ante-bellum period society was certainly not homogeneous, socially and politically. The results of the elections to the various secession conventions prove this beyond question. To call all those who did not sympathize with the Democratic party during the reconstruction period "Unionists" or "Loyalists" emphasizes the weaker side of the question. The important thing to keep in mind is that there were, even during the reconstruction period, as there are to-day, a large number of native born white citizens in the South who have not and do not now sympathize with the ruling political party. The author might well have developed this part of his subject at greater length, and this leads to what is perhaps the most serious criticism of an otherwise thoroughly well done piece of work—that is, lack of proportion and unevenness of treatment. The war period and presidential reconstruction to 1866 occupies more than one-half of the book. Most of the other half of the book deals with educational, religious and social conditions down to 1868. Out of over eight hundred pages less than two hundred deal with the conditions which were actually prevalent during the interval between the reconstruction convention of 1868 and the overthrow of reconstruction in 1874. It is unfortunate that the author has not realized more accurately the importance of this period. To understand thoroughly why the South feels as bitterly as it does, and with much good reason, the many indignities heaped upon it during this period it is essential that we should have a clear idea of the state and local governments during this period. While the state had abundant cause to complain of injustice, its bitterest reproach has been cast at the North for the legislation which put the negro in power and gave him unbridled license, more particularly with respect to the persons and property of the proscribed whites. Statements of the amount of money stolen by the reconstruction party operating under various guises

is, of course, of some importance, but it would be more significant to learn more of the operation of the state legislature and the local taxing bodies, and it does not meet the point to say that not very much was accomplished in legislation during this period. The spirit in which this book is written and the personal equation of the writer are fairly open to criticism. In his treatment of the conduct of the Freedmen's Bureau by General Swayne, in his casual remarks relative of Whigs like George W. Hilliard, who were prominent before the war, in his reference to General George H. Thomas the author indicates that the process of reconstruction has not been fully completed in his own case.

Dr. Fleming is certainly entitled to great praise and credit for his treatment of the social and economic conditions prevalent in the state during the war. He has not left much for any subsequent writer to say about the fraudulent confiscation of cotton. In his discussion of the educational system, and especially the reconstruction of the various religious bodies in the state, he has done a thoroughly good piece of work. His treatment of the Ku-Klux outbreak is on the whole fair and impartial, and he is entitled to be congratulated on having had access to the original constitution of the order. He emphasizes, and justly, the value of the eleven volumes of the Congressional report on the Ku-Klux conspiracy. We may question, however, whether so much of this monumental work as deals with his own state should, as he says, be read with a biographical dictionary at hand. The evidence speaks for itself, and one accustomed to weighing evidence carefully can easily make his own corrections and allowances by following closely the statements of various parties called on both sides. On the whole, the author is to be commended for a scholarly and critical treatment of a most highly important historical epoch.

CHARLES C. PICKETT.

University of Illinois.

Goodnow, Frank J. *The Principles of the Administrative Law of the United States.* Pp. xxvii, 480. Price, \$3.00. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

It is more than twelve years since Professor Goodnow published his *Comparative Administrative Law*, which was the first work in the English language dealing with the general subject. It contained an analysis of the administrative systems of the United States, England, France and Germany, while the present volume is confined to the United States. The publication of this work, following so closely upon the appearance of Professor Wyman's *Principles of Administrative Law*, indicates a growing interest in this subject among American students. This is all the more noteworthy when it is recalled that administrative law was not recognized in the United States when Professor Goodnow published his first work, which may be said to have introduced the subject in this country.

The new volume, which follows in general the plan of the former work,

is based upon a broader conception of the subject than that which is accepted by Professor Wyman. It comprises a consideration of the organization and activity of all authorities which are engaged in the execution of the law, and is not confined to the executive department as such. The following six divisions of the work indicate its general scope: The Separation of Powers; Central Administration; Local Administration; The Official Relation; Methods and Forms of Administrative Action; Control Over the Administration. While some of the chapters, particularly in the last division of the book, have been reprinted with only a few modifications from the earlier work, the present volume as a whole gives a more detailed treatment and shows the effect of the development of the ideas of the author during the intervening period. Many of the views which the author has expressed in his recent works are embodied in this book.

More emphasis is placed upon the necessity of studying extra-legal conditions which affect the governmental system. Professor Goodnow also introduces his well known distinction between the two primary classes of functions of government—those which are concerned with the expression of the will of the state and those which have to do with the execution of this will. In this connection he takes occasion to emphasize his former criticism of Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers. He indicates how necessary it is that harmony shall exist between the two functions of the expression and the execution of the will of the state, and shows how, under our system of executive independence of the legislature, conflict is prevented by the intervention of the political party. To accomplish this end the party must have a strong organization, which tends to limit the theoretical independence of the executive. A distinction is drawn between the political and administrative functions of the executive, and it is pointed out that, while the former should be controlled by the political party, the latter, which embraces work of a "scientific, technical, commercial or quasi-judicial character," should be uninfluenced by political considerations. This is realized to a certain extent in our national government, but in the states, owing to the systems of unrelated bureaus and departments, the various officials have no administrative superior, and are thus necessarily brought under the control of the political party, though their duties are administrative rather than political in character. It is interesting to note that while the author in his first work followed Professor Burgess in using the term "commonwealth" to designate the members of the American Union, he has entirely abandoned this usage in the present volume, and has adopted the designation "state."

A few errors and omissions must be noted in the chapter on Qualifications for Office. It is evident that when Professor Goodnow revised this chapter he had not examined the Twentieth and Twenty-first Reports of the United States Civil Service Commission, though the latest of these volumes was issued several months before the date of the preface of his work. Thus, on page 269, in discussing the classification of the national civil service, he refers to Rule III and names the five branches provided for under the civil service rules promulgated on May 6, 1896, while, as a matter of fact, under

the revised rules, approved by President Roosevelt on March 20, 1903, which became effective on April 15 of that year, all provisions for the arrangement of the classified service into branches disappear, and Rule II defines the classified service broadly so as to embrace the entire executive civil service except laborers and persons whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate. While this change in definition did not involve any increase in the classified service, as the orders of classification which preceded it had accomplished the same result, it was a significant indication of the change which had taken place in this service since the enactment of the civil service law of 1883. From a small list of enumerated positions the classified service had been developed until it embraced all offices which could be classified under the provisions of the law.

Again, on page 271, in referring to the appointment of unclassified laborers under a system of competitive registration, the author confines his discussion, so far as the national government is concerned, to the scheme adopted in 1891 for workmen employed in the United States navy yards, and fails to make any mention of the fact that under the provisions of executive orders of July 3, 1902, and March 26, 1903, similar measures were to be adopted for all laborers in the departments at Washington and extended as rapidly as might be found practicable to offices in the executive civil service outside of Washington. Such regulations were adopted by the departments in Washington during 1902 and 1903, and on November 15 and December 12, 1904, the President promulgated regulations governing such appointments in Washington and in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and St. Louis, which will be extended to such other cities as the Civil Service Commission may at any time deem expedient. Finally, in discussing the subordinate organization of the United States Civil Service Commission, the author fails to notice the consolidation of more than 1,200 local boards of examiners into thirteen districts, each with a central office. The movement commenced in Boston in 1897, was followed in San Francisco in 1902 and in Philadelphia in 1903, and finally, in 1904, the entire country was divided into thirteen civil service districts, each with one board of examiners, presided over by a secretary, having supervision over all local boards of examiners and all the civil service duties pertaining to the offices comprised within the district. The number of districts has since been reduced to twelve. This organization will greatly facilitate the work of the commission, thereby increasing its efficiency.

The merits of Professor Goodnow's book need not be dwelt upon, as they are well known to the many readers of his earlier work. As indicated above, it is the only book dealing with the entire scope of the subject. It will be of value to the general reader, and is well adapted to serve as a manual for the student of administrative law. It is to be hoped that the author will soon be able to carry out his intention to publish a book of cases illustrative of American administrative law and adapted to the arrangement of the present volume.

ISIDOR LOEB.

University of Missouri.

- R. F. Harper. *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2500 B. C.* Vol. I. Price, \$4.00. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904.
 D. H. Müller. *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältniss zur Mosaischen Gesetzgebung, sowie zu den xii Tafeln.* Wien: Holder, 1904.
 S. A. Cook. *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi.* London, 1904.
 J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser. *Hammurabi's Gesetz.* Vol. I. Leipzig, 1904.

The Code of Hammurabi, discovered at Susa in 1900, whither it had been taken by an Elamitic conqueror in the twelfth century B. C. as a trophy from the city of Sippar, in Babylonia, is one of the most important documents of antiquity—of interest alike to the philologist, to the archeologist and to the student of legal institutions. Since the first publication of the text, in the fall of 1900, by Professor Vincent Scheil, to whom belongs the credit also of having given the first translation (in French) of the text—an exceedingly difficult task—several translations into German and English and one into Italian have appeared, and numerous monographs and articles on the Code as a whole or on certain aspects, phrases and words have been written by scholars in all parts of the world. The four works here singled out for special notice are representative of the best work that has been done in the elucidation of this precious document.

Beginning with Professor Harper's English translation, it is gratifying to state that it may be regarded as authoritative, and, while modifications in details and in the rendering of some of the legal terms may be expected from further researches, to which Professor Harper himself has since the appearance of the book made a contribution,¹ it can safely be accepted as a guide. Professor Harper has wisely abstained from the introduction of legal terms in modern use, preferring literal translations of the expressions used in the Babylonian original. Until we can be sure of the Babylonian legal phraseology, this method is to be preferred; but students of legal institutions approaching this code without a knowledge of Babylonia should bear in mind that the phrases in the Code actually represent legal terms used quite as accurately as those in modern juridical procedures. Thus the phrase, "the man in whose possession the lost property is found" is the equivalent of "holder," and "the owner of the lost property" is the equivalent of "claimant," and there are indications that these phrases are used in a technical sense without strict reference to their original more or less restricted meanings. Besides an excellent reproduction of the text, Professor Harper has also given a transliteration, which is done with great accuracy. A second volume, promising a discussion of the general character of the Code and comparisons of the parallels in the biblical codes, was announced by Professor Harper's brother, William R. Harper, whose untimely death is mourned by scholars and educators alike. If Professor Harper finished the work before his death, we may look forward to a supplement that will still further enhance the value of a publication reflecting such high credit on American scholarship.

¹ Notes on the Code of Hammurabi in the "American Journal of Semitic Languages," October 1905.

The translation and commentary of Prof. D. H. Müller, of the University of Vienna, is perhaps, taken as a whole, the most suggestive treatment that the Code has received. The main feature of the translation is an attempt to define in a more precise manner the force of the particles used in the original text, with the result of furnishing in many cases an entirely new and unexpected interpretation. Some of these interpretations have been attacked, and it must be confessed that a number of them strike one as strained—perhaps too ingenious. Still, the fact that Professor Müller's rendering represents a decided advance cannot be gainsaid, and for those who wish to study any paragraph or section of the Code it will be indispensable to consult Müller's interpretation. Less satisfactory, although highly suggestive, is the endeavor of Professor Müller to show direct Babylonian influences in the case of the Biblical codes and even in the case of the Twelve Tables of the Romans. His theory that the Twelve Tables and the Biblical codes rest on a common foundation that also underlies Hammurabi's Code is an interesting conjecture, for which, however, no satisfactory proof has been adduced by him. The parallels between Hammurabi's Code and that of the Romans and of the Hebrews cannot, of course, be denied, and while some Babylonian influences of a general character may be detected in both, these influences, it is safe to say, will turn out to be indirect rather than direct.

The proper method of treating such parallels is illustrated in Cook's valuable treatise on the "Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi." Dividing his subject into a number of general classes, like family, slaves, land, agriculture, commerce and personal protection, Mr. Cook points out in a very thorough manner the principles underlying the Biblical codes and those to be detected in the Code of Hammurabi, with the general result that, while there is a certain agreement in the treatment of legal cases, the principles are widely diverse. He properly argues that agreement in phraseology cannot be regarded as conclusive of direct connection between the two series of codes. In view of the totally different standpoint from which the relationship of man to his fellows is viewed in the Biblical codes in close connection with the general religious flavor of these codes, Mr. Cook pronounces against the assumption of direct Babylonian influences. Perhaps, in this negative attitude, he at times goes too far, but such extremes are to be preferred to the rapidity with which other scholars, because of certain resemblances between the Pentateuch and the Code of Hammurabi, have jumped to conclusions. It is rather unfortunate that Mr. Cook should have retained in the title of his book the expression "Laws of Moses," inasmuch as he accepts the position of modern scholarship, which recognizes a number of distinct codes in the Pentateuch, all but one of which date from the period considerably later than the days of Moses. Even in popular works such a phrase as "The Laws of Moses" should be avoided by any author who accepts the modern critical position.

The last work on our list is a combined production by Professor Peiser, a distinguished Assyriologist, and Professor Kohler, of the University of Berlin, the most eminent authority on comparative legislation. Two trans-

lations of the text are furnished in parallel columns, first, a literal rendering, and, secondly, on the basis of this rendering, a legal paraphrase, with the liberal use of legal terms in modern use. The former is the work of Dr. Peiser, the latter of Dr. Kohler; and by the combination the student is able to judge for himself—at least in many cases—whether the legal paraphrase is justifying. In order to bring this subject more clearly home to us, the legal paraphrase is repeated, arranged under the twelve main subjects treated of in the Code. In this form it impresses one as a very modern document, but in using it care must be exercised to compare each paragraph with the literal translation and to recognize, in view of the difficulties still involved in the interpretation, the limits of our present knowledge. The most valuable and certainly the most distinctive feature of Kohler's and Peiser's work is the discussion on the various paragraphs and the analysis of the principles underlying the Code. In the present volume the general subjects embodied in the Code are discussed, with valuable comparisons with actual cases occurring in the general contract literature of Babylonia and Assyria. Thousands of tablets, ranging from the oldest period of Babylonian history down to the latest, have been published, embodying all manner of cases that were brought before Babylonian and Assyrian judges, and we are now in a position to compare these cases with the actual laws that were supposed to prevail. Kohler and Peiser's work, therefore, makes a special appeal to the general student of legal institutions, and the attention of members of the Academy of Political and Social Science is directed to this feature. Two further volumes are promised—the second containing a transliteration with a philological commentary by Professor Peiser, which promises to be of great value to the student, while the third will contain a translation of selected legal texts from the days of Hammurabi, by means of which a further aid toward the interpretation of this remarkable Code will be furnished.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

University of Pennsylvania, March, 1906.

Hunt, William, and Poole, Reginald L., Ed by. *The Political History of England*. In twelve volumes. Vol. X: *The History of England from 1760 to 1801*. By William Hunt. Pp. xviii, 495. Price, \$2.60. New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

This is the first volume to appear of a series which should constitute an important contribution to English history. For many years the principal published works in this field have been in the form of monographs on the history of relatively short periods. Lately, however, the prevailing movement toward extended co-operative work in all branches of knowledge has affected English history also. This is the most detailed, ambitious and promising of several series of histories resulting from this tendency, either actually in progress or announced. There is certainly an opportunity to gather together the scattered contributions to our fuller knowledge of English history which

have been made within the last generation, to utilize the new sources of information, to apply our more advanced standards and include our wider interests in the treatment of historical subjects. And there is quite as certainly a large body of competent and appreciative readers who are ready to welcome such work.

How well this series is likely to make proper use of the opportunities it would be unfair to judge from this single one of the twelve volumes, even though it is written by the principal editor. The name given to the series is itself, however, somewhat unpromising. The political history of a nation should no longer be treated independently of its economic, intellectual, social or ecclesiastical history. It is not only that the purely political thread is too slight a one for a nation's history, but the attempt to give anything like a logical account of national development without including these other phenomena leads necessarily to fallacy and misrepresentation. The character of this first volume justifies this fear. It is rather a history of changes in the English cabinet and parliament and of the immediate causes of them than a history of England. It is true that a chapter of twenty-two pages in the middle of the volume is devoted to "Social and Economic Progress (1760-1801)," but this is necessarily most cursory. The whole industrial revolution is described in five pages. With this exception, the book is uncompromisingly political in the narrowest sense. The masses and the classes of the people alike make up a vague, featureless background; the king, the ministers and a few public men are the only really clear figures. We are told in full detail the characteristics, political sayings and doings, the gradual acquisition or loss of political power, the political intrigues, the opinions and arguments of George III, Newcastle, Bute, the two Pitts, Fox, Burke and a few other statesmen and political or military leaders. But these certainly are not fair or adequate representatives of the whole people of England. Military movements are also described in considerable detail, the causes and course of the wars, and the party contests that took place over the terms of peace, but after all these are but single and isolated sides of the national history. They have been written of and rewritten of, while vastly more important and interesting aspects of the nation's experience still remain but inadequately described or known.

By calling attention to these limitations the reviewer does not intend to intimate that this work is not a valuable one. It is scholarly, clear and interesting. It covers the period of the close of the administration of the first Pitt and the whole of that of the second. It includes the American and the French Revolutions and the first half of the long period of war which sprung from the latter movement. It traces the rise and fall of the first modern effort for Irish independence. All these subjects are treated with vigor and independence, and the book can be read with much pleasure and profit. The author makes most frequent use of a limited body of original sources rather than of that mass of monographic literature which is referred to in the general introduction, and his work gains in freshness, though it loses in completeness thereby. The arrangement is strictly and

closely chronological, often approaching the form of actual annals. His treatment of the American conflict is somewhat narrowly English in its attitude, a fine map of America being described as a "map of the United States, illustrating the *War of the Rebellion* and the Peace of September 3, 1783." He claims that it was impossible for the British ministry and the king to yield to the demands of the colonists in 1774, although later kings and ministers have repeatedly yielded to later English colonies in just such circumstances. Indeed, Mr. Hunt does not show any real sympathy with Americans, French or Irish in their struggles with his own country, or any appreciation of their point of view. His book is as uncompromisingly English as it is political. Our criticism, however, is not of the author's statements on such questions, which, after all, must be matters of opinion; nor of the way in which the scholarly work of the book is performed in its other parts. It is rather a sense of regret that such an inadequate plan has been adopted for this important series, and that so little that is new, stimulating or broad is disclosed in this, the earliest volume to appear.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

University of Pennsylvania.

Kirkbride, F. B., and Sterrett, J. E. *The Modern Trust Company: Its Functions and Organization*. Pp. xii, 309. Price, \$2.50. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

Few books which have been published within the past year have attracted such widespread and appreciative attention from the business world as "The Modern Trust Company." The new sort of corporation, which has become such a prominent factor in the financial world in the last few years, has been given but little study. The authors of this volume had, therefore, to cover practically the entire field. An idea of the thorough manner in which they exploited it can be gained from a simple enumeration of the chapter headings.

After outlining in the introduction the functions and rapid growth in the business of the trust company, the authors proceed to describe in detail the steps which must be taken in organizing these institutions. After presenting the general outlines of the law governing this class of corporations in the various states, the usual provisions of by-laws governing meetings of stockholders and of the board of directors are given. The third chapter, devoted to the consideration of qualifications, duties and responsibilities of officers, is one of the best in the book. The conclusions upon this subject are applicable not only to the trust company, but practically every other form of corporation. The authors present in a simple matter-of-fact manner the ideal type of man for each position, and, what is perhaps of more practical value, point out the pitfalls into which many corporations have fallen through selecting men without regard to the requirements of the position.

From this point on the book becomes much more technical, and the use

of sample forms and documents illustrating the text becomes common. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the banking department. Avoiding minute details, the authors present, in logical sequence and in a simple, straightforward manner, the organization and operation of this department. Technical details are firmly fixed in the reader's mind, and his interest stimulated and sustained by personal anecdotes, presenting in a striking way the responsibilities and vexations to which the employees are subject in transacting the company's business with a public often inclined to be impatient and exacting.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the presentation of the activities of the corporate trust department. This chapter is in every sense the pivotal point in the book. It constitutes by far the most complete and illuminating study of this side of the trust company's business that has ever appeared. After discussing at length and in detail the moral and legal position of the trustee of a corporate mortgage, the authors plunge into the discussion of the manner in which this business is handled by the trust companies. The relation of the trust companies to underwriting syndicates, the part played by them in carrying through reorganizations and the success they have met with when serving as assignees or receivers are in turn given careful consideration.

The subject for the next two chapters naturally suggests itself. The treatment of the individual trust department, which can be considered the original, and in the eyes of the ordinary individual, the most important branch of the company's business, is fully up to the high standard set in the earlier portions of the volume. After outlining the general organization, the manner in which the trust company receives its appointment and consequent authority to act is described. The way in which stocks, bonds and mortgages are cared for, the administration of real property, and the methods of receiving, accounting for and disbursing trust funds are each presented in detail.

The remainder of the volume is of comparatively little importance. A careful analysis is made of the safe deposit and savings funds departments, and a chapter is devoted to the general accounting of this class of corporations. The latter, however, is designed rather to sum up and gather together what has been presented in other connections concerning this side of the corporation's business than of a thorough presentation of the subject. The final chapter is devoted to the consideration of miscellaneous subjects, such as the handling of the mail and the clerical force. The appendix contains the act under which trust companies are incorporated in the District of Columbia, the rules of the New York Stock Exchange governing the listing and transfer of stocks and bonds, and a fairly complete bibliography.

Special mention should be made of the excellent collection of forms and documents scattered throughout the book, but which are made readily accessible through a well arranged alphabetical index. These illustrations have been arranged in such a manner that, while they are properly distrib-

uted throughout the text, yet they do not distract the reader's attention or break his train of thought.

The authors have indebted not only the college and university world to them by furnishing a clear and well written book thoroughly covering the field, well adapted for use as a text, but they have made it possible for the business community to become intimately acquainted with this mighty engine of modern finance. The authors have risen above the technicalities of the business with which they are so thoroughly acquainted, and have presented a book well rounded in thought and execution, brief where brevity is advisable and detailed where explanation is desirable. In turning out such a valuable piece of literature they have set an example which could be followed with profit by men in every other field, and have demonstrated that true wisdom demands, not that the business specialist shall tightly hoard and conceal the information which he possesses, but that it is his duty, by presenting it in permanent form to his fellow-men, to draw tighter the bonds of business sympathy and comity.

THOMAS CONWAY, JR.

University of Pennsylvania.

Milyoukov, Professor Paul. *Russia and Its Crisis*. Pp. xv, 589. Price, \$3.00.

London: T. Fisher Unwin. Chicago: University Press, 1905.

Professor Milyoukov has been playing an important rôle during the recent upheaval in Russia. As one of the leaders of the Moderate Party, he has directed efforts towards the adoption of a liberal constitution which will give expression to the ideals of all classes of the Russian people. This has brought him into conflict on the one hand with the Reds, or radical faction, who desire a complete break with the personnel of the existing government and the abolition of the existing dynasty, and on the other hand with the reactionary party, wishing to retain the autocracy in its most despotic form. Professor Milyoukov labored assiduously to prevent the recent action of the Workingmen's Council which brought on an armed revolution and which ended in complete disaster. The author has divided his work into eight chapters: "A Comparison of Russia and the United States," "The Nationalistic Idea," "The Religious Tradition," "The Political Tradition," "The Liberal Idea," "The Socialistic Idea," "The Crisis," and "Conclusions."

The chapters of the book dealing with the political unification of Russia and the development of a national spirit contain material which is somewhat familiar to American readers, but the discussion of the contrast between the political and religious traditions of Russia on the one hand and the liberal and socialistic ideas of the new era on the other is illuminating. Professor Milyoukov is not a socialist, but it is hard for an educated man to maintain a moderately liberal attitude in a country like Russia. It has been said that "what is not commanded, is forbidden" in the empire of the Czar. So, when a man of prominence begins to deviate ever so slightly from the accepted tradition of government or religion, his complete and

absolute separation from political and religious orthodoxy is only a question of time. It is therefore surprising that so many intellectual men have been able to retain an independent position between the ultra-radicals and the autocracy. Professor Milyoukov touches on this fact in discussing the socialistic idea. "Socialism in Russia, more than anywhere else, represents democracy in general. This is what makes its political rôle much more important than in those countries with a more and earlier developed democracy." But the new socialistic democracy being founded on class spirit and composed largely of the manufacturing laborers can have little in common with the "intellectuals," as the educated liberals are usually called. It has been this inability of the constituent elements of the Russian people—peasant, city laborer and nobleman—to co-operate that has formed one of the chief elements of strength of the autocracy. In the chapter on the "Crisis" the author shows the steady deterioration in peasant prosperity in Southern Russia and the necessity of a thoroughgoing reorganization of the system of taxation, agrarian credit and land laws. The main thesis of the book is that the first step towards all of these changes is political reform.

The author traces the moderate or liberal movement through its phases of development as an upper and middle class propaganda. Parallel with it, but separate, he shows the growth of the socialistic or workingmen's agitation until the outbreak of the Japanese war, when a certain amount of tacit co-ordination of the two tendencies began. In the long run, however, this plan proved a failure because of the socialistic distrust of the "bourgeoisie." Meanwhile the military collapse of the empire has been followed by a financial panic, an acute agrarian crisis and last, but not least, a general failure of the elaborate system of state-protected industries and monopolies which was built up by Mr. Witte at the cost of the peasantry. It is upon the latter class, the agricultural laborers and renters, that the whole crushing burden of government inefficiency, folly and corruption has fallen. It is the native conservatism, credulity and superstition of this element which delays the process of revolution.

Professor Milyoukov's book gives an interesting, readable and, in all but one chapter, a logical, coherent explanation of the Russian crisis. On this important subject there is no work of equal merit and authority accessible to English readers.

JAMES T. YOUNG.

University of Pennsylvania.

Rae, John. *The Sociological Theory of Capital*. A reprint of the New Principles of Political Economy, 1834. Edited with a biographical sketch by Charles W. Mixter. Pp. lii, 485. Price, \$4.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1905.

Rae's work originally appeared under unfavorable conditions, both internal and external, and for more than sixty years the few volumes printed in 1834 evidently rested undisturbed on library shelves. Böhm-Bawerk did not include a criticism of Rae in his comprehensive "Capital and Interest," for he was ignorant of Rae's book. Not until the great stimulus in the theoretical study of the theory of interest came, largely as a result of Böhm-Bawerk's work, was Rae really discovered and the value of his contribution appreciated. Through the efforts of the editor of the present reprint many have been made familiar with Rae's ideas, and will welcome the opportunity to get a copy of his great work.

If Rae's book had been studied carefully when it appeared, economic science might have been much further advanced than it is at present. The formulation of the *agio* theory of interest has helped immensely to a better understanding of economic phenomena, yet it was late in the nineteenth century before that theory of interest became a force in thought. Rae expressed that theory seventy years ago. The cause of interest lying in the difference in the relative valuations of present and future goods Rae saw and expressed in these words: "The formation of every instrument implies the sacrifice of some smaller present good for the production of some greater future good." This shows clearly that Rae understood in a definite way the cause of interest. Again, Rae made a long advance ahead of his time in his conception of what constitutes capital. It is true that in his definition of capital he limited the term, as is commonly done, to that portion of stock reserved for future productive uses or for exchange, but he does not use this conception of capital. Instead, he adopted the word "instrument," which he defined as "everything that man for the purpose of gaining an end brings to exist, or alters in its form, or in the arrangement of its parts." He thus included in his working conception of capital cultivated fields, hats, implements, bread, furniture, etc., and it is this conception to which economists are approaching. Rae's position in this respect is an approach to that of Professor Fisher's, who would include all goods under the category of capital. In these respects, it can be seen how important was Rae's contribution.

With all his advanced ideas, Rae failed to command attention. There are several causes of this. In the first place, his reasoning is somewhat obscure. He did not see clearly the great significance of the ideas he expressed. He had the idea of the theory of interest, but he did not work out a comprehensive theory of interest based on that idea. The book has to be read carefully to discover the theory of interest. Rae was more concerned with the rate of interest, and as he based his theory of the rate of interest upon a cost of production theory of value which is unsound, much of his reasoning, therefore, is unsound. He maintained that all instruments produce more than their cost of production, else they would not be produced. All instruments he arranged in a series according to the period it took each to produce double the cost of its production, and the discussion of the circumstances governing the position of instruments in

this series forms an extremely interesting and valuable portion of his book. One of the most important causes of changes in the series is invention, and Rae developed an important theory of invention.

Rae's use of terms was not fortunate. It would have been better to have used capital instead of instruments, for that was practically his meaning. Likewise his use of the term profits was unwise. That term is used to denote a differential gain, and it is a burden for the reader to keep Rae's meaning in mind. If his reasoning is difficult to follow and his terminology somewhat misleading, these defects are accentuated by the delightful description with which the book abounds. So charming is this feature that the apparent fault of the early readers who appreciated only the interesting descriptions must be avoided.

Concerning the present reprint, Professor Mixter deserves much credit for the labor he has bestowed on the original work to make it more readable. He has corrected the punctuation, which was extremely bad. That part which forms a distinct treatment of capital has been rearranged and forms the main body of the new edition. Chapters have been rearranged, pages inserted, explanatory notes added, which have made the book far more valuable than it formerly was. All that was not relevant to the theory of capital has been placed in an appendix, which forms nearly a half of the book, but making it a complete reprint of the original work. This appendix is not to be neglected, however, for it contains ideas which when developed will add much to present knowledge. The several appendices on luxury and the effects of vanity are of this nature. With his book cleared of its mechanical defects and made available in its new form, Rae ought to come into the position to which his great contribution entitled him.

LESTER W. ZARTMAN.

Yale University.

Small, Albion W. *General Sociology*. Pp. xiii, 739. Price, \$4.00. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.

This monograph is the outgrowth of class lectures in the University of Chicago, where the author is Professor of Sociology. They have been worked over for publication, but a few slips remain, as, for instance, when Dr. Gilman is spoken of as president of Johns Hopkins or Ratzel is mentioned as if living.

The volume purports to be an exposition of the main development in sociological theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer, but it is a good deal more than this. The sub-title is true of the first 394 pages, but the balance of the work is largely a statement of the author's own opinions.

During the last century there were two types of sociologists: the sentimentalists, utopian oftentimes, knowing little about theory, followed by scientific students who have often been as interested in pure theory as to sometimes forget that this is vain unless brought into the arena of active life. Spencer

was the first of this new school, and his interest is largely in "Society Considered as a Whole Composed of Definitely Arranged Parts (structure)." A very good outline of Spencer's main argument is given, but nowhere is it condensed into a paragraph. Schaeffle marks a great advance over Spencer in that his interest is in "Society Considered as a Whole Composed of Parts Working Together to Achieve Results (function)." Ratzenhofer goes far beyond all his predecessors, however and establishes really the positive method for sociology when he considers society as a "Process of Adjustment by Conflict Between Associated Individuals," and further as a "Co-operation Between Associated Individuals." Ratzenhofer attempts to catalog the interests of society in a comprehensive way. This sociology must do to determine the relative value of interests at a given time—to know which should be advocated, which held in abeyance.

After a brief resumé of the results thus forgotten, Professor Small gives a "Schedule of Sociological Concepts," fifty-one in number, which are discussed in detail—a "Conspectus of Concepts Derived by Analysis of the Social Process." Part VII deals with "The Social Process Considered as a System of Psychical Problems;" Part VIII with the same as a "System of Ethical Problems," while Part IX treats the process as a "System of Technical Problems." To discuss the vast number of topics would require several volumes of *THE ANNALS*, and only a hint of the contents can here be given. Indeed, much of this latter part of the book seems more like notes for future elaboration than complete analyses of the things suggested.

To the author sociology is a comprehensive general science embracing the other social sciences. Sociology is an attempt to answer four questions: (1) What are the essentials in human association? (2) How do these essentials change their manifestations from time to time? (3) By virtue of what influences do these variations occur? (4) What social aims are reasonable in view of these conclusions from experience?

The population being made up of individuals: "Society is what it is at any time as the resultant of all the efforts of all the personal units to reach its own peculiar sort of satisfaction." Therefore: "All social problems are problems of the relation of personal units that have in themselves distinct initiation and choice and force." The aim of society is the perfecting of social co-operation. "More and better life by more and better people, beyond any limit of time or quality that our minds can set, is the indicated context of the social process."

Inasmuch as this syllabus represents an "epitome of the whole philosophy of society," detailed criticism is out of the question. Viewed by individual sections or chapters, the volume contains much of great value, particularly to the advanced student. There are some happy epigrammatic sentences, and the analysis is often keen. If taken in homeopathic doses, and upon special topics, the argument will often be helpful and stimulating. Viewed as a whole, the volume is less satisfactory. It will be of little service to the beginner, for the style is involved and at times confusing. The author evidently anticipates this, for he says: "One cannot have made the foregoing

argument in ignorance that to most minds it must seem a mere churning of words. It affects even rather mature students of social science, and almost invariably specialists in other departments, as a species of speculation for which one can have no serious respect without incurring suspicion of mental unbalance. * * * It would be a delightful clearing of the atmosphere if fewer people would call themselves sociologists and more would absorb a very little of the sociological spirit."

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DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES, AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Juvenile Courts and Social Work in Rural Districts of the Central West. In the prairie states of the central west charitable and social work is but in its beginnings. Up to within recent years there has been much cheap land near at hand, and the leading industry has been agriculture in mostly its extensive rather than its intensive type. As a consequence of this the social problems outside of religious, educational and political matters, have been rather limited. There has been no submerged tenth that was considered necessary to be lifted to a higher social and industrial plane. The movements for human uplift have been mostly along religious, industrial and educational lines. Of late years, however, as the population of the rural districts in Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and other central western states has increased, as land values have risen, as manufacturing and railroad centers have developed, the need for efficient social work has been manifesting itself plainly. In cities of from five to fifty thousand inhabitants there are problems for solution that in a small way are as complex as those in the large cities like New York and Philadelphia.

The greatest of these problems in the west is to nurture, to educate and to train the children so as to insure happy, healthy and morally worthy children. In addition to these elements of character, capability, efficiency and success as to the results which they are to accomplish socially and industrially must be developed.

The investigation of juvenile crime in many western states proves that in small towns and cities there is great necessity for much to be done. A strong movement should be made for the saving of children instead of waiting for the time when they must be *reformed*. The coming generation should be saved and not reformed. If one studies the police records he will find that there is an appalling development of evil tendencies. There is no more alarming fact than the development of crime among children. Of course, these criminal tendencies are a product of our civilization. The modern industrial movement is having its evil results as well as its good results in the so-called agricultural states. The problem of dealing with the boy or girl of the small city when not in school or when not actively employed is very serious and demands solution.

The school children during the long summer vacation fall into evil ways because they are thrown into idleness. The small city, which is usually heavily bonded for its water works system, lighting plant, school buildings, paving and other improvements, is unable to furnish supervised playgrounds, public baths, gymnasiums and parks for amusements. The children of those of moderate means and of the poor must shift for places

of amusement as best they can. As a result of this lack and the inability and disinclination to establish vacation schools of any kind whatsoever, many children spend their time in absolute idleness. In the case of those children coming from homes of low moral environment there is a constant deterioration in morals and a drifting of many into the incorrigible class.

There is considerable degeneracy in many homes of the laboring classes owing to the industrial conditions. Many of the western towns are becoming small manufacturing centers. Mothers and children are working away from home. There are many consequent violations of the child labor laws. With these people the home has degenerated into a place where the family eats and sleeps and where they all stay as little as possible.

There is child degeneracy not alone in the homes of the laboring people. Too frequently is the father a parent *in absentia*. He is so thoroughly devoted to his profession, business or trade, that he has no time for loving, training and knowing his children. Too generally the mother is overwhelmed with domestic duties, or, if her means are such that she may have servants, she has numerous clubs to attend, a variety of organizations requiring support by her presence, and an extensive social life to keep up. As a result she has too little time to devote to her children. With all of these factors in civic and domestic life operating, such parents do not take sufficient time to devote to their children. As a result the influence of the street at an early age becomes predominant, and vice springs forth abundantly. At an early age careers of dissipation and crime are begun, which end all too disastrously for the state, the individual and his family. As a check to these tendencies toward social evils several attempts have been made to institute means of prevention and reform.

Within the last decade marked efforts have been made toward the institution of juvenile courts, compulsory education, modernized industrial schools for boys and girls, orphan asylums, schools for the defectives and charitable organizations supported by voluntary contributions.

In the institution of juvenile courts the Iowa law may be taken as a type. It is a law that has been upon the statute books for only a few years, yet in all the small cities and rural communities, where they have taken advantage of it, it has proved a source of much benefit to boys and girls that might otherwise have grown up in crime and become a dependence upon society either as criminals or vagrants.

The Judge of the District Court has jurisdiction over all juvenile matters that may be brought before him. The aim of the law is to avoid incarcerating youthful criminals with the older confirmed criminals that are confined in the county and city jails and to avoid public trials that brand them as criminals. Any one may make a complaint before the court in regard to any boy who lacks competent parental care at home, who is an incorrigible, who is constantly loafing about railroad yards, or about saloons, billiard halls or any place of disrepute. The compulsory education law is so framed that it supplements the provisions of the juvenile court law

very effectively. According to the provisions of the former all children between the ages of seven and fourteen must attend school for at least sixteen consecutive weeks during the school year, such term of attendance not to commence later than December 1st. Frequently it so happens that parents when brought before the justice court for violations of the compulsory educational law will enter a plea of defence that they are unable to control the child, and as a result are unable to secure his attendance at school. Such an admission at once in the eyes of the law makes the child either an incorrigible or it shows a lack of proper parental treatment at home. This makes him liable to the operation of the court for juveniles. Many times in certain communities this situation has arisen and has been acted upon with great benefit to those concerned. In connection with the juvenile court there is appointed a probation officer. Frequently the court, after consultation with the parents and with the child brought before him, will refrain from sending the child to the reformatory and permit his education at home under the surveillance of the probation officer, providing the parents will make reports to him from time to time concerning the child's work at school and the way he spends his time when out of school. He is also forbidden to loaf about the streets or about resorts of doubtful character. In many cases this has been sufficient to arouse the parents to greater diligence and to awaken in the boy or girl efforts for a better life. The court has been known to appoint in particular instances, where they show a sustaining and aiding interest in the reclaiming of the child, one of the parents as the probation officer. It has frequently been very successful as to its results. This procedure in a way gives the parent the law as a club to bring about obedience. Now and then, however, the probation officer finds it necessary after a time to recommend to the court that a boy or girl be sent to one of the industrial or so-called reform schools conducted by the state. The institution of the juvenile court has appeared not only as a social good immediately affecting those brought before it, but also it has had an awakening influence upon parents and children who might otherwise be indifferent. While its institution is only in its infancy, efforts are constantly being put forth to see that its provisions are strengthened wherever they may be weak. It is a law that is growing constantly in efficiency and in public favor.

The compulsory education laws in the western states are also in their beginnings. They are quite unsatisfactory as yet in many of their provisions. Sixteen weeks is entirely too short a period for the attendance at school of children between the ages of seven and fourteen years. When we think of the length of time that it took to start this in the central west, those interested in compulsory education feel that they have won a great victory in getting the small start that they have already obtained. In many communities the law is as yet a dead letter upon the statute books. Boards of education and the public must yet be educated to the necessity of paying for a truant officer to enforce the provisions of the law. In many communities, however, much good has been done. Where educational authorities become interested in the work they are able to unite their forces with the associated

charitable organizations of the community, the poor master and the juvenile court. Parents who have violated the law may be brought before the justice for trial, and if it develops that a child is not in attendance at school because of the inability to procure books, comfortable wearing apparel and nourishing food, the work of the charitable organizations or the poor master is at once enlisted. Boards of education will oftentimes furnish children with textbooks and supplies free of charge. Where educational authorities have taken hold of this matter in a strenuous manner there is very little violation of the compulsory education law. In communities, it is to be regretted, where there is a rapidly growing population which causes a lack of school facilities, or in communities where there is an indifference on the part of school authorities, there is a lamentable weakness in the enforcement of the law.

It frequently happens that children in the public schools are mentally defective. It also happens that there are at times children not in school that are afflicted in a like manner. The handling of these cases is the most difficult problem that faces those desirous of giving every child a training for each talent which he may possess. Provision is made by all of the western states for the care of such children. Institutions for the mentally defective are supported by public taxation. Heretofore there has been a strong prejudice against sending children to these institutions, because of the feeling of disgrace and because of the reluctance of parents to be separated from their children. This, however, to a certain extent is subsiding. The great difficulty at present is that the schools are not large enough to admit all of those who are applying for admittance. In Iowa at the present time there is needed a larger institution or a new institution for the handling of mentally defective children. There are at present many on the waiting list.

In all of the so-called reform or industrial schools, and in all of the schools for mental defectives, great improvements have been instituted. The state reform schools for boys and those for girls are no longer conducted as prisons or places of detainment. The indeterminate sentence is passed upon them. The boys and girls are educated along industrial lines. The boys are taught trades; the girls are educated in domestic science. More and more they are taught to be responsible beings and to possess self-respect. More and more the ideas of prison discipline and methods are abandoned. Many an individual has become a good member of society through their agency. The great social wrong with these institutions is that those who enter must almost become criminals before they can enter.

Social work in the central west is advancing. At present there are relatively few wealthy men to whom appeals can be made for philanthropic needs, but philanthropy seems to be somewhat social in its tendencies, and the people are coming to tax themselves for its operations.¹

¹ Contributed by Elmer L. Coffeen, Marshalltown, Iowa.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee. Does the opportunity exist in American cities for trained women to do scientific and practical work for women along social and economic lines? This is the question which the Research Committee, in a modest way, is trying to answer, and in its answer, if affirmative, lies not only an inspiration for women to enter these fields, but an opportunity for women, whether of the leisure class, housewives or working women, to place their efforts upon an entirely rational, commonsense and thoroughly intelligent plane.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee represents the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, of Boston, with Mrs. Kehew, its president, as chairman of the committee; the Woman's Municipal League, of New York, with Miss Chanler, its president, as representative; the Public Education Association, of Washington, with Mrs. Gitterman, its president. These three organizations have research departments which carry on the studies of the central committee. In Philadelphia a new organization has been formed—the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association—to carry on the work, with Mrs. W. F. Hamilton as representative. Aside from the organizations representing the cities which support the work of the committee, national organizations carrying on studies along similar lines may affiliate. Under this arrangement the Council of Jewish Women, represented by Miss Sadie American, and the College Settlements Association, represented by Mrs. Arthur Scribner, have united in the work. These organizations represent many thousands of women. The committee requires that the investigation of certain subjects, upon which it agrees each year, shall be carried out simultaneously in each city by the same methods and according to the same prescribed schedules. In addition to this, the research departments of each organization in the various cities gather the facts needed for their work and undertake such additional studies for other organizations or independently, as their finances will permit. Each city organization supports all the local work financially, and the amount necessary to pay the expenses of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is equally divided among the organizations or raised by independent subscription. The fields of study selected by the Inter-Municipal Research Committee to be investigated simultaneously in the cities are the unemployed and domestic workers, these being the two subjects upon which there is the least, as well as the most inaccurate, data.

Whatever advantages the Research Committee possesses over other women's organizations must be found in its viewpoint of the entire situation and in the fields which it has chosen for the investigations, which are to demonstrate the worth of the principles underlying this viewpoint. These may be placed in two groups: its conception of what social or municipal research means, and its methods of selecting and using the results of its research.

There is among college students what may be called a fad for sociological investigation. The student who visits half a dozen laundries in order to write a newspaper story; the student who becomes a servant in order to gain notoriety by publishing a book on domestic service; the student who

comes over in the steerage and writes a treatise on immigration; the women who work in factories and then write of the lives of working women, are not doing research work, however much value their experiences may have for society. Research implies the thorough and approximately complete *study* of a subject, or some phase of it. Experiences are not research, and these careless, inaccurate, so-called studies should not be confounded with research work.

Research, for the most part, has until very recently been confined largely to the province of the institutions of learning. The primary object of the student conducting the research has been the development and standing which he or she has gained as a student, and the publication of the results of the research in a thesis. The student's work has ordinarily stopped with the thesis, the particular subject has been dropped or the student has taken a salaried position, more often as an administrative officer. The Research Committee aims to do two things: first, to carry the students' activities into the realm of the social and economic problems of the city, and, secondly, to require that for every group of conditions which is studied thoroughly and accurately the same student shall construct social betterment plans, and shall assist in obtaining and carrying out the remedies, which must be thoroughly practicable. In other words, the results of the investigation are not hidden in some obscure thesis, or in the musty archives of libraries, where legislators, business men and others who need the knowledge cannot find time to look. Only a short time since students doing research work thought it would injure their standing for scientific work to have their publications appear in newspapers and popular magazines or in any publication other than technical journals. Indeed, it is still true that publications are often considered unscientific unless interspersed with many and elaborate tables. The Research Committee in no way discourages these, but it also encourages the student so to state his facts that the average legislator, politician and business man can and will use them. It accomplishes this result in two ways: It offers fellowships to both men and women, requiring that they be resident in a university situated in one of the cities in which it has branches. Or the student may have a graduate fellowship and do social betterment work. One of the fellows this year at the University of Pennsylvania has charge of the boys' clubs at a settlement, and lives in the neighborhood which he is studying.

But the results of these investigations are put into daily use. If in the course of investigation violations of tenement house laws are found, the facts of each violation are carefully prepared and sent to the officer charged with the enforcement of that law. If no answer is received, the place is again investigated, and a second report made. If there is failure again, the record, with his failure to report, is sent to his superior officer, and other organizations are furnished with the facts. This is patiently and systematically done in all of the fields in which this committee works. Where it is necessary to prepare and bring cases, as in violations of the employment agency laws, the student, after reporting the individual violation, continues the collection of

aggregate facts, and a specialist or trained investigator is put on the case to secure legal evidence and, if necessary, be a witness. The student, through his daily touch with the people, who can remedy conditions thus puts his knowledge to the use of the city; and this does not interfere with its use in publications, which will help those in other communities. When students who conduct research under these conditions must seek a livelihood later, they are already imbued with the social service spirit, and are a gain to any community in which they go to live. The Research Committee, then, trains in this work, besides giving the results to the community.

The work of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is primarily women's work for women. It includes a study of the conditions for men in so far as they are a part of the field of the unemployed and domestic workers. But the practical protective measures are chiefly for women. The Research Committee believes that certain definite principles must more thoroughly dominate women's work for social betterment before it can become trustworthy and achieve the standing of the same work done by men. Upon this standing depends the use which the public makes of it. This committee does not for a moment believe that it is the originator or the sole possessor of any one of these ideals of work. Every woman's organization working along social and economic lines has some, if not all, of them. But it does believe that this combination will raise the standards of all women's research, as well as of practical work; that it will encourage the endorsement or adoption of these principles, and that it will become a clearing house for the crystalization of the results of women's work, as well as an inspiration and help for small struggling groups who wish to do social work and cannot see the light. With all the splendid work which women's organizations are doing, there is still a great percentage of unsystematic effort, a wide margin of duplication, and a considerable portion of waste. Women's work is not different in principle from men's, but there is greater need among women for training, mental and physical, and there must be advised adaptability; there is much leisure to be utilized, and many personalities and preferences to be moulded into a social consciousness. The more active and communistic life of man has given him a broader foundation for his social service work, a work which is at last open to women. They must construct an equally firm foundation if their work is to be well done, though it may differ in many essentials, because of their duties as home-makers and mothers. The ideals which this Research Committee has of women's work are consistent with the ideals which home-makers and mothers, as well as business women, may hold. These ideals or principles, are briefly these:

That as endorsers of movements, or as students, or as practical workers, women should understand the basic conditions before they go into civic work. At the present time faddists and theorists, exaggerators of social and economic conditions, and hobby-riders, often secure hearings before clubs and other organizations and individuals, and even secure endorsements; and as a result many wildcat schemes of social improvement are started which not only result in financial disaster, but which block social progress in that direction.

This committee by its corps of fellows and trained investigators, and its carefully-gathered material on various subjects, which is placed unreservedly with out charge at the disposal of interested persons, gives at least the opportunity for women to be well informed. This year six domestic training school plans, involving the expenditure of thousands of dollars, have been advised upon. The records of some fifty training schools in the country, showing their plans, success, reasons for failure, and their relation to other schools, have at least enabled the promoters to decide intelligently. When the committee does not possess the required data, it will plan the required details of investigation, and secure the necessary information, the only requirement being that the individual or organization shall pay for the actual cost of such investigation, without any commission whatever to the committee. It does ask to keep a duplicate copy of the investigation that it may be of service to others wishing to start similar lines of investigative work. It will not undertake any investigation for any individual unless the object of the investigation is social or community benefit, and no financial inducement can be offered to utilize its work for purely individual needs. The committee was recently asked by a lawyer to ascertain a certain definite fact which was essential to winning a case involving a large sum of money, because the possibilities of selling out were so great that he was afraid to trust a detective. The committee felt obliged to refuse this investigation, because its end was the gain of one individual or family. When research work is taken up with a view to benefiting the community, many persons confuse investigation with detection. The essential principle of any investigation is to go with an open mind prepared to find and portray the good as well as the bad. The whole theory of detection is that a wrong has been committed and the offender must be found or convicted. They are not in fact, in method, or in the end desired, at all similar.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee believes that work for social conditions should be organized. It urges that every woman should be affiliated with at least one organization which has for its object the betterment of the conditions of others than herself. It does not urge its own organization, but presents the plans and advantages of all lines of work. Interest in some one definite line of work will not interfere with other duties.

The work undertaken by the committee is educational in aim, philanthropic in spirit, and disinterested. In all lines of civic betterment, that of women is the most free from suspicion of political influence or pull and from graft. It is the absence of these which make women's work so successful. In New York, when the Woman's Municipal League took a bill to regulate employment agencies to Albany, the feeling was that it would not pass, as there were strong interests against it. The bill was supported entirely by women, and they had a record of every agency in New York City, setting forth its methods and character. The indisputability of the facts, and the freedom from political influence, caused the legislators to say: "I guess if the women want it, it's needed; there is nothing in it for them." Where the

conditions affect large numbers of women, the right spirit in their efforts may be more effective than the vote.

Perhaps the keystone of the work of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee is cooperation. It confines its efforts to gathering the facts; it does none of the administration work, which is detrimental to research. Its facts go through various channels, and in many instances the source is never known. In the short period of its work, it has seen the development of model employment agencies, immigrant homes, lodging houses, training schools, enforcement of laws by various city departments, all based upon its accurate facts and plans made by its students. It has placed many groups of facts before other organizations. Its aims are to avoid duplication of work and institutions, to start no new organizations or movements where there is one in the field which can adequately do the work, and to act as a clearing house of information and activity so that various organizations may know of the work of each other. The committee conducts no employment bureaus, operates no lodging houses, training schools or other enterprises, and receives no fees or compensation from such institutions, but refers all of its patrons to those which maintain the best standards. It is a clearing house where the public may ascertain the enterprises most worthy of patronage, possessing the best business methods and treating patrons in an honest, courteous way. So far as it knows, it is not in competition with any other organization.

The committee has secured the combination of the trained with the experienced worker. Its fellows and students, by a close association with the members of the organizations who are in daily contact with the field to be explored, make the work more practical than where the student is affiliated with organizations composed of teachers and students alone.

It may be of interest to give some illustrations of the benefit to the community, as the result of these principles, in the utilization of research work for the city. In 1903, after a thorough investigation of every agency in the cities, Boston improved its law, New York State passed an entirely new one, Philadelphia succeeded in getting one through the Legislature, but the Governor thought Philadelphia too good for such a drastic bill (though the recent exposé in the city has justified the bill), and Washington now has a bill in preparation. The local organizations took up the matter of enforcement, and in New York city alone about 150 complaints of violations were made last year. A Woman's Municipal League case usually draws this comment from the offender: "We are up against it this time—we will do the square thing." In New York this persistent work has been the means of organizing the best agencies into groups, and they are now working as hard for the enforcement of the law as they formerly worked against it. There are four groups of associations: the Italian agents, the theatrical agents, the Employment Agents' League, and the East Side Employment Agents' Protective Association, composed of immigrant agents. Each local organization of the Inter-Municipal Committee has every agent classified under the head of recommended, approved, or undesirable, and these lists are furnished to patrons who wish to know about agencies before patronizing them.

The Inter-Municipal Research Committee made a careful study of the conditions under which colored women were brought north, and found they were defrauded and misled by agents. Conditions in Virginia and other southern shipping places were studied through the co-operation of Hampton Institute, and the entire system for the first time clearly understood. There were no organizations to protect colored unemployed women, and in all four cities there have been started associations for the protection of negro women. These associations have placed agents at the docks who, in New York City and Philadelphia, assisted over 450 women to find honest places. Some needed financial aid to reach the places where work awaited them; others needed lodging; others work, and some only direction. Considering that many dishonest persons are waiting at the docks to exploit these workers, this seemingly unimportant matter of meeting a friendly adviser who can give directions becomes of very great importance.

In two cities, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, lodging houses have been started where these colored girls have been cared for. In Philadelphia one new employment agency with honest methods has resulted, and in Brooklyn the Young Women's Christian Association has started a training school. These have been the direct results of the facts gathered, and presented to interested groups of people.

In Philadelphia an investigation productive of good results has been completed and a similar investigation is being conducted in New York. The names and addresses of unmarried immigrant girls coming to this country within the past three years were taken from official records, and these girls were traced. It was found that 318 had been released to responsible persons and were doing well; 164 had disappeared entirely and had never been seen in the neighborhood where they were supposed to have gone; 10 were released to men who promised to marry them (and at the end of this time over two-thirds had failed to keep the promise); 32 to neighborhoods infested with disorderly houses, or directly to questionable places; and 17 to addresses which never had existed; 38 had been given to people who had falsely represented themselves as relatives. These results were presented to those interested in the protection of immigrant girls, and a friendly visitor is to be placed at the docks who will see that these girls find good lodging places, that they find work, learn English and have a friend during the time they need her most—their first six months in a strange city.

These are but illustrations of the practical results which follow accurate knowledge of the conditions.

The Research Committees are equally effective as engines to supply the power for the work of the various other committees of the organization.

The Woman's Municipal League of New York, as an illustration, has full machinery for effective work. When investigations reveal inadequate laws, its legislative committee prepares and supports desirable bills. When upon investigation of lodging houses violations of the tenement laws are found, the Tenement House Committee presents these to the department; and so on through all its various committees are found channels so that the actual

conditions find their way to the heads of departments and to the courts. The Research Department, during the recent campaign for Mr. Jerome, whom the League supported, found it possible at short notice so to adjust its machinery that it placed in the hands of the League information of Mr. Jerome's effective work for the protection of unemployed women, which was of direct value as material for the campaign for clean government.

In its active participation in municipal affairs the Inter-Municipal Committee has not lost sight of the educational work. "Out of Work," a study of employment agencies, is the first volume it has published. It publishes a Bulletin each month, giving the reports of the work in the various cities and articles of general interest on research work. A number of articles are contributed to the magazines.

It has in preparation a manual for the study of social problems. This is for the use of organizations, libraries and schools, and is a ready reference book on more than four hundred social subjects. For any one wishing to prepare a topic here will be found suggestions for its preparation and the best of references with a brief statement of their contents and point of view, so time need not be wasted on valueless references. The material is grouped thus: Problems affecting rural and urban life, the family, race groups, health, æsthetics, industrial problems, household economics, education, social work. The object of the committee in issuing this volume is to stimulate and direct thought to the mass of subjects which women who are taking an interest in civic affairs may profitably study.

Closely allied with this is the preparation of club programs on various subjects, which are sent upon request to clubs. In the course of the year about fifty lectures are given by students, fellows and others connected with the committee.

This year the committee is conducting a department for housewives and their helpers in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The *Journal* reaches a great number of housewives and helpers throughout the country. It is a practical educational and correspondence department. During the year the committee carefully investigated and compiled directories of the best employment agencies and domestic training schools in the country, and the addresses of those agencies nearest the homes of any housewives or helpers are sent to them on request. The rights of patrons of employment agencies, under the various State laws, have been ascertained and are sent out, and also helpful advice as to the rights of housewives and helpers in the matter of wages, the giving of notice and references. This department is now giving this information in answer to about twenty-five inquiries daily. The department also has short articles upon vital household problems, and answers questions.

In addition to these investigations and movements carried on in the four cities, the committee is being called upon to help other cities. A club has asked it to investigate local agencies and outline some practical work, such as improving conditions or starting an agency. A second has asked to have its individual club members put to work in a systematic way on its city problems. A study of the sanitary conditions of laundries in one city was

carried out for a large city organization; and the committee has also been asked to gather information upon the vice problem, which is such a peril and menace to unemployed women, especially immigrants. It will be seen that upon each investigation some practical work is pending which involves expense and effort. This committee is ready to make any investigations which will improve the conditions or result in the protection of unemployed women, or will throw light upon the industrial problems of women.

In every city represented on the committee there is a bureau of information where the results of all the committee's investigations are placed on file for the use of the public. A secretary is in charge, to answer inquiries, to give addresses of good employment agencies, to furnish lists of lodging places for unemployed women, and to give information on all phases of household employment—experiments, proposed solutions, sources of labor supply, suggestions for club programs, and the literature of the household problem. Thus all information gathered by the committee is put to immediate practical use. It has a fund for the extension of its work to other cities, and Baltimore and Richmond are asking for some help in protecting the unemployed. As a result of conditions found in its studies of immigration the committee is urging a study of employment agencies throughout the United States, with a view to determining whether Federal employment centers are needed for the better distribution of laborers, especially immigrants; and the absence of any knowledge on this subject points to the realization of this plan.

The institutions of learning in the cities have readily extended cooperation. One fellow of the Philadelphia local branch and of the University of Pennsylvania, is studying the negro problem. Another fellow, a graduate of Harvard, is carrying on the same line of study in Boston. Another fellow, from the Boston School of Social Workers, and a fourth from the New York University Law School, are among the fellows of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee. With the colleges and the city administrations and social movements being brought closer together through these research intermediaries, there is every hope that college men and women will satisfactorily answer the question so often asked, especially by politicians and business men, Why are not college men and women more of a factor in our civic life? And can women's efforts be of real practical value to the community?²

Some Functions of a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty. The name of any social institution will give slight idea of what work it is really doing. The actual activities of the organization are determined chiefly by three factors, the attitude of the Board of Directors, the training and ability of the executive officers, and the moral and financial support of the community in which it is located.

A Society to Protect Children from Cruelty occupies an unusual and to a certain extent an anomalous position in a community. In some states, for

² Contributed by Miss Francis A. Kellor.

instance New York, it has been decided by the courts not to be a charity, and this fact furnishes great pleasure to some secretaries. Its officers are often police officers, but this is not essential, although it always has close relations with the Police Department of a city. Where it does not have charge of the entire work of the Juvenile Court, in undertaking to see that children are given suitable care, physical, mental, and moral, and are not neglected in any of these particulars by drunken or indifferent parents or custodians, it assumes the most important function of the Juvenile Court, the preventive function which incessantly emphasizes parental responsibility and the principle of contributory delinquency.

A Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may mean an organization which voluntarily waits until complaints reach its officers of a specific and flagrant violation of any statute relating to the care and treatment of minor children. The law is then invoked, and the child is removed from the control of its parents or custodians. It may be placed in an institution or it may be given the advantages of life in a private family in the country. If any offense has been committed against the child the officers secure evidence—sometimes a most difficult task, little appreciated by those who do not realize how the name "cruelty" shuts the mouths and dulls the memory of all except the best friends of children,—and the offender is prosecuted. In so far the action of the officers of the society is purely police. For this work of prosecution good police officers or detectives without social training should prove efficient.

As long as this is the only method of dealing with cruelty and neglect there will unquestionably be plenty of this sort of work to do. The society may assume further police duties,—moral police duties, if we may classify a little more exactly,—and investigate all applications for permission to appear in theatrical performances or determine whether a specific play is injurious to morals of minors under eighteen when unaccompanied by parents or guardians. It may share the responsibility of the Board of Health and investigate applications for licenses to board infants, investigating also the moral qualifications of the applicants.

A rational conception of the sphere of a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty gives a wide scope for its activities. Such a sphere is designated in the charter of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, the second article of which we print verbatim:

"Article II. The purposes of the society are to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to children throughout the State of Pennsylvania and for the enforcement of all laws heretofore and hereafter enacted for the protection of children, and to purchase, print, publish, and circulate such tracts and books as are fitted to promote the objects of the society."

The purpose furnishes a most attractive program. It involves:

1. A careful study of all conditions affecting childlife, of the causes immediate or remote which tend to demoralize or even to hamper the fullest and most harmonious development of the child. The following comprehensive definition given in the rules of the Liverpool Society for the Prevention of

Cruelty to Children should find wider acceptance in our own states. Cruelty shall include: (a) All treatment or conduct by which physical pain is wrongfully, needlessly or excessively inflicted, or (b) by which life or limb or health is wrongfully endangered or sacrificed; or (c) by which morals are imperilled or depraved; (d) all neglect to provide such reasonable food, clothing, shelter, protection and care as the life and well-being of a child require; (e) the exposure of children during unreasonable hours or inclement weather, as peddlers or hawkers, or otherwise; (f) their employment in unwholesome, degrading, unlawful or immoral callings (g) or any employment by which the powers of children are overtaxed, or their hours of labor unreasonably prolonged; and (h) the employment of children as mendicants, or the failure to restrain them from vagrancy or begging.

2. A concerted effort to remove all causes inimical to the child's welfare.

In studying the causes of cruelty and neglect of parents the sincere investigator cannot be satisfied with "drink" alone, the common and most easily assigned cause, but must recognize bad housing, lack of intellectual resources and recreation as predisposing men and women to drunkenness and neglect. It is not exclusively the work of such a society to agitate for better housing conditions or for a rehabilitation of a primitive school system, but it must take an intelligent and aggressive part in such efforts, realizing the futility of much of its work under existing conditions in these respects. The extents and results of child labor, the results upon the children of performing in theatres, no matter what the nature of the performance; the evils attending street trading by minors; the horrors of unregulated baby farms; lying-in hospitals and midwifery; the danger of permitting young children to attend theatres of a low grade—all these and many other similar subjects of inquiry are pre-eminently the function of a society whose aim is to secure a chance for a wholesome life for every child within the sphere of its influence. The effort to remove causes of injury to childhood may be prosecuted in various ways. Thus the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may in conjunction with a city department investigate applications for baby farms and inspect the institutions when licensed.

It may investigate applications for permission to have children perform in theatres and applications for licenses for children to engage in street trading, and do so in all three cases only when it is distinctly a temporary arrangement, and every effort is made to force the public authorities to assume their full responsibility. The society has an urgent duty to expose inefficiency in enforcing the compulsory education law.

It is not helping matters, however, but usually simply hindering progress, when it assumes permanently functions which belong entirely to public authorities. When we have proper Board of Health regulations, suitable tenement house regulation and inspection, and a rational system of policing, with an effective school system, much of the present demand for a Society to Protect Children from Cruelty will have passed away.

The method of dealing with neglect of children in individual families raises a difficult question. Granted that parents drink and neglect the chil-

dren, or are immoral, shall the society exert its police power at once to the extent of arresting parents and removing children or shall its potential police authority be held in abeyance temporarily, and the parents be warned and instructed as to the proper care of their children and be placed under strict supervision. The latter method is by far the more humane, though the former ironclad method has been more generally used by the New York Society to Protect Children from Cruelty with the result, to quote Mr. Homer Folks (D. D. and N. Children) that by placing children in institutions "they practically control the lives of an average number of about 15,000 children and an average annual expenditure for their support of about one and a half million dollars." The sanction of economy as well as humanity favors the method of giving parents an opportunity to redeem themselves when they at once begin an improvement and when the children's interests are not impaired thereby, this will require a much larger force of agents, men and women, than any Society to Protect Children from Cruelty has in proportion to the number of families with whom it deals. No agent can effectively help over one hundred and fifty families a year continuously, and would accomplish better results by far with a hundred families. It is not germane to the subject to discuss the comparative merits of paying probation officers by public or private funds. The writer's preference is for payment by public funds, as soon as that can be achieved. To accomplish the best results in this work of rehabilitating families, however, the probation officer must have a large measure of tact, sympathy, intelligence and finesse and be well trained not only in the law, but in the psychology of childhood, the best methods of work with children, and general social effort.

By these measures the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty may be one of the greatest factors in the prevention of crime, not merely by removing children from vice but by removing, through the exercise of its police powers, the whole family and re-establishing it in a new neighborhood, where the influences shall be uplifting to parents and children alike. This double service is one of the greatest society can perform, and when a sufficient number of thoroughly competent agents and proper co-ordination can be secured for this task the ridiculous travesty of hauling parents before the courts, summarily removing their children and placing them in ill-appointed institutions, whose blight will never be effaced,—this travesty on protection from cruelty will be reduced to a minimum. The Society to Protect Children from Cruelty will then be working with the most important institution to protect children from cruelty—the family.³

³ Contributed by Benjamin T. Marsh, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

The Publication Board of the Academy finds itself compelled to request the indulgence of the members for the delay in the publication of the ANNALS. The strike in the printing trades has greatly increased the burden of issuing each volume, but your Board expects that, after the issue of the May volume, matters will be so adjusted as to enable us to issue succeeding volumes at the regularly appointed dates.

The proceedings of the Annual Meeting will be published as a special volume, constituting the May number of the ANNALS.

I. The Length of the Working or Trade Life

PHYSICAL AND MEDICAL ASPECTS OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY

By FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN,

Statistician Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, N. J.

Economics of Longevity.—The most valuable possessions of a workman are his health, strength and intelligence. The conservation of health and strength, the prolongation of life and prevention of disease are important economic factors which more or less determine the success of nations in the struggle for commercial supremacy and race survival. A gain in longevity, an increase in vitality, a decrease in disease liability, are all economic elements of the greatest possible economic importance. They lie at the root of the true labor problem, for they determine in the long run the real and enduring progress, prosperity and wellbeing of the masses. I can only touch upon a few essentials of this problem to emphasize the importance of the subject which should receive more intelligent consideration in the future than it has received in the past.

Physical Basis of Industrial Efficiency.—As it has been well said by Marshall, in his "Principles of Economics," health and strength, physical, mental and moral, are the basis of industrial efficiency, on which depends the production of material wellbeing. The same writer points out also that "In estimating muscular strength, or, indeed, any other kind of strength, for industrial purposes, we must take into account the number of hours in the day, the number of days in the year, and the number of years in a lifetime, during which it can be asserted." Upon this theory the problems of health and life have a sound economic basis, and in proportion as life is long or short, healthy or impaired by disease, the industrial efficiency of the individual must vary within limits which are subject to at least approximately accurate calculations.

Life Period of Industrial Activity.—The period of industrial activity of wage-earners generally, but chiefly of men employed in mechanical and manufacturing industries, it may be assumed, should properly commence with the age of fifteen and terminate at sixty-five. This gives fifty years of labor and life, during which, as the result of individual effort, primarily, of course, for self-mainten-

ance and the support of others, some net addition is annually made to the accumulated wealth of the nation. The large variety of employments, which is so characteristic of modern nations, and the increasing subdivision of labor and the development of special ability, precludes more than an approximate estimate of what normally constitutes the economic gain to society during the period of industrial activity of a wage-earner.

Economic and Social Value of Life.—The usual method has been to confuse cause and effect and to estimate the present value of a workingman's life merely upon the basis of his future earnings after deducting the cost of future maintenance. This method, however, does not establish the economic value of men to society, but rather the social value of a man to himself and his family or survivors. The economic gain to society, as I view it, is rather the value of the product over and above wages, cost of supervision, cost of material and miscellaneous expenses, necessarily incurred to carry on any particular process of manufacture or industry. A fairly accurate basis for an estimate of this kind is furnished by the census returns of our manufacturing industries, which give employment to some seven million persons. While any calculation of this character must necessarily be merely approximate, it, however, will prove useful for the present purpose, to establish the principle that there is an economic value inherent in every year of a workman's life, and that every gain in human longevity above the age of fifteen and below the age of sixty-five represents a corresponding gain to the nation at large and a distinct contribution to the accumulated wealth and capital of the nation.

Variations in Industrial Efficiency.—It is probably safe to assume that the net gain to society is at least equivalent to about three hundred dollars per annum in the case of male wage-earners employed in American manufacturing and mechanical industries. The return is higher, among others, in the manufacture of food and kindred products, also in the manufacture of metal ware, paper, printing and chemicals. It is lower, among others, in the manufacture of textiles, leather, clay, glass, stone ware and tobacco. Making allowance also for the lower wages of women and the relatively small earnings of children below the age of fifteen in industries, which are included in the census returns, the average of three hundred dollars, assumed for the present purpose, would

appear to fairly correspond to the facts of actual experience. Of course, the gain is less at the younger ages and probably remains fairly the same or level during the ages of thirty to fifty, when the normal physical strength is enhanced by practical trade education and experience. After the age of fifty a natural decline in physical strength and possibly of brain weariness gradually decreases the industrial efficiency, which in the case of wage-earners may be held to come practically to an end by about the age of sixty-five to seventy. There are, of course, always some exceptions in every trade and industry, where men continue to work, sound in body and mind, to the close of a long life.

Economic Loss by Premature Mortality.—Upon the assumption of an average annual net gain to society of three hundred dollars as the result of individual labor applied to American industry under normal conditions, the degree of variation in value may be placed between a minimum of seventy-five dollars at the age of fifteen and a maximum of four hundred dollars at the age of thirty-two. The value is then assumed to remain about the same, or level, until the age of forty-eight, when industrial efficiency gradually declines as the result of decreasing strength and mental aptitude and inclination. The minimum value at the end of industrial life is assumed to be one hundred and seventy dollars. By means of this estimate, which, of course, is purely theoretical, in that there are no wage statistics by ages, or useful observations of employers of labor respecting the industrial efficiency of employees at different periods of life, it is possible to calculate with approximate accuracy the economic loss due to premature death or impaired physical efficiency as the result of illness. If, upon the basis of an average net gain to society of three hundred dollars per annum, the fifty active years of a workingman's life represent a total of fifteen thousand dollars, then if death should occur at the age of twenty-five, the economic loss to society would be thirteen thousand, six hundred and ninety-five dollars; if at the age of thirty-five it would be ten thousand, three hundred and ninety-five dollars; if at the age of fifty, four thousand, four hundred and five dollars; and, finally, if at the age of sixty, the loss would still be one thousand and ninety dollars. Of course, the values would vary considerably in different employments, but the broad principle is fairly well illustrated and with approximate accuracy in this calculation. (See Appendix I.)

Problem of Preventive Medicine.—If this theory is applied to the problem of preventive medicine and vital statistics, some extremely suggestive conclusions result from a careful study of the facts. Out of every thousand males living at the age of fifteen (which I have assumed to represent the age of entry into active industry, since the decay of the system of apprenticeship, the modern theory of industrial education and the legislative efforts to minimize the evils of child labor, tend separately or in combination to raise the age at which work actually commences), by the last English life table, four hundred and forty-four will survive to the age of sixty-five, while five hundred and fifty-six will have fallen out, or have died, in the meantime, as the result of either accidents or disease. (Appendix VI.) The present consideration takes into account only the five hundred and fifty-six out of every thousand who die between the age of fifteen and sixty-five from causes which, by modern standards of medicine and hygiene, are largely of a preventable nature. This theory is readily susceptible of statistical proof, but it needs merely to be pointed out that the mortality from some of the most important of these causes, such as consumption, typhoid fever and industrial accidents, is more or less decreasing in all civilized countries on account of the more effective methods of private and public hygiene, on the one hand, and of successful medical treatment and surgery on the other.

Preventable Mortality from Tuberculosis and Accidents.—At the ages of fifteen to twenty-nine among American males nearly 32 per cent. of the deaths are caused by tuberculosis, while in addition 15 per cent. are caused by accidents and 8 per cent. by typhoid fever. It is not going too far to say that in the light of present knowledge and past experience at least one-half of this mortality is strictly preventable and subject to a material reduction under a more rational and deliberate method of social reform. At the ages of thirty to forty-five among American males about 27 per cent. of the deaths are caused by tuberculosis, 12 per cent. by accidents and 4 per cent. by typhoid. A very large proportion of these deaths are strictly preventable, and the mortality therefrom is subject to a material reduction under a more rational method of industrial and public hygiene. At the ages of forty-five to sixty 14 per cent. of the mortality of American males is caused by tuberculosis, 7 per cent. by accidents and about 2 per cent. by typhoid fever. At this period

of life the proportion of deaths due to strictly preventable causes is less than at the younger ages, but there remains a sufficient margin towards which efforts should be directed tending to a substantial and deliberate increase in the length of human life.

Preventable Mortality from Other Diseases.—There are numerous other causes of lesser importance which cannot very well be discussed at length, but among which I may mention the needlessly large mortality from rheumatism, alcoholism and diseases of the liver, all intimately connected with erroneous habits of living and to a considerable extent the result of intemperance. Another class of diseases which are more or less preventable are bronchitis and asthma, of which a considerable proportion are due to unhygienic and generally unsatisfactory methods of factory life. The problem of disease prevention rests, therefore, primarily upon a clear recognition of the principal causes conducive to ill-health and short life and an intelligent study of the methods and means by which such causes can be most effectively removed.

Problems of Trade Diseases.—The fact that there has been a decrease in the general death rate is of small significance from an economic point of view, since the change almost entirely affects the very young, or children below the age of five years. At all ages over fifty there has been an increase in the specific death rate, if a comparison is made between the years 1890 and 1900. The problem, however, concerns the population in detail rather than in the aggregate, and if the mortality data for specified occupations can be relied upon, in many important employments the death rate is higher today than in the past.¹ It requires no very extensive inquiry to establish the fact that the mortality, disease and accident liability varies widely in different employments. There are well known trade diseases, such as potters' asthma, miners' consumption, hatters' shakes, painters' colic, etc., which draw attention to the facts of occupation diseases. Great calamities in mining, shipping or transportation by rail attract public notice, but the aggregate loss of life from accidents in industry is only reflected in the annual returns. Yet each life of an individual worker has an economic value and each death below sixty-five means a distinct and calculable economic loss to the nation.

Occupation and Tuberculosis.—Few subjects have, during recent

¹ Appendix VI.

years, attracted more general attention than the mortality from consumption, a disease largely preventable by proper methods of personal and public hygiene, including under the latter term the hygiene of factories and the medical supervision of factory methods. Among carpet and rug makers, for illustration, at the ages of fifteen to thirty-four, consumption is the cause of from 60 to 80 per cent. of the deaths from all causes; among glassmakers at the ages of twenty-five to forty-four from 40 to 52 per cent. of the deaths are from this cause; among hatters at the ages of fifteen to forty-four the proportion varies from 42 to 52 per cent.; among potters at the ages of twenty-five to forty-four the proportion is from 36 to 47 per cent.; among stone workers at the ages of fifteen to fifty-four the proportion is from 33 to 56 per cent; and, finally, among common laborers it is highest at twenty-five to thirty-four, when this disease is the cause of 37 per cent. of the mortality from all causes. Now, there can be no question of doubt but that at least one-half of the present mortality from consumption can be eliminated by intelligent but energetic methods, supplemented by practical education as to the facts and nature of the disease. The economic gain to the nation at large and to employers of labor in particular would be enormous. In addition, the social value of a longer and happier life, of a prolonged period of industrial efficiency, would be incalculable. (Appendix VII.)

Occupation and Respiratory Diseases.—In addition to the excessive mortality from tuberculosis shown to prevail among industrial workers, the various diseases of the respiratory organs cause a large mortality, chiefly among persons employed in dust-producing occupations. Potters, glass workers and coal miners are typical illustrations of employments still carried on under conditions which fall far below present standards of social and sanitary regulations. Among potters the proportion of deaths from tubercular diseases is about 28 per cent. of the entire mortality at all ages. But in addition, asthma, bronchitis and pneumonia and other respiratory diseases cause nearly 20 per cent. of the deaths, so that in the aggregate nearly one-half of the mortality of this class of industrial workmen is the result of either tuberculosis or of other diseases of the lungs and air passages. Among coal miners tuberculosis is the cause of a relatively low proportionate mortality, due primarily to the fact of an excessive accident liability falling heavily upon the younger

ages. In the aggregate, however, one-third of the entire mortality among coal miners is the result of either tuberculosis or of other acute and chronic diseases of the lungs and air passages. Rational inquiry into the underlying causes responsible for this deplorable condition along the lines indicated by the work of the Royal Commission of Western Australia on ventilation of mines, would suggest methods and means by which a considerable amount of the present waste of health and life could be avoided. (Appendix VIII.)

Occupation and Industrial Accidents.—Industrial accidents, next to tuberculosis, require serious consideration. Accidents to life and limb are in many cases the result of criminal recklessness and inhuman indifference to the welfare of others, demanding drastic government interference and regulation. The railway service, coal mining, metal mining, quarrying, navigation on inland waters, the Great Lakes and the high seas, electrical industries and many other occupations are subject to a much greater accident liability than would seem necessary when all the facts and conditions are taken into account. Fatal accidents in coal mining, among others, are relatively more frequent to-day than twenty years ago, and the same is true of fatal accidents in connection with the various methods of transportation. Even where the accidents are not fatal, they very often leave the injured person in a seriously crippled condition or otherwise incapacitated for an active and industrious life. Much of the existing poverty is the result of the death or incapacity of the bread-winner, and thus, from both an economic and social point of view, the prevention of industrial accidents, as far as this is possible without too serious interference with industrial processes or methods of management, becomes an imperative government duty. To place the value of human life at five thousand dollars by a jury verdict involves often a serious economic error, in that the true economic value of the life lost or impaired is, as a matter of fact, much greater, aside from its additional social value to surviving members of the family, who are often left dependent upon private charity or public aid. (Appendix IX.)

Dangerous Trades.—The importance of accident prevention is reflected in the vital statistics of men employed in certain dangerous occupations. Probably the most exposed class of industrial workers are the Gloucester fishermen, among whom the average fatal accident rate during the last decade has been 13.2 per thousand per

annum. Another extremely dangerous occupation is that of railway brakemen, who are mostly young men, below the age of thirty. Among this class at the ages of fifteen to twenty-four from 75 to 85 per cent. of the deaths from all causes are due to accidents, the large majority of which are the direct results of the employment. Railroad engineers experience the highest accident liability at the ages of twenty-five to thirty-four, when from 65. to 75 per cent. of the deaths are due to fatal accidents, chiefly the result of the occupation. Electric linemen are subject to an extra hazard, which varies from 65 per cent. of the entire mortality at the ages of fifteen to twenty-four to about 30 per cent. at the ages of thirty-five to forty-four. Coal miners at all ages are exposed to serious dangers which average from 20 to 25 per cent. of the deaths from all causes at all ages, but the variation in the accident liability at different periods of life is from 50 to 60 per cent. at the ages of fifteen to twenty-four, to from 10 to 15 per cent. at the ages of fifty-five to sixty-four.

Economics of Accident Prevention.—Industrial accidents, as I have said, are not only the cause of a considerable and more or less preventable loss of life, but they add enormously to the burden of dependence and seriously impair industrial efficiency. The medical and surgical expenses alone must amount to millions of dollars annually, while the reduced efficiency of workmen incapacitated, crippled or otherwise injured, tends to reduce materially the income of the people as a whole and naturally hinders the largest growth of capital.

During 1904 on American railways engaged in interstate commerce 3,632 employees were killed, while 67,067 were injured. The extent of the injuries is not known, but ranges from minor degrees of impairment to total incapacity, and many are of such a character that death results within a few years. In American coal mines during 1904 1,968 employees were killed, while 4,053 were injured. The ratio of injured to killed is very much greater than in the case of railways, due, possibly, to a certain extent, to different methods in reporting non-fatal accidents. The liability to fatal injury, however, is in itself greater in coal mining than in the railway service, and if accidents happen they are, as a rule, fatal or of a very serious character. The social and economic aspects of coal mining accidents are emphasized by the fact that annually over 1,000 women are made widows, while over 2,000 children are made orphans. The

reason why the number of children is relatively small is, no doubt, chiefly because most of the accidents occur at comparatively young ages. It would be possible to estimate approximately the burden upon society as the result of such accidents involved in the maintenance of widows and orphans, most of whom are left more or less destitute and in circumstances which require outside aid. There is thus in addition to the impaired industrial efficiency of coal miners a large economic loss to the nation in the waste of life, part of which is unquestionably preventable, according to the qualified opinion of those who have made a study of mining accidents.

Economics of Preventable Sickness.—Sickness in one form or another, incapacity to work and gradual impairment of physical vigor are more insidious in effect than accidents, but, at the same time, most important factors in diminishing both social and economic efficiency. The importance of the subject is illustrated in the numerous and practically universal sick benefit associations established among workmen upon their own initiative, as well as in the more recent development of what is known as health insurance, the principles and practice of which rest upon a fairly secure actuarial basis and partially established sickness experience. The average amount of sickness in weeks per annum varies considerably among different classes of workmen, but the facts are not as clearly established for this country as for some of the more important friendly societies of England, which for many years have had the benefit of qualified actuarial advice and supervision. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of New Jersey in an earlier investigation reported upon the annual amount of sick time lost among men in different occupations, but the results are not as conclusive as would be desirable. The economic importance of sickness is hardly less than its social aspects, for the loss of actual working time is only one of the evils; the drain upon the family resources to meet medical and other expenses requires also to be taken into account. According to Watson, who has exhaustively investigated the sickness experience of the Manchester Order of Unity of Odd Fellows, representative of English workmen generally, the amount of sickness in weeks per annum enhances with increasing age. Between the ages of sixteen and nineteen the amount of sickness to be expected is not quite one week per annum, increasing gradually to two weeks per annum between the ages of forty-five and forty-nine, to four weeks per

annum between fifty-five and fifty-nine, to twenty-five weeks per annum between seventy-five and seventy-nine, and to not quite thirty-nine weeks between the ages of ninety and ninety-four. (Appendix X.) The term sickness in old age, however, is, as a rule, equivalent to physical infirmities, and in the experience of English friendly societies what is called "sick pay" in old age, or after sixty-five or seventy, is for ordinary purposes the payment of a deferred annuity or an old age pension. Sickness as an economic factor, as indicated by the experience referred to, does not become of serious importance until about the age of fifty-five, when as much as one month out of twelve represents the degree of industrial inefficiency equivalent to the corresponding physical impairment or incapacity of the workman. The experience of friendly societies, however, underestimates the actual amount of prevailing sickness, since the funds of the society are not drawn upon except in cases sufficiently serious to conform to the established rules and usages of the society. Members often do not draw from the sick funds at all as a matter of personal pride, or through brotherly attachment to their respective lodges or associations. Thus it is shown that the economic aspects of sickness among industrial workmen assume more serious importance as age advances, but the true incidence of the prevailing rate of sickness among industrial workers can only be established by a more extensive inquiry in which the different trades or employments are sufficiently differentiated. It requires no very extensive investigation, however, to establish the fact that a very considerable amount of the prevailing sickness is strictly preventable and due in a large measure to unhygienic conditions of factory life or trades generally.

Problems of Industrial Hygiene.—A comprehensive and practical study of the diseases of occupation is, however, surrounded by many difficulties. Arlidge is one of the few authors who has succeeded admirably well in this field within the narrow limits of English industrial experience. Many of his conclusions, however, do not apply to American conditions. Arlidge had for his basis the decennial reports of the registrar-general on occupation mortality statistics, but the corresponding data published by the census office for the registration area of the United States are as yet far from being equally trustworthy. The localization of industry in the United States peculiarly demands special attention to this subject, and at the same time materially favors the opportunity for satis-

factory inquiry and report. Thus, among many illustrations, I may mention the concentration and local predominance of the slaughter house and meat packing industry at South Omaha, the iron and steel industry at McKeesport and Johnstown, Pa., the pottery industry at East Liverpool, Ohio, the manufacture of hats at Bethel, Conn., and Orange, N. J., the manufacture of glass at Tarentum, Pa., and Millville, N. J., the manufacture of cotton goods at Fall River and New Bedford, Mass., the manufacture of boots and shoes at Brockton, Mass., of silk at Paterson, N. J., of hosiery and knit goods at Amsterdam and Cohoes, N. Y., and of brass ware at Waterbury, Conn. Each of these localities has a vital interest in the health and longevity of its wage-earners, who often and in large numbers work under injurious health conditions which could be removed without serious difficulty if the facts were fully known and understood.

Scientific Basis of Occupation Diseases.—Scientific observations respecting the diseases of occupation (as distinct from industrial accidents) must primarily rest upon trustworthy vital statistics and the results of personal inquiry into the actual conditions of industrial life and labor. Arlidge very properly considered as a preliminary basis for his observations the conditions and circumstances of labor, including observations upon the choice of a trade, the continuity of employment, the varied health conditions in the same occupation, problems of factory site and construction, domestic industry, air of workshops, personal qualities of workers, sanitary habits of work-people, hereditary qualities of workers, racial peculiarities, duration of labor and the general effects of law and legislation with respect to factories and workshops. The chief subject of interest, however, which attracts attention is the pathology of dust inhalation. Dust in any one of its many and varied forms is without question the principal ill-health producing factor in industry. Every trade with an excessive mortality from consumption or diseases of the air passages is almost invariably an occupation in which more or less dust of an irritating character is inhaled during the operations connected with the process of manufacture. Arlidge studied in natural course the employments subject to the inhalation of dust of non-metallic, metallic and organic origin. Following these come the occupations in which the employee is subject to noxious vapors of animal, vegetable or inorganic origin. Finally in this branch of inquiry come the employments in which the workers are subject to

excessive temperatures, to electricity, to abnormal atmospheric pressure and to prolonged strain or friction. The subject is so vast that no one man can do it justice, and scientific co-operation in this field is a necessity. The co-operation of a large number of qualified experts is required, who of necessity will have to contribute to science the results of their observations without hope or expectation of pecuniary reward. But no field of inquiry gives promise of better results, no field is more truly humanitarian than this, for an earnest and impartial effort to establish the truth will lead with practical certainty to the discovery of principles which, if applied, will more materially advance the true cause of labor than any agitation for high wages or short hours.

Foreign Investigations Into Health Conditions of Industrial Life.—Primarily, however, it is the duty of the State, as circumstances require, to make occasional or periodical inquiry into the state of health and mortality of the population engaged in more or less unhealthy or dangerous trades or occupations. All social remedial legislation should rest upon a large and well-established basis of fact and observation, to eliminate a possibly unwarranted interference with the social and economic progress of the people. As illustrations of the proper method of inquiry, I may call attention to a recently published report of the Royal Commission on the Ventilation and Sanitation of Mines in the State of Western Australia, which was prepared by a commission which included the State mining engineer, the president of the central board of health, the chief inspector of explosives and government analyst, and several other members of scientific attainments and practical experience. Between 1893 and 1899 a number of important inquiries were made into the conditions of dangerous trades in the United Kingdom, prepared by an inter-departmental committee under the direction of the principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. The committee included the superintending inspector of factories, the physician to the royal infirmary and the chief inspector of factories for England, Scotland and Ireland. One of the most scientific and useful investigations of this character is a report on the use of phosphorous in the manufacture of lucifer matches, by Professor Thorpe, principal chemist of the government laboratory, and author of a standard treatise on industrial chemistry. Professor Thorpe was assisted by Professor Oliver, physician to the royal infirmary,

a recognized authority on dangerous trades and the author of a standard treatise on the subject. Dr. Cunningham, senior dental surgeon to the London Hospital, was one of the members who reported on the subject of dental caries, as resulting from industrial poisoning in the manufacture of matches. In 1899 there was published a special report on the causation and prevention of accidents at docks, wharves and quays, by Maitland and Erant, H. M. inspectors of factories, as a supplement to the regular report of the chief inspector for the year. Investigations of this character disclose conditions which rarely attract general attention and tendencies seriously detrimental to the welfare of the most deserving element of the population.

American Investigations Into Health Conditions of Industrial Life.—It is unfortunate that no similar investigations have been made in the United States. Occasionally the State labor bureaus publish brief reports upon local industries, but they are rather descriptive of the better class of establishments and generally make no reference to health-injurious conditions or tendencies. The reports of State factory inspectors are equally limited in value. There is no well-defined government policy with respect to dangerous or injurious health industries, and there can be no material improvement in existing conditions until our system of State factory inspection is made to rest upon a qualified medical basis. The subject, however, is gradually attracting the attention of legislative bodies, and in 1904 the legislature of Massachusetts adopted a resolution under which the State board of health was required to "investigate the sanitary conditions of factories and workshops and other employments in Massachusetts, with respect to all conditions which may endanger the life and limb or be prejudicial to the health of the persons employed therein." Only a small sum, however, was appropriated for the investigation, but a preliminary and instructive report was prepared for the information of the legislature, including observations in detail upon the cutlery and tool industry, stone-cutting and polishing, the tobacco, shoe, paper, textile, rubber and lead industries, etc. The report indicates the lines of inquiry to be followed in similar investigations in other States. A reasonably satisfactory method of inquiry into the subject of diseases and disease tendencies of industries has been adopted by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics of New Jersey, following investigations by the

same bureau during the early nineties. In its report for 1905 the bureau reports at length upon the pottery industry, including observations upon every branch of the industry derived from personal inspection and the usual methods of official inquiry. As another indication of increasing attention to problems of factory sanitation and labor protection, I may refer to a report prepared under the direction of the United States Department of Labor by C. F. W. Doehring, published in the Bulletin of the department for January, 1903. In this report two principles are laid down, which, in the opinion of the author, are necessary for the successful protection of workmen in factories, and which require, first, systematic education in respect to the many dangers which in certain industries threaten the workmen and the public; second, the institution of technical preventive measures based upon a sound and practical as well as theoretical foundation, and whose aim should be to remove the causes of all existing evils injurious to health. In this report thirty-eight specific employments are enumerated in which injurious varieties of dust are more or less prejudicial to the health of the employees, and there is also a long list of the several poisons which enter into manufacturing processes and prove more or less injurious to the health of employees. Special consideration is given to the lead industry, chiefly the manufacture of white lead, with observations upon the symptoms of lead poisoning and suggestions for the improvement of the conditions of persons employed in the different branches of this industry. The author also considers at some length the oilcloth and linoleum industries, linseed oil manufacture, the manufacture of tallow, the fertilizer industry, etc. Reports and investigations of this nature have their value, but they are not sufficient for the purpose of remedial legislation having for its aim improvements in the sanitary and physical condition of labor on the one hand, and of an increase in industrial or economic efficiency on the other.

Changes and Tendencies in Industrial Methods—Industrial efficiency, as I have said at the outset, must in its final analysis rest upon the sound health, physical vigor and long life of the industrial population. As Marshall has pointed out, every year of life, in fact, every day of life, has its economic value. Labor conditions in the United States, it is true, are, on the whole, much more satisfactory than in foreign countries, but in many respects appearances are

deceptive, and the true state of affairs is not realized even by the workman himself. The real facts and tendencies of industrial life often escape observation and require to be established by means of a comprehensive and scientific investigation made by government authority. For purpose of illustration, I may mention that persons employed in potteries, glass workers, stonecutters and printers continue to work under more or less unsatisfactory conditions, much as these conditions have been improved during the last thirty years. The modern cotton factory, as it has been built in the South, illustrates forcibly the advance over the old granite mill of New England. The modern pottery eliminates much of the danger of lead poisoning, and there is every reason to believe that the modern tank furnace in glass manufacture is a decided improvement over the pot furnace, in that at least the frequent exposure to extreme heat in the setting of a new pot is done away with. One of the best illustrations of material improvements in the health conditions of modern industry is furnished by the roller process in flour milling, while the introduction of pneumatic tools in the stone-cutting industry has resulted in an increase in the disease liability and mortality of men employed in this occupation.

The underlying causes of ill-health and short life cannot be brought to light by superficial investigation or an inquiry limited to a few of the better class of establishments. The problems of proper housing, light, ventilation, food, drink, women workers, child labor, night workers, hours of labor, efforts at social betterment, etc., all require consideration for a full understanding of the problems of industrial efficiency as affected by conditions injurious to health and destructive to life. The facts are too involved and the issue is too important to be disposed of otherwise than by systematic inquiry and observations made by qualified experts in the different branches of industrial medicine and labor conditions.

Physical Standard of Fitness for Labor and Industry.—While on the one hand health is impaired and longevity curtailed by industrial conditions destructive to health and life, on the other the problem of industrial efficiency demands intelligent consideration of the physical condition of the employee and his physical fitness for a particular trade or occupation, both at the beginning of the trade life and during its continuance. No satisfactory standard of physical requirements for admission to different trades and occupations has

as yet been established, but it is evident that such a standard would have its value in eliminating the physically unfit from recognized unhealthful or injurious employments. The same theory of physical fitness which underlies the physical and medical examination of recruits for the army or navy or of applicants for the police and fire department services, is applicable to industrial employments generally, provided the proper standard is established by means of a comprehensive and scientific inquiry. Qualified medical investigation would be necessary to establish the facts in connection with any particular industry, but primarily physical measurements require to be collected from a large number of individual workers in different occupations. A beginning in this direction was made by Baxter, who, during the Civil War, collected a considerable amount of material incidental to the measurement of army recruits. The most recent application of this theory is to be found in the reports of the inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration in the United Kingdom. The physical standard required to secure the highest degree of industrial efficiency, as measured by subsequent health and longevity, is necessarily very different in the case of a 'longshoreman, subject to exposure and over-strain, than in the case of a window glass blower, subject to exceptional chest expansion and exposure to extreme heat. As Arlidge has pointed out, heavy physical exercise, *per se*, is not necessarily prejudicial to health, and trades which require strong and moderate exercise are "far and away more healthy than others demanding little or no bodily effort." But we, as yet, know very little respecting the proper physical basis for industrial employments, and in perhaps no direction is scientific inquiry more demanded than in this.

British Committee on Physical Deterioration.—The British committee on physical deterioration was organized, first, "to determine, with the aid of such counsel as the medical profession are able to give, the steps which should be taken to furnish the government and the nation at large with periodical data for an accurate comparative estimate of the health and physique of the people; second, to indicate generally the causes of such physical deterioration as does exist in certain classes, and, third, to point out the means by which it can be most effectually diminished." It would be difficult to frame a more intelligent basis for an inquiry of this character, but for the specific object of determining the conditions

of factory life or industrial employments generally, more or less detrimental to health and longevity, a still more comprehensive investigation would be required. The committee very properly called attention to the very narrow basis of fact from which to draw accurate conclusions with respect to the physical history of the British people. Such investigations as have been made have been of a rather fragmentary character, and the committee properly point out that what is required is "a permanent organization, not necessarily on a large or expensive scale, which, under expert direction, and in collaboration with the Department of State, shall be charged with the duty of collecting and tabulating facts which throw light upon the situation and thus provide means by which those interested in the subject may at any moment satisfy themselves of the progress of the nation one way or another." The committee say further that "every witness who was examined on the subject testified to the great value of such facts in determining questions relative to the physique of the people." Though opinions differed as to the amount and method of observation necessary, it was admitted on all hands that anthropometric records were the only accredited tests available, and that if collected on a sufficient scale they would constitute the supreme criterion of physical deterioration or the reverse.

American Problems of Labor Protection.—The American standard of life and intelligence guards in many ways against the evils which followed the introduction of the factory system in England and on the Continent. While the danger of actual industrial deterioration may appear remote, it is an ever-present contingency, but most so during a period of intense physical activity. More so is this the case when vast numbers of unlike races, chiefly natives of non-progressive countries with a low standard of life, enter into active competition with the trained intelligence of the predominating type tenaciously adhering to a higher standard of social and industrial progress. The workmen themselves, as it has often been pointed out by intelligent observers, cannot be supposed to judge fairly of their own condition in this respect. The employer is in a better position, and much can be done by him to effectively guard against conditions more or less destructive to life and health. The employer can make no better investment than to properly safeguard the life and health of workmen, and thus raise

the standard of individual wellbeing on the one hand and of industrial efficiency on the other. Every employer of labor whose workmen are subject to conditions more or less dangerous or destructive to health and life owes it as a primary duty to his workmen and the State that he should observe with care and intelligence the general conditions of life under which his industry is carried on, so that the risk of premature mortality or increased disease liability may be reduced to a minimum. It is something very considerably to the credit of modern industrial progress that this aspect of the labor problem has received a fair share of attention, and that what is included in the comprehensive term "welfare work" gives promise of excellent social and economic results to the advantage of both employer and employee. Only, however, as the economic importance of the subject is recognized and as the economic value of life and health to both the industry and the State are properly appreciated, will efforts in this direction become more general and tend to raise the level of health and life, and increase the industrial efficiency of individual workmen and the economic value of their labor to the State.

Recommendations for Scientific Inquiry and Report.—The field is so large and the problem so complex that definite suggestions and recommendations require to be made with extreme caution. Following, however, in part the plan of the inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration, and in part the consensus of opinion of authorities on the diseases of occupation, there would appear to be no disagreement as to the practical importance and social value of the following recommendations as a preliminary basis for wide-reaching and in some respects drastic reforms:

First. A scientific inquiry by a mixed commission of medical and other qualified experts, under Federal or State authority into the trade life and health of persons employed in the principal industries, for the purpose of determining with accuracy the existing conditions more or less detrimental to health, longevity and industrial efficiency.

Second. A national anthropometric survey more or less along the lines suggested by the inter-departmental committee on physical deterioration, but with special reference to the physical status of persons employed in industrial occupations for the purpose of establishing normal physical qualifications for industrial employments.

Third. The local registration of sickness supplementary to the

registration of deaths, or, where this is not possible, the registration of sickness and accidents of employees in all industrial establishments or occupations where at least five persons are employed. The registration should include the nature and duration of the disease, the age of the patient, the specific occupation, the length of trade life, and the medical opinion whether the accident or sickness was, or was not, the result of the employment.

Fourth. The systematic medical inspection of factories and workshops under the general direction of the State factory inspector, who should require periodical reports upon the general sanitary conditions of the employment, prevailing health conditions, dangerous branches of the trade, and supplemented by general observations upon existing circumstances or tendencies, more or less affecting the health and life of persons employed.

Fifth. Compulsory medical examination of all persons employed in industry under the age of twenty-one years. The medical examination should be at the time of commencing work, but should be followed annually by re-examinations to determine possible injurious effects upon health and life in the particular trade followed. A minimum standard of physical qualifications should be adopted, and persons falling below the standard should not be permitted to engage in trades more or less injurious or dangerous to health.

Conclusions.—The transcending economic and social importance of the health and physical status of labor in American industry warrants a well-defined government policy, more far-reaching in its power of inquiry and statutory requirements than the present methods of factory inspection and State supervision and regulation of industrial employment. My remarks and suggestions are chiefly for the purpose of indicating some of the more important aspects of the physical and medical problems of labor and industry and to direct attention to the enormous annual economic loss to the nation incurred in a needless waste of human effort and industry and in sacrifice of health and life. American workingmen require a better knowledge of the facts of industrial hygiene, which can be secured only through inquiry under government authority, and workingmen require to be better informed as to the conditions of industry injurious to health and life and contrary to the highest degree of industrial and social efficiency. The facts required cannot be obtained through individuals in as effective and comprehensive a manner as

by the government making use of the existing machinery of State, health, labor, factory and other organizations of a scientific character, such as the American Public Health Association, American Medical Association and kindred bodies. If the duration of life of workingmen has, on the average, the considerable economic value referred to at the outset, then it manifestly must be to the advantage of the State, and the employers of labor, that nothing within reason be left undone to raise to the highest possible standard the level of national physique and of health and industrial efficiency. That we are far from having attained to this standard is made evident by the still very considerable and needlessly large loss of life, attributable to tuberculosis, respiratory diseases and industrial accidents. The interests of the nation, of wage-earners as a class, and of society as a whole, transcend the narrow and selfish interests of short-sighted employers of labor, who, disregarding the teachings of medical and other sciences, manage industry and permit the existence of conditions contrary to a sound industrial economy and a rational humanitarianism. There can be no question of doubt but that at the present time the average life and industrial efficiency of a workingman in the United States is not what it should be, and it is manifestly the duty of the State, of employers of labor, of labor associations and of the workingmen themselves to take the facts of the problem into consideration and by intelligent co-operation raise to the maximum the standard of life and health in American industry.

I. THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL LABOR AND LIFE

Age	Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain—\$200.		Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain—\$300.		Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain—\$500.	
	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.
15	\$50	\$10,000	\$75	\$15,000	\$90	\$25,000
16	60	9,950	90	14,925	120	24,910
17	70	9,890	100	14,835	140	24,790
18	80	9,820	110	14,735	175	24,650
19	90	9,740	120	14,625	200	24,475
20	100	9,650	130	14,505	200	24,275
21	120	9,550	140	14,375	225	24,075
22	140	9,430	160	14,235	250	23,850
23	150	9,290	180	14,075	300	23,600
24	160	9,140	200	13,895	350	23,300
25	170	8,980	225	13,695	400	22,950
26	180	8,810	250	13,470	425	22,550
27	190	8,630	275	13,220	450	22,125
28	200	8,440	300	12,945	500	21,675
29	225	8,240	325	12,645	550	21,175
30	250	8,015	350	12,320	600	20,625
31	275	7,765	375	11,970	650	20,025
32	300	7,490	400	11,595	650	19,375
33	300	7,190	400	11,195	650	18,725
34	300	6,890	400	10,795	650	18,075
35	300	6,590	400	10,395	675	17,425
36	300	6,290	400	9,995	675	16,750
37	300	5,990	400	9,595	675	16,075
38	300	5,690	400	9,195	675	15,400
39	300	5,390	400	8,795	675	14,725
40	300	5,090	400	8,395	675	14,050
41	300	4,790	400	7,995	675	13,375
42	300	4,490	400	7,595	665	12,700
43	300	4,190	400	7,195	650	12,035
44	300	3,890	400	6,795	650	11,385
45	300	3,590	400	6,395	650	10,735
46	300	3,290	400	5,995	650	10,085
47	300	2,990	400	5,595	650	9,435
48	300	2,690	400	5,195	650	8,785
49	300	2,390	390	4,795	650	8,135
50	275	2,090	380	4,405	625	7,485
51	250	1,815	370	4,025	600	6,860
52	225	1,565	360	3,655	575	6,260
53	200	1,340	350	3,295	560	5,685
54	175	1,140	345	2,945	550	5,125
55	150	965	330	2,600	540	4,575
56	140	815	310	2,270	530	4,035
57	130	675	300	1,960	520	3,505
58	120	545	290	1,660	510	2,985
59	100	425	280	1,370	500	2,475
60	80	325	260	1,090	475	1,975
61	70	245	240	830	450	1,500
62	65	175	220	590	400	1,050
63	60	110	200	370	350	650
64	50	50	170	170	300	300

II. COMPARATIVE LIFE TABLE OF 1,000 MALES AGED FIFTEEN YEARS.

Number Surviving at Each Age to Sixty-five.

Age.	English Life Tables.			Mass. Life Table. N. Y. City.		London Life Table. 1891-00.
	1838-54.	1871-80	1881-90.	1893-97.	1899-01.	
15	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
16	995	996	997	996	996	997
17	989	992	994	991	992	994
18	983	987	990	986	987	990
19	976	982	986	980	982	986
20	969	977	981	974	976	982
21	961	970	977	967	970	978
22	953	964	972	961	963	974
23	945	957	967	953	955	970
24	936	951	961	946	947	965
25	928	944	955	938	938	960
26	919	936	949	930	929	955
27	911	929	943	922	920	950
28	902	921	936	914	910	945
29	893	913	929	905	900	939
30	885	905	922	897	889	932
31	876	896	914	889	879	925
32	867	888	906	880	868	918
33	858	879	898	871	857	909
34	848	869	890	863	845	901
35	839	860	881	854	833	891
36	830	850	872	846	821	881
37	820	840	863	837	809	871
38	810	830	850	828	797	860
39	800	819	840	819	784	848
40	790	809	833	810	770	836
41	780	797	823	801	757	824
42	770	786	812	792	743	811
43	759	774	801	782	730	798
44	748	762	789	773	716	785
45	737	750	777	763	701	772
46	726	738	765	753	686	758
47	714	725	753	743	670	743
48	702	712	740	733	654	728
49	690	699	727	722	638	713
50	677	685	713	710	621	697
51	665	671	699	698	605	680
52	651	656	684	685	588	663
53	637	641	669	672	571	646
54	623	626	654	659	553	628

II. COMPARATIVE LIFE TABLE OF 1,000 MALES AGED FIFTEEN YEARS.

(Continued.)

Age.	English Life Tables.			Mass.	N. Y. City.	London
	1838-54.	1871-80.	1881-90.	Life Table. 1899-37.	1899-01.	Life Table. 1891-00.
55	609	610	638	645	536	609
56	594	594	621	630	518	590
57	578	577	604	615	500	571
58	563	560	586	599	482	551
59	546	542	568	583	463	531
60	530	524	549	566	443	510
61	512	506	529	548	424	489
62	495	487	509	530	404	467
63	476	467	488	511	384	445
64	457	447	466	492	363	423
65	438	427	444	473	341	401

III. COMPARATIVE EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE. MALES, AGES 15-65.

Age.	English Life Tables.			Mass.	N. Y. City.	London
	1838-54.	1871-80.	1881-90.	Life Table. 1893-97.	1899-01.	Life Table. 1891-00.
15	43.2	43.4	44.5	45.1	40.2	43.4
16	42.4	42.6	43.6	44.3	39.3	42.5
17	41.6	41.8	42.7	43.5	38.5	41.7
18	40.9	41.0	41.9	42.7	37.7	40.8
19	40.2	40.2	41.1	41.9	36.8	40.0
20	39.5	39.4	40.3	41.2	36.1	39.1
21	38.8	38.6	39.5	40.5	35.3	38.3
22	38.1	37.9	38.7	39.8	34.6	37.5
23	37.5	37.2	37.9	39.1	33.8	36.6
24	36.8	36.4	37.1	38.4	33.1	35.8
25	36.1	35.7	36.3	37.7	32.4	35.0
26	35.4	35.0	35.5	37.0	31.7	34.2
27	34.8	34.2	34.8	36.3	31.1	33.3
28	34.1	33.5	34.0	35.6	30.4	32.5
29	33.4	32.8	33.3	35.0	29.7	31.7
30	32.8	32.1	32.5	34.3	29.1	30.9
31	32.1	31.4	31.8	33.6	28.4	30.2
32	31.4	30.7	31.1	32.9	27.8	29.4
33	30.7	30.0	30.3	32.2	27.1	28.7
34	30.1	29.3	29.6	31.6	26.5	28.0
35	29.4	28.6	28.9	30.9	25.8	27.3
36	28.7	28.0	28.2	30.2	25.2	26.6
37	28.1	27.3	27.5	29.5	24.6	25.9
38	27.4	26.6	26.8	28.8	24.0	25.2
39	26.7	26.0	26.1	28.1	23.3	24.5
40	26.1	25.3	25.4	27.4	22.7	23.9
41	25.4	24.7	24.7	26.7	22.1	23.2
42	24.7	24.0	24.1	26.0	21.5	22.6
43	24.1	23.4	23.4	25.3	20.9	21.9
44	23.4	22.7	22.7	24.6	20.3	21.3

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III. COMPARATIVE EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE. MALES, AGES 16-65.

(Continued.)

Age.	English Life Tables.			Mass. Life Table.		N. Y. City.	London Life Table.	
	1838-54.	1871-80.	1881-90.	1893-97.	1899-01.		1891-00.	
45	22.8	22.1	22.1	23.9	19.7		20.7	
46	22.1	21.4	21.4	23.2	19.2		20.0	
47	21.5	20.8	20.8	22.6	18.6		19.4	
48	20.8	20.2	20.1	21.9	18.0		18.8	
49	20.2	19.6	19.5	21.2	17.5		18.2	
50	19.5	18.9	18.8	20.5	16.9		17.6	
51	18.9	18.3	18.2	19.9	16.4		17.0	
52	18.3	17.7	17.6	19.2	15.9		16.4	
53	17.7	17.1	17.0	18.6	15.3		15.9	
54	17.1	16.5	16.3	18.0	14.8		15.3	
55	16.5	16.0	15.7	17.3	14.2		14.8	
56	15.9	15.4	15.2	16.7	13.7		14.2	
57	15.3	14.8	14.6	16.1	13.2		13.7	
58	14.7	14.2	14.0	15.5	12.7		13.2	
59	14.1	13.7	13.4	15.0	12.2		12.6	
60	13.5	13.1	12.9	14.4	11.7		12.1	
61	13.0	12.6	12.3	13.8	11.2		11.6	
62	12.4	12.1	11.8	13.3	10.7		11.2	
63	11.9	11.6	11.3	12.8	10.3		10.7	
64	11.3	11.1	10.8	12.2	9.8		10.2	
65	10.8	10.6	10.3	11.7	9.4		9.8	

IV. MORTALITY RATES OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION REGISTRATION AREA.
U. S. CENSUS OF 1900.

(Rates per 1,000 Living at Each Age Period.)

Ages.	1890.	1900.	Changes.	
			Decrease	
Under 5	66.8	52.1	Decrease	14.7
5-9	7.3	5.2	"	2.1
10-14	3.8	3.3	"	.5
15-19	6.0	5.2	"	.8
20-24	8.4	7.5	"	.9
25-29	9.9	8.6	"	1.3
30-34	10.6	9.4	"	1.2
35-39	12.5	11.0	"	1.5
40-44	13.5	12.2	"	1.3
45-49	16.5	15.2	"	1.3
50-54	19.2	19.1	"	.1
55-59	26.5	26.3	"	.2
60-64	32.8	35.1	Increase	2.3
65-69	49.0	52.2	"	3.2
70-74	64.5	75.2	"	10.7
75-79	103.2	110.5	"	7.3
80-84	144.6	165.8	"	21.2
85-89	215.5	241.3	"	25.8
90-94	260.0	339.2	"	79.2
95-over	347.1	418.9	"	71.8

V. MORTALITY AND SICKNESS RATES. FRIENDLY SOCIETY EXPERIENCE, MANCHESTER ORDER OF UNITY. ODD FELLOWS (WATSON) 1893-1897.

Ages.	Annual Rate of Mortality per 1,000 Members.	Annual Rate of Sickness per Member. (Weeks.)
16-19	2.5	.92
20-24	3.7	.90
25-29	4.6	.95
30-34	5.5	1.06
35-39	7.0	1.27
40-44	9.5	1.58
45-49	11.7	1.99
50-54	16.9	2.75
55-59	24.2	4.02
60-64	35.6	6.31
65-69	54.1	10.59
70-74	80.9	17.40
75-79	120.4	25.15
80-84	176.6	32.27
85-89	232.6	36.12
90-94	284.7	38.89
95-over	440.0	38.57

VI. MORTALITY FROM ALL CAUSES IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS. ENGLISH EXPERIENCE, 1890-92.

(Rate per 1,000 at each Age.)

Ages.	Profes- sional.	Agricul- tural.	General Trades and Industries.	Unhealth- ful. Trades.	Danger- ous Trades.	Unhealthful and Danger- ous Trades.	Common Labor.
15-19	2.3	1.7	2.3	3.0	4.4	3.9	2.5
20-24	4.8	3.5	4.7	5.8	6.8	5.7	5.5
25-34	5.4	4.8	6.7	8.6	9.4	6.8	9.1
35-44	9.6	7.7	11.9	15.6	14.9	10.9	16.4
45-54	16.2	12.2	20.6	26.9	26.1	20.9	26.9
55-64	29.9	24.2	37.7	49.3	47.1	45.9	43.4
65-over	94.1	92.1	105.3	125.4	123.9	146.4	113.8

VII. MORTALITY FROM CONSUMPTION IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS. ENGLISH EXPERIENCE, 1890-92.

(Rate per 1,000 at each Age.)

Ages.	Profes- sional.	Agricul- tural.	General Trades and Industries.	Unhealth- ful. Trades.	Danger- ous Trades.	Unhealthful and Danger- ous Trades.	Common Labor.
15-19	1.2	0.4	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.6
20-24	2.2	1.3	2.0	2.6	1.8	1.4	2.0
25-34	2.1	1.7	2.7	3.4	2.7	1.5	3.2
35-44	2.4	2.0	3.8	4.5	3.2	2.1	4.7
45-54	2.0	1.7	4.0	4.5	3.4	2.9	4.9
55-64	1.5	1.5	3.2	3.8	2.8	3.2	3.4
65-over	0.7	1.0	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.8	2.0

VIII. MORTALITY FROM RESPIRATORY DISEASES IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS.
ENGLISH EXPERIENCE, 1890-92.

(Rate per 1,000 at each Age.)

Ages.	Profes- sional.	Agricul- tural.	General Trades and Industries.	Unhealth- ful. Trades.	Danger- ous Trades.	Unhealthful and Danger- ous Trades.	Common Labor.
15-19	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3
20-24	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.8
25-34	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.0	1.7
35-44	1.4	1.3	2.3	3.2	3.6	2.3	3.7
45-54	2.6	2.6	4.9	6.8	7.6	6.0	7.6
55-64	4.0	5.6	10.4	14.4	15.3	16.5	13.9
65-over	15.8	20.3	27.0	34.5	34.5	47.7	32.8

IX. MORTALITY FROM ACCIDENTS IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS.
ENGLISH EXPERIENCE, 1890-92.

(Rate per 1,000 at each Age.)

Ages.	Profes- sional.	Agricul- tural.	General Trades and Industries.	Unhealth- ful. Trades.	Danger- ous Trades.	Unhealthful and Danger- ous Trades.	Common Labor.
15-19	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.4	1.6	0.4
20-24	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.6	1.6	0.6
25-34	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	1.6	1.8	0.8
35-44	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.9	2.1	1.1
45-54	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.8	2.3	2.8	1.5
55-64	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.1	3.0	3.2	2.0
65-over	1.0	1.6	1.9	2.2	3.9	4.1	3.4

THE MANHOOD TRIBUTE TO THE MODERN MACHINE:
INFLUENCES DETERMINING THE LENGTH OF
THE TRADE LIFE AMONG MACHINISTS.

By JAMES O'CONNELL,
President International Association of Machinists.

Some years ago an article appeared in a medical journal in which the writer stoutly denounced the audacity of the laity for daring to enter the realms sacred to science before they—the laity—were properly prepared and equipped. No layman, until he was thoroughly qualified by properly tabulated and classified data had a right to penetrate the chamber behind the sacred veil, or to express an opinion therein. I was heartily in accord with the writer then, nor have I changed my opinion, but circumstances may arise which may cause a modification in any opinion, no matter how strong the foundations upon which the opinion may have been built. Circumstances have arisen at this time in my case in which I find myself placed in the predicament of having to deal with a subject in a scientific manner without having any recognized material—that is, scientifically recognized material—from which to draw either inspiration or deduction.

The purpose of this paper is to prove that with the introduction of modern high-speed machinery the life of the operator of such machinery has been shortened. To prove this I have made diligent search in the promising sources for exact information bearing upon the subject, but without success. One or two works were found relating to the hygienic conditions of the factory and the effect these conditions had upon the life of the worker, others relating to accidents through machinery, but nothing was found showing that as the speed of the machine was increased the life of the worker was decreased in about the same ratio. As neither factory conditions from a hygienic standpoint nor the safeguarding of machinery had any immediate or direct bearing upon the

subject, the works referred to lent neither aid nor comfort. This being so, I am forced to fall back upon certain conclusions I have reached during my nearly two score years' connection with the machine shop. For a quarter of a century I have observed factory conditions, and if the conclusions I have reached were not approached by a scientifically trod roadbed and in a scientific manner, they have been reached at least by practical experience and close observation. This may not be as exact as true science must be, but it is from such experience and observation when properly classified that the exact data of science are secured.

Great changes have been made in the last quarter of a century, and every industry has been affected with the advent of the machine, but in no other sphere of human activity has such a change been effected as has occurred in the machine shop. The one who would realize this most readily would be the expert machinist of twenty-five years ago, who, proficient in every branch of his trade, took it into his head to cease work for two decades. Upon making his appearance in the machine shop again he would be surprised to find his occupation gone. He would find the change complete, a revolution had taken place during his absence, old methods had given place to new, the hand tool had been superseded, and that he was in a new world of which he does not form a part. This new world has been *created* upon the exact spot where he once reigned supreme, but the whole aspect is changed. Both men and machinery are different; different in type and product. Old men have disappeared and boys have taken their places. Speeds have been increased, tools have been made to cut deeper, and everything seems to be run at fever heat. Truly a mighty change has taken place since he last laid down his tools. Let us look through his eyes and observe with great care what has really happened, and we shall reach conclusions from which deductions can be made which in turn will convince us that the speeding up of machinery has not been *conducive* to the *longevity* of the worker.

First of all old men have disappeared, and for this there must be a good and sufficient reason. What is the reason? Has speeding up of machinery anything to do with it? Has the life of the old time machinist or his working life been curtailed?

Time was when age was honored in the machine shop; when the worker who had reached the prime of manhood was both re-

spected and appreciated, because the added skill he had gained with his maturing years had won him the respect of his shopmates, while this same skill, adding to the profits, brought appreciation from his employers. The speeding up of the machine has changed all this, for even had he kept up with the times his added years prevent him from keeping pace with the machine; its gait is too rapid, so he is forced aside to make room for a younger man. Not being able to keep the pace he is no longer profitable, and his presence is, therefore, undesirable in or about the factory. The first sign of age is the signal for his dismissal, and being dismissed from one shop it is difficult, if not almost impossible, to get a job elsewhere, so long as these signs are visible. To prolong his struggles for existence within the craft boundaries of his earlier years he tries device and disguise to deceive the employer as to his age, until he is forced to seek a living elsewhere, a mere derelict on the industrial sea.

Druggists doing business in the more densely populated districts of any of our industrial centers will tell you that the demand for hair dye and articles of a similar nature has greatly increased in recent years, while the number of workmen you meet who have not yet reached middle age, with dry, parched, unnatural looking hair, nondescript in color, tells that these articles when bought were intended for practical purposes. But age will tell, and despite the deceptive appearance which the hair dye lends, the man who cannot be speeded up, who cannot keep the pace, who cannot keep up the gait, must fall by the wayside with all other things that have outlived their usefulness. His life has been curtailed—indirectly, it is true—but still curtailed, shortened by the modern high-speed machine.

So much for the old men who have disappeared from the machine shop; but what of the young men who have taken their places? How do they fare; how do they bear this new form of life burden? Pathology has not yet explored the modern machine shop, nor even crossed the threshold; when it does, however, its labors will more than be repaid with the materials it will find suitable for investigation. Students of sociology—that most complex of all scientific studies—will find in the modern machine shop a new field of observation, a new base from which to follow their lines of research, for the influence of the high-speed machine goes beyond the factory walls and extends beyond the confines of to-day. It enters domestic and social life, and will affect the generations yet to come.

The youth fresh from school, bright, strong, and healthy, alert and active in mind and in body, enters the machine shop, elated and hopeful, ambitious to conquer this world of levers and whirling wheels, but only to leave it sooner or later a conquered being. The great strain, both mental and physical, soon proves too much for him, and he becomes a nervous, shattered wreck; that is, unless certain precautions are taken and conditions are favorable, and there are means within reach of enabling him to take advantage of these conditions. If his period of service in the machine shop is broken by intervals of rest and recreation, nervous breakdown is averted, but where there is no break in the strain or loosening up of the tension, collapse is inevitable. Great care and watchfulness to guard against the effects of the nervous strain are necessary when the youth begins his career in the machine shop, for skill, exact skill, cannot be acquired without it. And when proficiency has been reached, although the young machinist does not notice it, he is still bearing the strain upon his nerves. It is this overexertion kept up at high tension, day in and day out, year after year, that is shortening the life of the machine-shop worker and robbing him of longevity. It is unfortunate that the great majority of workers in the machine shop, when the first signs, the languor and lassitude of nervous breakdown appear, are in no position to sojourn for a brief space by the seashore or in the mountains to recuperate and avert disaster. It is not within their means. They consult a medical man, or read cunningly worded advertising matter and testimonials by which they are attracted and allured into the purchase and trial of some nostrum with a high-sounding name, claiming to be a tonic for just such cases of foreshadowed nervous prostration. The sequel is disaster.

In searching for something to brace up his nerves the worker has no idea he is taking great risks, or running any danger of becoming a victim to the drug habit. Unfortunately, it often happens that he strikes something which, for the time, seems to renew the health and vigor of the years gone by, but the relief is only temporary. He must repeat and increase the dose, and before he knows it—he perhaps never realizes it—he becomes the slave of some derivative of coal tar, alkaloid or alcohol. I do not wish it to be understood that the high-speed machine of the modern machine shop is responsible for all the victims of the drug habit, but the number of

hesitating, shrinking young men one meets among the workers with leaden eyes, lacking in luster and expression, weak lipped and down-drawn mouth, flaccid flesh and unelastic skin, would indicate that drugs are responsible for many of the cases.

The high-speed machine has been too recently introduced to observe final results, but what has been noticed and briefly pointed out in this paper will go far to indicate an eventual terrible shortening of life's span. When once the nervous system is weakened or shattered, the end is not far distant; yet, notwithstanding all this, even should it be conclusively proven that the machine is responsible for the havoc just outlined, no attempt must be made to reduce its speed by a single revolution, or limit its output by a single piece. The remedy does not lie in that direction.

Trade unionism points out how prevention is better than cure. Lessen the number of hours the worker is forced to work at high speed, concert pitch, and his nerves will remain normal, and he will live to the full—his promised three score years and ten.

LENGTH OF THE TRADE LIFE IN THE GLASS BOTTLE INDUSTRY

By DENIS A. HAYES,

President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of America.

The subject assigned me is "The Length of the Trade Life Among Glass Bottle Blowers," a question on which I have no exact data, but from information at hand it is safe to say that the man blowing glass bottles to-day at the age of fifty-five years or over is the exception and one that is each year becoming more rare. This is a strange statement to make, because there are no just or logical reasons why worthy and willing men should not be allowed to work at their trade as long as they desire, or as long as necessity compels them to do so. Few indeed are the workmen in our craft, or any other for that matter, who make enough wages to retire with a competency at the approach of old age or the enforced expiration of their trade life.

It has been the common belief for years that glass blowing is an unhealthy occupation. Some insurance companies discriminate against the workers in this industry, but their action is based more upon suspicion than facts, because I doubt if glass blowing, so far as the work itself is concerned, is any more injurious than many other indoor occupations. There are, however, conditions which surround the work that are a menace to health and long life, but these unfavorable conditions can be and are being removed. The worst of them is child labor.

The trade requires speed, great skill and precision in workmanship. Nearly all blowers have been compelled to start work as early as nine and ten years of age. They serve as tending boys three or four years before being indentured as apprentices for a term of five years; during this latter time they receive but 50 per cent. of the wages earned by the journeymen. Owing to modern improvements in the manufacture of glass and equipment of factories, an appren-

tice now in his first and second years can produce as much ware and of as good quality on many lines as a journeyman, but owing to the low wages at which boys work during the periods mentioned, employers still insist on a five-year term. This and the old belief that boys have to start work at an early age in order to learn the trade are to-day exploded theories. Nevertheless, every effort made by our organization to increase the age at which boys should be allowed to work is opposed by the average employer.

There are three sets of boys employed in glass bottle factories doing different kinds of work, generally of a light nature but requiring activity. There is no reason whatever why any of them should be under sixteen years old. A law of this kind has proven to be practical in States where this age is the limit, below which children cannot go to work, especially in Illinois, where the glass bottle industry has not suffered in the least as a result of such law.

Glass blowing is hot work, and owing to the heat no bottles are made during the months of July and August, but in May, June and September it often becomes so warm that men cannot work longer than a half hour at a time; then they are compelled to rush into the open air to prevent prostration. In factories with low roofs and insufficient ventilation men are often forced to stop work every twenty minutes, and in many factories they perspire freely even during the winter.

The sudden changes in temperature experienced by men in this condition may be resisted while youth and vigor remain, but, owing to the early age at which they go to work, their strength and vitality are not given a chance to fully develop or are almost entirely destroyed at an age when other men are entering the prime of life. Being deprived of schooling, they can have very little knowledge of hygienic rules or laws, hence do not sufficiently know how to protect themselves against the conditions here described. The result is that early in life they become victims of rheumatism, catarrh, throat troubles and tuberculosis. The latter disease especially is most dreaded by our members.

Glass blowers do their best work between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. The records of our insurance department show that most deaths occur between the ages of forty and fifty. This would not be the case, either in regard to disease or death, if children were not allowed to go to work until after sixteen years of age; and

not then unless they had received sufficient training and education to enable them to know the value of health and grow as their Creator intended they should.

This can be accomplished without loss to the employer or increase in price of ware to the consumer, for, as a result of the highly developed skill of the workmen, the greater production and the improved methods of manufacture, bottles sell to-day for less than one-half the price paid ten years ago; but when it comes to the health and life of boys and men such things as prices should not be considered. Yet it is to be regretted that in every effort made by trades unions to keep children out of factories, or better the conditions of those who are compelled to work under dangerous or unsanitary conditions, we are usually met by such talk as competition, increased cost of production or the danger of reduced profits. This is a short-sighted policy, and would seem to imply that the dollar is of more consequence than the life or health of employees.

I have no desire to attribute all the ills of our craft to child labor; still it requires no argument to prove that it is wrong, both from a moral and humane point of view. Were it not for the exhaustion experienced by men whose vitality has been reduced, or never fully developed, as a consequence of their being put to work in certain industries when they should be at school, there would be far less intemperance, because men would not have to seek stimulants to give a false sense of recuperation or make them feel as they otherwise would if only in an ordinary condition of health.

Piece work prevails in the trade. Each year the production of the individual workman becomes greater. The highest day's work of this season becomes the standard for the next. A man working according to present-day methods can make three times as many bottles in a day of eight and a half hours as he did twenty years ago in a day of ten hours, but the expenditure of strength and energy is now much greater than it was then. Thus the exhaustion consequent upon working with speed and regularity at a hot furnace is another good reason why boys should be kept out of glass factories until they are of the age previously mentioned. Not only this, but the hours of labor should be still further reduced, so that men would, after leaving their work, retain sufficient mental and physical vigor for recreation, study and social intercourse.

The working time in the bottle trade is eight and a half hours

on both day and night shifts; these alternate every other week. During recent years our efforts have been centred mainly upon reducing the hours of labor and agitating to increase the age at which children could work. In both of which we have in a large measure succeeded. To-day we regard these things as of more importance than an increase in wages. Formerly the night shift finished the week by starting at five o'clock Saturday evening and working until midnight. We have had this stopped, and now boys on this turn are done at three o'clock Saturday morning.

These, with other children who are now working in the mills and factories, will help make up the workmen and citizens of the future, and doubtless have greater responsibilities and problems to meet than those of the present day. The glass bottle blowers, with other trade unions, will therefore strive as never before to see that these children are properly trained and educated to meet whatever duties may fall to their lot, and be given opportunities which we, as workmen, were denied.

Organized labor is doing much good. More so than its critics or opponents give it credit for, and, notwithstanding adverse circumstances, we are hopeful and are looking forward to the time when the "crooked places shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

A PLEA FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE LENGTH OF TRADE LIFE

By ROBERT HUNTER, ESQ.,
Of New York City.

When I was asked to speak on the subject given me I accepted with pleasure, but as I thought more about it and began to read the literature on the subject I became convinced that I knew very little about the subject, and also that very little of value upon it has been written in this country. Accidents connected with the mines and the railroads and the effects of certain diseases have been studied in their relation to the trade life. We know something of tuberculosis by reason of the fact that commissions have been at work upon that subject. In a few trades, such as cigarmaking, and working with glass, a certain amount of information of very great value has been gathered. I doubt very much, however, whether there can be a great deal said of importance upon the general subject. The literature is certainly very scant and the facts are so few that they make a poor comparison with studies abroad in the same field.

The most important thing I can do to-day is to make an earnest appeal, which shall stand in the proceedings of this conference, for a national commission to study this subject. It is even more important than the study of tuberculosis; it is as important as the work of the National Child Labor Committee. There are many things that enter into a serious consideration of the trade life. It brings up in toto the sanitary conditions throughout the large industrial districts. It involves the child labor, the tuberculosis, and the housing problems, not to speak of the many other problems resulting directly from our present-day factory system. We would all agree that we have progressed far into a very complicated and intricate system of industry which we call the capitalist system, or as it is more generally known, the factory system. To know how that factory system affects the workers, that is, affects their length of life,

their physical and their mental condition, would indeed seem to be one of the most important national topics that could engage the attention of such an academy as this or of such an official organization as the national Bureau of Labor. The facts now known are hardly worthy of serious discussion. I say this as a result of my studies as well as of my observation. I feel that we now have no conception whatever of the influence which specific kinds of work have upon the physical and mental condition, as well as upon the length of the trade life of certain classes of workmen, who are engaged in certain large industries of this country. I have just been reading "The Jungle," that very remarkable book of Upton Sinclair. I was impressed while I worked in that great district, the Chicago stockyards, with what seemed to me to be the almost indescribable unsanitary conditions, with the mental atmosphere of the place, with the driving, with the intensity of the work, with the anguish involved in the low wages, the irregular hours and the constant fear and dread of want among the people there. But although I am pretty well acquainted with that district in Chicago, I am persuaded that I have never fully understood the destructive influence of the stock yards upon the physical, mental and moral condition of the people there. It is just such conditions as are to be found there which convince me that if we could really have a study of the factory conditions in any such locality and of their effect upon the life and health of the community, we should have an epoch-making social study.

But even more than any study of any particular section or any particular industry I should wish that we might now have some group of men studying generally the effect of the factory conditions of this country upon the lives and welfare of the working people. For instance, we ought to know first the occupations injurious to health. Such occupations have been well classified by Dr. J. T. Arlidge, in his valuable study of "The Hygiene, Diseases, and Mortality of Occupations," as follows:

Occupations injurious to health by (1) the generation of dust; (2) the employment of materials of distinctly poisonous or highly noxious nature; (3) the evolution of vapors of poisonous or injurious properties; (4) the action of excessive temperatures; (5) the action of electricity; (6) abnormal atmospheric pressure; (7) ex-

cessive use, friction or strain of the body or of special organs or parts; (8) exposure to infectious, contagious or parasitic diseases. These classes cover all dangerous occupations. A thorough study of industry on these lines would show in the most complete way the dangers incident to the battlefield of toil. The length of the trade life in each industry could be averaged, and most important of all, the risks of various trades or occupations could be set down with some accuracy. To my mind this work is worthy of the most earnest thought of this Academy, and I could wish that it might take some steps to bring it to the attention of the President of the United States, who is becoming interested in certain very similar lines of inquiry. Knowing my interest and my work concerning the work of women and child labor reform as well as in the tuberculosis movement, you will not think me unappreciative of these other movements when I urge this as a necessity of equal importance.

I say this because I am convinced that we are cruelly and foolishly wasteful of human life in this country. James J. Hill has recently said that we are wasting the natural resources of our country in a most inexcusable way. I wish to say that we are wasting and degrading human life in this country in a way which will inevitably bring the direst consequences. The cotton mills of the South are destroying childhood as effectually as if cannibalism reigned in that section of the country. The railroads are killing and injuring its employees in a way which may almost be called murder. The exhausting pace set here, and the intensity of our present-day work for all classes of laborers must affect the working life of the community fundamentally. All these subjects are worthy of serious study by our National Government, because they have to do with the efficiency of labor, and our national greatness is more a result of a superior and highly efficient working class than of any other cause whatsoever. But we cannot exploit it wastefully or ignore conditions which impair its efficiency without as a nation paying the penalty. For, after all, in the words of Lincoln, "capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed."

I am sure it is known to all of you that many people in Great Britain believe that the factory system there has caused widespread degeneracy among workingmen. There is a variety of reasons

given for this; among others, they believe child labor, poor food, overwork, poverty and bad sanitary conditions are responsible largely for this widespread physical degeneration or physical deterioration. Whatever the causes, a serious type of deterioration is reasonably certain. Now it would be most important for us to foresee such a result if it is likely to occur in this country, for by such foresight we would perhaps be able to prevent happening to us a result so deplorable. Nothing could be of greater importance than to know that our industrial population is not growing stronger and healthier. If it is actually deteriorating in the length of the working life, in physical stature, in general physical condition, or by disease, then it is of vital importance that we know these facts also. For if it be true that the industrial population of this country is degenerating, then that is a kind of race suicide which cannot be spoken of jestingly. It will finally strike at the very foundation of our present industrial and economic institutions. For these reasons I could wish that we were to have together with the investigations now to be undertaken into women's and children's labor a very careful investigation into the physical condition of our entire working population. My own feeling is that the physical condition of the workers is not deteriorating, but I am convinced sometimes that the conditions in this country which we look upon with so much optimism are by no means realized by us. Indeed, they seem to me at times infinitely worse than any of us are likely or willing to believe.

It is important to use such an opportunity as the present Annual Meeting of the Academy to present the great need of more accurate and more extensive information. The first thing necessary is in some way to acquire some *actual* facts. When we know the facts, when we realize the conditions in these industries, it will be time to urge upon the community such reforms and such remedial measures as may seem to be necessary.

II. The Settlement of Industrial Conflicts with Special Reference to the Trade Agreement.

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

By H. H. VREELAND,
President New York City Railway Company.

In no respect has the great advance of modern industry been more disorganizing—if I may use that word for want of a better one—than in the relationship of employer and employee.

In the earlier stages of industrial life, when great artisans gathered about them journeymen and apprentices, the numbers were so limited and the conditions of life so restricted that there was established, of necessity, a relationship almost of guardian and ward. Master and man not infrequently lived together, had identical tastes, shared the same social, artistic and commercial ambitions, and were inspired with a common civic pride, vivified by the comparatively amiable rivalry involving other cities and towns whose people were engaged in work of the same class. This patriarchal relationship, of course, has its limitations, and would be quite impractical in the vast hives of industry made necessary by modern conditions. To linger in regret over its departure would, to practical minds, be a waste of sentiment much like bewailing those good old stage-coach and canal-boat days now happily forever gone.

I have no sentimental protest to make about the altered conditions which now make it possible for twenty men, in a day, with the aid of machinery, to do as much as one thousand could have formerly done with their hands in six months; but in the change there has come about an alteration in the relationship of employer and employee that I, in common with every right-minded citizen, must recognize as not for the best interests of the State at large, and assuredly not for the best interests of those immediately involved and affected by it. One of the most conspicuous results of the sudden and still active expansion of the personnel of great industries has been the annihilation of individuals, the utter submergence of single human units. This inundation in some places is so great as to be utterly destructive of all possible individual development. In some of the industries the numbers are so great that the ultimate

managers, for mere clerical convenience, are compelled to consider their employees in classes, some of these classes or units comprising as many as 10,000 men; and so, as business grows, the distance between employers and employed seems to widen daily. This separation has, as was inevitable, given rise to a lack of sympathy between the two extremes of all great industrial concerns that needs the attention of thoughtful men.

It has, in the past twenty-five years, expressed itself in many wasteful efforts at readjustment. Workingmen do not understand the besetments of the employers, and it is equally true that, amid the anxieties of competition and preoccupations which far-reaching enterprises entail on them, the employers are not fully awake to the condition of those they employ.

As I see the situation (and I have been familiar with it for a great many years), there seems to be very little possibility of bringing about the re-establishment of anything approximating even the condition described above. This conviction long ago turned my attention to a close study of the situation, in order to ascertain if some substitute for the old lost relationship might not be found.

In searching for the small human beginnings of a number of classical industrial disagreements, I was surprised to find that it was not so much a lack of sympathy between the capitalists or executive directors of these great concerns and their men that caused the trouble, as an utter lack of sympathy or executive ability among petty subordinates, men clothed with brief authority, who failed to exercise it beneficently and intelligently. In my search I took in the history of several great enterprises that seemed to have escaped the troubles that beset others, and there I found further corroboration of the truth that intelligence and humanity were potential, and that the reason these concerns had not had trouble was because of the intelligence, sympathy and firmness of the subordinate heads in charge of the various groups and classes of men.

From my own experience, with a very miscellaneous lot of men numbering about 15,000 in the city of New York, men gathered from all quarters of the country and of all nationalities, I have had abundant proof that firmness, tempered with the intelligent sympathy for their necessities, works wonders.

And so, if I had to speak a word of advice concerning the most

important principle in the proper adjustment of the relations between employer and employee, it would be, "Have a care in the selection of your subordinate heads." Only a man who knows the conditions and point of view of those he commands has the capacity to control or influence workingmen for their own good. If he has knowledge and experience that is common to them, if he knows the kind of lives they lead, the anxieties that pursue them, the ambitions they have for themselves and their families, he is surely the man indicated for advancement and control, it being always understood that he has executive capacity. To take a man who has executive capacity and has administered it in one field, or among a certain class, and place him in charge of a group of men with whom he has not the kind of sympathy I have described, and expect him to control them intelligently, is out of the question, in my opinion. Such a man may take his orders from his superior and execute them with military precision, and yet fail to get what would be naturally expected out of his men. Nor will such a man keep his subordinates contented, and this element, to my mind, is of quite as much importance as a wage scale.

There has grown up, also, my investigation shows me, a custom that from the human point of view is very cruel, but which from the economic point of view is absolutely essential. It is the custom of estimating the potential of men in mass as you would an engine, and by hard and fast rules expressing from the mass a given number of units of product. When this custom is put into operation, and there is lacking the sympathy and knowledge of conditions of which I have spoken, the result is at once brutalizing and disappointing. It is bound to break down of its own rigidity, and in my experience in the long run it is not economical. On the contrary, I think experience shows it to be wasteful. In the great aggregation of men and capital, which go to make up our modern industrial units, it may have been inevitable that in concerns suddenly brought into life, new and strange foremen or department heads were necessary; and I suppose that much that is justly complained of by workingmen and those who investigate their status will gradually disappear as there is enlightened recognition of the profitableness of blending into the relationship of employer and employee the intelligent understanding essential to the peaceful and profitable prosecution of any kind of work in which great masses of men are engaged.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT IN THE BUILDING TRADES

By SAMUEL B. DONNELLY,

Secretary, General Arbitration Board of the New York Building Trades.

The trade agreement at first consisted only of a memorandum specifying the rates of wages and the hours of labor. It originated with the trade unions, the organization of which invariably preceded the organization of employers in every industry. The presentation of the agreement to the employers was generally termed "a demand or request to sign the scale of prices adopted by the union." When the organizations of mechanics demonstrated their ability to interfere with the plans of the employers and cause a general cessation of work, the employers promptly organized and collectively contested the progress and demands of the unions.

The joint trade agreement was originally a treaty of peace signed between a union and an employers' association after an indecisive contest or drawn battle. The continuance of a joint trade agreement depends more upon the esteem in which the parties thereto hold each other as antagonists than upon the blind faith of the union or the employers' association in the trade agreement as an instrument of peace.

The joint trade agreement is an old document in the building trades of New York city, and the joint trade agreement of the Mason Builders' Association and the Bricklayers' and Masons' Unions has been continuously successful. In 1903, out of thirty-three unions employed in the building trades, twenty-four were working under joint trade agreements with the associations of their employers. While these trade agreements provided for the adjustment of disputes by conference, joint trade boards and arbitration, with the exception of the masons and bricklayers, it was either agreed or understood that sympathetic strikes should not be considered a violation of the provisions of the trade agreement. The trades, with the exception of that of the bricklayers and masons, therefore,

were subject to interruption and delay of work owing to sympathetic strikes. The bricklayers and masons, however, were frequently interfered with and the progress of their work delayed owing to the strikes of the other trades.

Distinctively trade disputes were adjusted in accordance with the provisions of the joint trade agreement, and trade strikes seldom occurred except at the time of the expiration of the agreement, as a result of failure on the part of the union and employers' association to agree upon the terms of a proposed new trade agreement.

In June, 1903, as the result of a three months' almost complete cessation of work, caused by disputes between unions and by a building material lockout, the association of employers in the building trades met and formed the federation which is known as the Building Trades Employers' Association. The members of this association agreed to cease work on all contracts, and the first official document issued by the Building Trades Employers' Association was an open letter, or circular, addressed to the mechanics of the building trades proposing general industrial peace through the application to all the trades of the arbitration provisions of existing trade agreements. The attention of the unions was called to the fact that for a period of eighteen years the Bricklayers' and Masons' Unions and the Masons' and Builders' Association had satisfactorily adjusted all disputes by conciliation and arbitration. The unions, generally, refused to accept the proposition of the employers, and, through the medium of disinterested parties, a conference or convention was held on July 3d and 9th, 1903. At this convention there was adopted a joint arbitration plan providing for a joint arbitration board which should have power to adjust all disputes that failed of settlement in trade boards and all disputes between unions.

The Housesmiths', Sheet Metal Workers', Hoisting Engineers' and Insulators' Unions refused to accept this arbitration plan, and engaged in a contest with the Employers' Association, which lasted for a period of four months, and resulted in the signing of the arbitration plan by these unions, a victory for the Employers' Association.

In August, 1904, a five months' struggle between the Employers' Association and the Carpenters', Plasterers', Electricians', Plumbers',

Tile Layers', and Stone Cutters' Unions began. These unions were locked out for alleged violation of the provisions of the arbitration plan. The remnants of the locked-out plasterers, electricians and plumbers are to-day working, employed solely by firms not affiliated with the Building Trades Employers' Association.

That the arbitration agreement of July, 1903, was crude and inadequate soon became apparent to all the trades represented on the Arbitration Board, and, in March, 1905, a convention was called for the purpose of considering amendments to the agreement. A joint committee was appointed, and this committee at an adjourned convention on April 22, 1905, reported a document that was practically a new and complete arbitration plan.

The Arbitration Board consisted of 120 representatives, two from each employers' association and two from each union. All parties to the plan hesitated to grant any power to sub-committees, and all complaints not adjusted by the secretary were presented to the General Board, and it was impossible for so large a body to give proper consideration to the parties interested in the numerous complaints presented.

An idea of the weakness of the plan of 1903 may be gained from the following brief statement of the provisions not referred to in that document but contained in the present plan of arbitration:

(1) This plan shall govern the relations between the members of the Building Trades Employers' Association and the unions employed by them in such shops or structures as were unionized or recognized as union shops on or after July 3, 1903, *i. e.*, the unions were guaranteed the undisputed possession of the privileges and rights enjoyed by them at the time the arbitration plan was first adopted.

(2) The employers agreed to employ members of the trade unions only, directly or indirectly, through sub-contractors or otherwise.

(3) At the meetings of the General Arbitration Board, a majority vote shall carry any question, except a member call for a division, when in order to carry a question or elect an officer it shall require the majority vote of the representatives of each side present and voting, and in case of disagreement a conference committee shall be appointed from each side.

(4) The cost of maintaining the General Arbitration Board and arbitration plan shall be divided equally between the Employers' Association and the unions collectively.

(5) The headquarters and the office of the secretary of the General Arbitration Board shall not be the meeting room nor the club rooms of any association of employers or employees.

(6) There shall be an executive committee consisting of twelve persons, six of whom shall be representatives of the unions and six of whom shall be representatives of the employers' associations. This committee shall meet weekly and upon the call of the secretary, and shall exercise all powers vested in the General Board except the power to amend the code of procedure for special arbitration boards. The decisions of this executive committee shall be final and binding unless disapproved by the General Arbitration Board, and the decision can only be disapproved by a majority vote of the representatives of the employers and a majority vote of the representatives of the employees.

(7) In case of failure of a trade board to adjust a trade dispute, or failure to agree upon an umpire, the controversies shall be considered by the General Arbitration Board within a period of twenty-four hours after such failure.

(8) Pending the adjustment of a trade jurisdiction dispute, the work in question shall be performed by the mechanics that the trade contractor has elected to employ upon the work. The executive committee has power to decide any dispute as to what work or jurisdiction was possessed by the unions on July 3, 1903, and in case of failure to agree this question must be referred to an umpire.

(9) Lawyers are not permitted to act as members of special boards or as counsel or advisor before any special board.

(10) The unions maintained that the original arbitration plan was a protection to the so-called unfair employer in that the members of the unions could not leave the work of members of the Employers' Association when engaged on a job where an unfair employer held a contract, and this provision was incorporated: "Where employer or employees not parties to the arbitration agreement do not perform work in accordance with the conditions established by the arbitration plan, the protection of the arbitration plan shall be removed from the job, provided the non-maintenance is proven to the satis-

faction of the executive committee of the General Arbitration Board and the dispute cannot be adjusted by it within twenty-four hours.

(11) The labor unions collectively agree that the several unions and the members of the several unions should faithfully observe and abide by the provisions of the arbitration plan.

Since the arbitration plan was signed nine out of thirty-two unions, parties thereto, have violated the provisions of the plan in which they agreed not to strike on the work of the members of the Employers' Association, and about fifty of the more than 1,000 members of the Building Trades Employers' Association have been accused of violating the arbitration plan and about thirty of violating the provisions of trade agreements. An average of twenty complaints are filed with the secretary weekly, one-half of which, or about ten weekly, are adjusted by the executive committee. The strikes called on the work of members of the employers' association as a result of non-maintenance of the arbitration plan by owners or employers not parties to the arbitration plan have been very few, not exceeding one per week.

In October, 1905, the Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Unions, as a result of an order from the national union, called a strike on a member of the Employers' Association. They were ordered to return to work by the Executive Committee and by the General Arbitration Board, but failed to do so, and are now engaged in a general strike. They have not received the support of the unions affiliated with the arbitration plan, and the employers of the iron trade now consider the question closed.

During the year preceding the adoption of the arbitration agreement, July, 1902, to July, 1903, inclusive, there were three months of almost complete cessation of building operations, and the board of business agents called strikes on the average of one per day.

Ten members of the Employers' Association have been fined or expelled from membership for violation of the trade agreements or of the arbitration plan. The Employers' Association has power to fine its members, and each member is compelled to file a bond. These bonds vary in amount from \$500 to \$25,000, according to the volume of business transacted by the members.

Three violations of the arbitration plan on the part of unions by calling strikes on the work of members of the Building Trades

Employers' Association have occurred in the past eleven months. In two of these cases the unions were induced by the representatives of the other unions to obey the order of the board. In the last case, that of the housesmiths, the union refused to yield and return to work at the solicitation of the representatives of the other unions.

The employers are competent to enforce the terms of trade agreements through their ability to levy and collect fines from the membership, although organized as voluntary associations. The individual unions are competent to enforce the provisions of trade agreements upon their membership through their ability to fine, or otherwise discipline the individual members of the union. The Building Trades Employers' Association is competent to enforce the provisions of the joint arbitration plan, particularly for the reason that its members are bonded, but the unions, collectively, are incompetent to enforce the contract for the reason that they are unable to influence a union except through appeals to its officers and members.

While the international union of printers, iron moulders, longshoremen and others underwrite, or guarantee, the performance of local agreements and enter into national arbitration agreements, few of the national unions in the building trades have any power to interfere in local affairs. One of the first bonded trade agreements was that between Typographical Union No. 6 and a New York newspaper. In this case the union violated its agreement and engaged in a sympathetic strike. The employer exacted a cash bond of \$5,000 as a condition of settlement.

The work of special arbitration boards has frequently been long and tedious, and the unions complain that there is too much delay. The selection of umpires has been difficult, and the men selected frequently decline to serve. Four Supreme Court judges have declined to serve for the reason that they feared they might be called upon in their official capacity to pass upon some of the questions involved and at an early date.

The desire for peace is becoming more general. The employers and unions both hesitated at first to submit to arbitration the demands for increased wages, but at present three such demands are in the hands of special boards.

The unions are showing more consideration for each other in what are commonly known as trade jurisdiction disputes. These

disputes have not resulted in a single strike since the arbitration plan was adopted in 1903, which is surprising, considering the number of jurisdiction strikes in the previous years. It is also remarkable when we consider the great amount of substitution of iron products for wood and cement in various forms for wood, stone and brick. The proposition originated in the minds of the most prosperous and progressive builders of the city of New York—those who had for years been advocates of the joint trade agreements—and while it has not met with the success that its advocates anticipated, it has resulted in the maintenance of peace in 75 per cent. of the trades for a period of three years.

The plan is a most ambitious one. It would no doubt have been completely successful had it been applied a century ago in the Quaker communities of Pennsylvania. But one should consider the conditions under which it was adopted, that it was to govern the relations of employers and employees in the cosmopolitan city of New York, where some think it is idle to talk of peace amid the unending struggle for bread and the almighty dollar. All of us, however, are hopeful of a greater measure of success in the future.

THE FALLACY OF THE "CLOSED SHOP"

By GEORGE H. ELLIS,

President of the United Typothetae of America, Boston, Mass.

In taking up the question of the settlement of industrial disputes I shall, as would be expected, approach it from the standpoint of the employer; and as some at least of our teachers of economics hold that perhaps a difference must be made as between trades employing skilled and those employing unskilled labor, I shall treat it principally as it appears to me as an employer of labor of the highest skill in connection with a union reputed to be one of the best organized in the country, and with its allied trades.

There are but two ways of settling a labor dispute—by some form of arbitration or by a strike.

As a first requisite to the settlement without a strike must come the elimination of the "closed shop." This cannot continue to be a subject for arbitration. You are all familiar with the claim of many labor leaders that the advocate of the "open shop" is simply an enemy of the union, determined on its destruction. I deny this most emphatically. It is the claim only of him who wishes to establish a monopoly in his particular line to the detriment of the general public.

Where would this boasted "land of the free" be to-day had the theory of the "closed shop" been imported by our forefathers. Was not the early settlement of this country itself a protest against the "closed shop" in religion? Has the blood of which we have been so proud deteriorated until we are ready to consider our labor, whether of head or hands, or both, merely a commodity to be bought and sold like the labor of so many oxen? And yet the president of a prominent skilled labor union has said in my presence that he hoped to see the time when labor would be so organized that any employer wanting additional help would send to the union headquarters for so many hours of labor as he would send to the grocers for so many pounds of sugar.

The inevitable tendency of the union when in control is to stifle ambition. We once had in our employ a prominent member of the union who made it his boast among his fellow-employees that he had got "beating down to a science." You may say that this is not the purpose or intent of the union, but I assert without fear of successful contradiction that this, or restricted output, which is akin to it, is one of the results of its control, and I need only appeal to a large number of employers who have recently changed from a "closed" to an "open shop" basis for full proof of this assertion.

The unionist says the "closed shop" so called is in reality the "open shop" in that the only thing necessary is for a man to join the union to obtain work—only necessary to join the union! Do you know what this means? Do you know the obligation to which every man who joins the Typographical Union must subscribe? It is in part as follows:

"That my fidelity to the union and my duty to the members thereof shall in no sense be interfered with by any allegiance that I may now or hereafter owe to any other organization, social, political or religious, secret or otherwise."

We are told this oath does not mean what it says. Let us see. In the cross-examination of a witness (a member of the Typographical Union) a short time since in one of our courts in Massachusetts the witness was asked, referring to the obligation I have just read, if "that obligation purports to go beyond obligation to church and State," to which he replied, "I think so." I have personal knowledge of perjury committed in an injunction suit in our own city by members of the same union and presumably on the same ground.

Is it to be supposed that employers will continue to put the management of one of the most vital parts of their business entirely into the hands of the members of such an organization? For this is what the "closed shop" does.

The plea that the "closed shop" is necessary to the existence of the union, or, as the president of an international union puts it, "a foundation principle of trade unionism is that we have the right to strike an office to compel its employees to join our union," is in itself a recognition of the fact that it is founded on force, and that not only is force necessary in its dealings with the employers, but it

is as necessary to compel loyalty of its own membership. This whole proposition is so un-American that I do not need to dwell upon it. When its real significance is understood, as it is now being understood, enlightened public sentiment will not stand for it, and the "closed shop" with all it implies will become a thing of the past.

What then will take its place? That depends on the attitude of the unions themselves. If there is enough of enlightenment in their membership to reorganize them on an "open shop" basis they can continue to do business. If not, the employers will ignore them altogether until the better element withdraws from them and itself organizes on a new basis.

The reorganization is not as difficult as might seem. The agreement between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the United Typothetae of America is much along the line proposed and has proved the fallacy of the claim for the "closed shop" that membership must be compulsory, in that while it constitutes, in the words of the president of that union, a "closed shop" agreement, as far as wages, hours and shop practices are concerned, it is an "open shop" agreement so far as membership is concerned.

One of its provisions is that the union "shall not engage in any strike, sympathetic or otherwise, or boycott, unless the employer fails to live up to this contract, it being understood that the employer fulfils all the terms of this contract by paying the scale of wages and living up to the shop practices as settled by the committee, regardless of his employees' union affiliations; no employer shall engage in any lock-out unless the union or members thereof fail to live up to this contract; the conference or arbitration committee to be the final judge of what constitutes a failure to live up to this contract."

It provides the manner of arbitration and for the withdrawal of all aid or support by either organization from any employer or local union refusing to accept the decision of the Board of Arbitration. This agreement, first proposed in 1902, was entered into in March, 1903, to continue in force until May 1, 1907. What has been the result?

In the past four years the membership in that union has increased more than sixty per cent., and if this increase has not

been because of the agreement, then it certainly has been in spite of it; in either case, so far as one experiment can do, it has destroyed the argument that you cannot have union membership without the "closed shop."

I should not in this connection do justice to the officers and members of the Pressmen's Union if I did not pay my tribute to the manner in which they have fulfilled their part of the agreement, notwithstanding the fact that the past few months have seen as severe a strain put upon both parties to the agreement as can ever come. Differences have arisen, but they have rarely reached the point of dispute, and there has been little difficulty in settling them.

Some two or three years ago, I think before the existence of the international agreement, I was asked by the president of a local Typographical Union when a demand for an increase was under discussion why it was that the Pressmen's Union never seemed to have any trouble in securing what they asked for, though wages were higher than those of the members of the Typographical Union. My answer was that it was largely due to the attitude of the Pressmen's Union in approaching the question.

Now, isn't here a large part of the difficulty in settling industrial disputes? Isn't it the attitude with which either or both parties approach the matter?

In the Typographical Union the "closed shop" principle presupposes (or did until recently) the power to carry any demand into execution, and this had a large influence on the attitude of its officers when making the demand, while the employers, chafing under the conditions, were themselves not in a "receptive mood."

We are told that the power to enforce a demand is necessary to the success of a union. This I do not believe. Make your union so attractive to the workers in a trade that all the best men in it will become voluntary members, and no other force or power is necessary. Self-interest on the part of employers will compel compliance with any reasonable request, and a union thus constituted will make no other.

THE SERVICES OF LABOR UNIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

By WILLIAM B. PRESCOTT.

Ex-President of the International Typographical Union, Baltimore, Md.

The discussion of methods whereby industrial peace may be conserved is of importance to the public, though many affect to believe that only those directly involved—employers and employed—are much interested. There could be no greater error. Industrial war means waste, and, however successfully society may be wheedled or defrauded of its just share of the bounties of nature, it always pays for the waste. I sometimes think that if economic wastage of every kind could be garnered and distributed among the toilers such questions as child labor and care of the aged would be quickly solved. That much actual and potential wealth is lost through industrial disturbances must be conceded. There is a school which professes to hold to the notion that the unions are solely to blame for this. As a unionist, I plead guilty with certain important qualifications. I beg these gentlemen to remember that it takes two parties to provoke a quarrel; also that the unions have been to the forefront with devices to avert this waste to such an extent that almost without exception every considerable and effective piece of conciliation and arbitration machinery in use had its beginnings in the meeting room of the unions of the trade. Strife is not the purpose of unionism, nor does the system foster it. If such were the case, the old and powerful unions would be noted as strike organizations; on the contrary, they are the societies that have few disturbances and little economic waste. A trade or calling in which the men are but indifferently organized has numerous strikes and lock-outs. A weak—or supposedly weak—organization is a sure harbinger of trouble, and a powerful one is a conservator of peace.

If it still be said that the unions stimulate the spirit of unrest, I reply that that spirit is what generates the union, and it would assert itself more violently if it was denied hope through the medium

of organization. The recent bloody and costly industrial disturbances in Russia tend to prove that assertion. In that country labor organizations were "trimmed up" in a manner that would surely satisfy the soul of the wildest union-baiting agitator in the country. Yet the spirit of unrest broke forth. And it meant revolution.

In the printing trades employers have much to say about the modern use to which we workers put an ancient institution known as the chapel, which is the cant term for shop meeting. Its representatives are accused of being ungentlemanly and insolent at times. When the Russian printers attained the dignity of holding such meetings and were about to appoint a committee to see the employers they selected the men who were the best shots and had the most efficient arsenals. With all its faults, the Typographical Union never sent out a scale committee loaded down with such "arguments." There would be good reasons for refusing to treat with the committee. The Russian employers didn't meet the committee either; they conceded all demands over the 'phone.

While not shirking any responsibility for their mistakes, trade unionists deny that their system is especially provocative of industrial strife. That is due to the inherent desire in man to insist upon his rights and to improve his social condition. The union arose when production passed into the factory stage and the employer knew not his employees except as he heard of them through his heads of departments bent on "making good." To the employer they were an impersonal mob who collectively got results. The foreman or superintendent who did know those under him regretted that in fact, for his chief business was to get the greatest result for the least money, and in doing so it became his duty to squeeze his friends. In this way injustices became rife that would not be thought of under the "small shop" system with its village-like environment. If men protested to the superintendent they were told the management was responsible, and the management in turn said it couldn't interfere with the superintendent. But both told the workers if they didn't like it they could go—the world was wide. But apart from juggling evasiveness of this character, if an employer were ever so willing to do the square thing, it would be impossible for him to meet the wishes of individual employees. The first step to remedy wrongs would be for the workers to counsel together and formulate

their demands or desires. Here we find that a sort of organization is necessary if men are not to submit to industrial despotism, and in the workaday world there are no benevolent despotisms. If an industry be in the competitive stage, the race for business prevents that to any great extent; and if competition be held in check the necessity for providing dividends on inflated stock is a barrier. The great central figure in a workingman's life is the wages he is to receive. That is not only vital with him, but vital with those dependent on him. If wages are low it means not only a lessening of creature comforts for himself, but a narrower, poorer outlook for his children.

With the rise of the factory system he found that the individual worker didn't count for much when it came to dicker about wages. The employer said, "We pay so much, and can get all the men we want at that price." Although the seller of a commodity, the worker found that the buyer set the price—and what was more, in effect, dared him to say aught except that the price so set was fair. Acting as individuals, the powerful employer disposed of his army of employees as he demolished an apple—bite by bite. And if one process gave physical satisfaction doubtless there was mental enjoyment in the other and more profitable act. If, however, the employees acted in concert on the wages question, the employer would be in the same position as though he were compelled to masticate his apple whole.

Thus in order to protect themselves as sellers of their only commodity—labor—wage-earners must organize; if they want to ascertain their views on what constitute equitable wages or fair working conditions they must come together in a society for the purpose of welding their ideas into concrete shape. Unless men are to be reduced to the state of a new species of serfdom they must organize in industries where many work for few men; in the other industries trade unionism as practiced by its leading exponents does not flourish to any great degree. So our friends who have nightmares about what will happen when every worker is a member of a union should calm their nerves. Trade unionism has an office to perform under certain obvious conditions, and where those conditions do not exist unionism is a weak and sickly plant. It is not the cause, but rather the effect of a cause, and is a legitimate offspring of our society. Therefore it is a necessity.

The cardinal tenet of unionism is that the worker shall have an effective voice in determining the conditions under which the worker shall sell his labor. This right has been and is usually resisted by employers. They see in it an attack upon their profits, and they know that, once they admit the principle involved, what had been the line of least resistance when they desired to economize assumes something like the proportions of a stone wall. So there were and are strikes and lockouts to enforce or resist this so-called principle. At that point of development in any trade we find unions adopting scales after sunset and enforcing them the following morning. Employers may succumb to such tactics, but when opportunity offers the inevitable reprisal occurs. This sort of guerrilla warfare goes on until the union is destroyed or the employers awake to the fact that whether they recognize the organization or not, it determines the wages paid. These wasteful strikes or lockouts are usually followed by a conference of some sort, many of which have seen the acceptance of the proposition which put an end to the wars. Having obtained recognition of this principle by force of hard knocks, taken and given, the union purpose and method begin to unfold. Confident of their ability to compel the respect of employers, the unionists promulgate a scale of wages, of which they notify the employers interested and invite them to confer on any disputed points. Oftentimes the unions have found their employers slow to act and are compelled to call meetings of the latter in order that negotiations may be conducted in a business-like manner.

The representatives of both factions are thus brought face to face, and there is a free and frank discussion of views, it is no uncommon thing to see employers voting with employees and vice versa. Convinced of the sincerity of the conferees, there is a disposition on the part of all to consider questions on their merit, rather than from the viewpoint of the special interests represented by each. By this means common sense and reason supplant misunderstanding and its consequent rancor and bitterness. If such a conference eventuates in an amicable settlement of differences, it is a short and easy step to establish a board of, say, two from each element, to which must be referred all disputes as to the interpretation of the agreement, with power to appoint an arbitrator in case the conferees are unable to agree.

From this naturally follows a conference committee with similar powers as to appointing an umpire to decide upon new scales. When this stage is reached and the representatives are honest in their professed desire to preserve the peace there is little danger of wasteful war. With a conference committee established there is an agency existing whose duty it is to minimize the differences between the contending factions. Without it, on the eve of any change the influence of each organization seems to be devoted to the senseless, almost criminal, work of widening the breach. This is done for the purpose of instilling confidence and backbone into their respective memberships. This of itself is wasted energy, for no one ever met an employee who was in favor of long hours and low wages or an employer who wasn't looking for the easiest way to affluence or a competency, whichever his goal might happen to be.

Wherever tried this system has been beneficent to all. It gives stability to employment on the one hand and steadiness to the labor market on the other. To the public it is also a guarantee against unsettled conditions. Economically speaking, what more can be asked? It is urged against it by some that such agreements usually provide for the surrender of individuality by reference of disputed points to an arbitrator. This is far-fetched, whether it emanates from a worker or an employer. The former renounces some of his personal rights when he joins a union, and the latter does also when he joins any of the numerous companies open to him, or promises to pay what his competitors concede. In certain circumstances the law compels us all to submit to an arbitrator when a neighbor transfers a dispute into a civil court where a judge is the umpire. This cry of individual liberty is carried to absurd lengths, for in our complex state of society we are all dependent.

There is but one class with a logical theory of independence—the philosophical anarchists—and the law places them under the ban. But experience teaches us that where trade agreements prevail there is seldom resort to the arbitrator. The conferees generally settle all questions before they adjourn. An illustration of this is given by the agreement under which the union printers and newspaper publishers of Chicago have been working for about twenty years (I have not the exact date). Many perplexing questions came before the joint board for determination, and but once or twice were the services of an arbitrator required. The board was able to

determine satisfactorily questions on which the unionists were far from agreed, and publishers let it compose differences among themselves. In that period wages had been raised and lowered and the basis of payment changed.

I recall that when typesetting machines were in their infantile days it became necessary for the board to render a decision. Owing largely to the fact that none knew much about the character and productivity of Mr. Mergenthaler's revolutionary innovation there was no agreement. An arbitrator was unanimously chosen, who rendered a decision. Its character and effect are no importance now and here. As time rolled round and more light was obtained on the matter and the making of a machine scale became a necessity, the board decided the subject too important to be determined by an outsider, and forthwith drafted a scale that in its essential features has held since that time.

The decision of an arbitrator often leaves bitterness in its train, but not so the result of the deliberations of a joint board. And the reason is not far to seek. The document is the joint product of the two parties in interest—it is the conclusion of the minds presumably best fitted to determine such problems. If either party has made a mistake in the selection of representatives it will regard it philosophically—it at least has no "kick coming," to drop into the vernacular. But those acquainted with the system know that the element of justice underlying it is what commends it to the workers. The right of the seller to have an effective voice in establishing the price of his product is recognized, as is not possible under any other known system. And behind the labor movement in all its manifestations is the all-consuming desire for justice—rather than for power. This element also commends the system to fair-minded employers.

The history of trade agreements has been one of steady progress. Recent history in the printing trades shows that the business-like methods which prevailed in Chicago commended themselves to the craft in other cities. In time the National Publishers' Association suggested that an agreement be drafted to cover the entire jurisdiction and embracing as many subjects as possible. On the whole this has worked well. There is, however, a question as to whether the employees have not suffered from a pecuniary point of view. With the exception of two instances I do not recall that there have been any

insinuations of unfairness, and those were arbitrators' decisions. The doubt arises from an entirely different cause. Since the agreement was entered into there has been an unprecedented and unlooked-for activity in business, and the union is so strongly entrenched in the newspaper offices that it is my opinion we could have compelled greater advances of wages by the use of force than we have received through conference or arbitration. For years and years the newspaper printers have worked to attain that power, and during the period they could have used it most advantageously they willingly forego the profit in order that a more equitable system of scale-making may prevail in the craft. I don't think it fair to say we were trapped and knew not what we were doing, nor do I think those publishers who are best informed on the subject would say we were. We knew what we were doing, and we glory in the result. The union has grown in numbers and in the scope of its authority, yet in those divisions covered by the trade agreement strikes and lock-outs have been eliminated. As it has been with the printers, so has it been with other trades.

From the standpoint of the public, the trade agreement is a happy solution of the strike and lockout difficulty. And if the great industries are not conducted along such lines, I venture that the State will find some substitute. Great strikes in Australasia begot the compulsory arbitration laws of that progressive corner of the world. And here and there in this country State boards of mediation and arbitration are carrying on flirtations with the same remedy.

More significant still is what is known as the Gilbert injunction bill, in the present Congress. As I understand it, that measure authorizes the judiciary to look into the merits of the dispute when an injunction is sued for. This will doubtless be defeated, as it finds favor with neither faction. It is worth while to remember, though, that this is frankly admitted to be an administration measure, and whatever may be one's opinion of President Roosevelt, it must be admitted he has heretofore shown a remarkable faculty for taking the public pulse. He seems to gauge accurately the sentiments of the great mass of people interested in a question, though not actively engaged in exploiting it. His action in the coal strike of four years ago serves to illustrate my meaning. Neither anti-union employers nor unionists were particularly pleased with his interference, but so overwhelmingly did the masses approve of it that even the objec-

tions of the ubiquitous constitutional lawyers were drowned in the approving plaudits.

This public desires justice, too, and it doesn't want its comfort disturbed. If a strike or lockout causes a dearth of coal at a reasonable price or common carriers do not properly perform their functions, the public will find a way to terminate strikes. And this public, with its good heart and strong sense of justice, will not order a wholesale massacre of strikers or their incarceration. It will empower some authority to hear the evidence and determine the rights in the controversy so that justice may prevail and the public wants be supplied. These law-made arbitrators—new kinds of courts to settle new-born controversies—may even be elected for short terms by the people. Legal objections to such a tribunal may be piled up mountain high, be very logical and very forbidding, but my limited reading of the history of this country has taught me that whatever the people really desired they secured—even to the establishment of a prohibitive tariff under the guise of raising revenue from imports, or the abolition of chattel slavery. And the new order has always made good.

But I hear our friends say that may be all very well and permissible in the case of necessitous industries like coal mining or rail-roading, but no such regulation would be made to apply to smaller and less important lines of activity. If such a remedy were found to work well and serve the ends of justice in the major industries, it would inevitably be applied to the minor ones. In fact in the whirligig of legal warfare over the innovation it might be deemed necessary to make the law all-inclusive in order to avoid some such pitfall of class legislation. So far as known, State interference has never proven as satisfactory as the trade agreement method of settling disputes, but those who oppose it on the ground that it is a surrender of personal liberty—"veiled Socialism" is the incongruous name given by some—are hastening the day when what they profess to dread the most will be ushered in. And, indeed, that would not be a new thing. Often has it occurred that the reactionaries who opposed any recognition of new conditons have been the most valuable aid to radical thought and methods.

If powerful unions are the parents of the trade agreement system, it is none the less true that the prime requisite for its maintenance is strong, dominating organizations on both sides of the

house. With the employers it must be of sufficient force to compel honest adherence to the scale in its field of operations. The unions must be in such a position that when they speak it is the last word on their side of the subject. They must also be able to discipline employees who would violate the terms of the agreement. If they are unable to do this employers will soon complain, and with justice, for an agreement with an organization unable to control the workers at the trade would be worse than farcical. Suppose during the past few fat years the Typographical Union had been a weak institution, unable to control its members, we would have seen the spectacle of men making demands on publishers at times when they would have to concede or suffer much loss. Methods for preserving discipline differ in the various unions. Some rely on beneficial systems; others partly on the closed shop. But whatever the means, they must not be impaired, for with the advent of new responsibilities there is need for more, not less, power in the organization.

The main objection to collective bargaining is that it has in some instances led to conspiracies having for their object the fleecing of the people. The cases cited have been exceptional and the evil was short-lived. But this is not an intended or usual outcome of the trade agreements. In truth, the public are mulcted most in industries in which the trade agreement does not obtain. This species of robbery may be an accompaniment of collective bargaining here and there, but it is not of it, and its root is to be found elsewhere. If we want to give battle to that kind of wrong we are better equipped to do so as citizens than as industrialists. If there were not a trade union in this broad land the consumer would be the victim of such get-rich-anyway conspiracies.

To sum up, collective bargaining (1) recognizes the right of the wage-earner to a real and substantial voice in determining the price of his labor; (2) reduces industrial strife and the wastage from strikes and lockouts to a minimum; (3) provides the most satisfactory method of settling disputed questions, as the arbiters are experts selected by each side, and (4) it is the best safeguard against government interference in its least beneficent and most obnoxious form—compulsory arbitration or its approximate.

Those who oppose collective bargaining either openly or by indirection through miserable subterfuges are in duty bound to show

us a way out which will furnish the workers equal justice, conserve the energies of the people, secure as equitable results and ward off the ogre of government control of wage scales. They will have much difficulty in doing this, but until they can fill the bill they should step aside. To be a mere negationist on this question is to be reactionary and a discourager of progress—a bourbon unaffected by the growth of intelligence or the change of conditions.

THE "MUTUAL GOVERNMENT" OR "JOINT COMMISSION" PLAN OF PREVENTING INDUSTRIAL CONFLICTS

By A. BEVERLY SMITH,
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It is my belief that the best manner of settling an industrial dispute is by preventing it, and while this may be a hibernianism, I believe it lies at the root of industrial peace. We are all of us prone to consider only our selfish individual privileges and by insisting on them, produce unnecessary collision and conflict, and this trait of human nature is possibly the more marked in the industrial relations than in any other phase of society. Finally, after conflict has come and the individual body is perhaps battered out of all semblance to its former self, we then seek cure for the injuries that might well be termed self-inflicted and wonder why we cannot find such ready at our hand.

I have said that we are so prone to stand selfishly upon our ultimate legal or moral rights, and insist upon the uttermost due us in the industrial world, that we think, in so doing, we are manifesting the most proper spirit, and that therefore we should brook no interference. Let us shift the scene for a moment into another relation of ordinary life. It is undoubtedly legally and morally my right to walk straight down the centre of the sidewalk on Market Street from the City Hall to the river, and in this right I will be upheld by all our social forces. It is, however, also equally the right of any other individual to walk from the river to the City Hall straight up the centre of the sidewalk. This is an individual right which is so well understood that it seems trite to allude to it. But do we stand upon it and insist upon it against all others? Not at all! Let us stop and consider for a moment what would happen should we attempt to insist upon this ultimate legal and moral right on the pavement of our city in the same manner as we insist upon our individual rights on the industrial pavement; friction, collision, violence would

rapidly follow each other and disorder would reign in our streets as it does too often in our workshops.

On the city pavement individuals are constantly meeting others moving in opposite directions; each steps to one side and yields a little of his individual right to the other, and does this so naturally as to do it largely unconsciously: each having thus yielded a little and received a little in return, each arrives quickly and without friction at his ultimate destination. Is this the way we think and act on the industrial highway? No! We stop to haggle as to which one shall yield first, *and yield all*, and then justify the action to ourselves for the delay occasioned, and the damage frequently entailed upon our business and property and upon the community by the claim that we are simply insisting upon our individual, moral and legal rights.

Now I have said that we should avoid industrial strike by preventing it. This thought is not new, and to this end there have been many methods devised, most of which have failed because they lacked the one thing needful. In any successful method for preventing industrial conflict, mutual interests, mutual responsibilities and *mutual yielding* must be combined—as on our streets, the yielding must not be all by one, but must be mutual.

The trade agreement is one of the things that has been looked to as affording promise of satisfying all concerned. There is no doubt but that the trade agreement is a step in the right direction, and a very great step, too from the condition of interminable warfare that has so long existed; at the same time the relief afforded by the trade agreement is not wholly satisfactory; the relief given is not permanent. One of the reasons for this, I think, is that the trade agreement is, after all, a compromise effected by bargaining and seldom or never embodies the mutual interests of those it seeks to protect in that full and careful manner that is absolutely required of any instrument, document or system upon which industrial peace is made dependent.

It may be and probably will be claimed that it is impossible to get away from that bargaining to which I have alluded as characteristic of the trade agreement and which is at once its only excuse for being, and at the same time its greatest weakness. To this I absolutely and most unqualifiedly dissent. It is possible to get away from "bargaining," and there is a better method than bargaining,

and although it may be claimed that that which I shall later on describe as being something better than the trade agreement is after all only another form of trade agreement, and only an additional or a different form of bargaining, I think it is susceptible of demonstration that there is a wide and a material difference between the two.

The trade agreement is simply an agreement or contract between two parties, not necessarily in accord with each other, in fact, usually not in accord at all, but who are forced by circumstances, perhaps, to deal with each other in this manner; and each of whom, therefore, in the making of the agreement endeavors to obtain every advantage possible over the other and to have introduced into the agreement such clauses and such matters as will enable them in the carrying out of the agreement to reap material advantage over the other.

Another disadvantage or weakness of what is known generally as the trade agreement is the fact that it is merely a contract setting forth the relations of the contracting parties to each other, and yet at the same time not setting up proper machinery for carrying out those relations or insuring that those relations will be held to by the individual units composing either party to the agreement. I hold that any contract or agreement to be of great utility in the industrial world must contain within itself the machinery necessary for carrying out its provisions.

Those of us who are familiar with the course of events are aware of the many charges of bad faith, some ill founded, some well founded, that have been made on both sides in the carrying out of trade agreements. It is, therefore, my belief that contracts or agreements, to be of real service in the industrial world, must contain a system or method by which the provisions of the contract may be constantly enforced on the individual units composing both parties thereto.

That this is not merely a captious criticism of the ordinary trade agreement is, I think, proven by the fact that the famous agreement made in the stove moulding industry failed after a few years; that the agreement made in the metal trades more or less failed after a few years' trial; while the mason builders' agreement, first entered into, I believe, in Boston some twenty years ago, has endured to the present time and is to-day in as good working order as it ever

was. This I think is due, not to any difference in the character of the people who entered upon the agreement, or to the particular terms of the agreement, other than so far as the mason builders' agreement set up a system of government, or machinery for enforcing the agreement and the carrying out of its provisions by joint action.

But it may be asked if you thus eliminate the trade agreement or contract what is there left us? The answer, although perfectly simple and plain, is one which requires deep thought on all sides before it is accepted, but is worthy of such consideration inasmuch as it solves the problem most satisfactorily.

I believe the reply to that query to be that we should establish in the place of a contract or trade agreement a system of government of the trade, under which the mutual interests of both employers and employees shall be carefully conserved and provided for. In order to secure such a form of government as shall be at once simple and yet permanent, various fundamental truths must be recognized, and one, if not the greatest, of these I hold to be that of the equality of relation between employer and employee.

It is not necessary to go into a discussion of the thought that employer and employee, labor and capital, are partners in any industrial enterprise, especially in manufacturing. But we will assume that such partnership is recognized as existing, not in a legal sense under which both parties share the losses and profits of the business, but in that more subtle sense of partnership in which both equally share, both are equally responsible and suffer in all the successes, the failures, and, above all, in the prosecution and environment of the business in which they are engaged.

Assuming then the fundamental truth of partnership, any system of government to be successful must be joint or mutual, and here we find a descriptive term coined ready at our hand, the term "mutual government," in which the equality of both sides is at once recognized and utilized to the advantage of both and the betterment of the industry.

In the lithographic trade, we have grown to recognize this to a very large degree, and the result is not only that peace reigns within our borders, but that we are enabled safely and profitably to handle those questions, the consideration of which usually racks an industry. One of these questions is at this present moment costing

thousands of dollars in the typographic industry besides making a breach between employer and employee which will require years of careful work to bridge.

You may be interested in learning how this method of mutual government is carried forward in the lithographic trade. Of course it rests primarily upon an agreement or contract, but this is not at all a trade agreement, as we have been considering that term, but simply a contract or agreement between the union and the association of employers setting up machinery for the conduct of that system which we have termed "mutual government." This machinery is simple, yet efficacious; it consists mainly of what we term "The Joint Commission," in connection with an efficient joint trade bureau, consisting of the national and local business representatives of the employers and workmen.

Joint commissions are of two kinds, local and national. The local joint commission and the national joint commission are alike in one particular, that is to say, they are made up of equal delegations from employers and employees. Their functions, however, are different.

Joint commissions are established from time to time for the purpose of trying individual or special cases arising under the application of mutual government, upon the complaint or call of either employer or employee, or employers' association or workman's organization, and may be for the purpose of settling a dispute or for the rectifying of a grievance, or for the establishment of different or better trade conditions. Should a decision be arrived at by a local joint commission that decision becomes final and binding upon all the parties concerned, including both organizations. Should a local joint commission be unable to agree, the matter then goes before a national joint commission established for the purpose, and its decision, if arrived at, becomes binding upon all concerned. Should the national joint commission fail to agree upon any question it then goes to a board of three arbitrators, whose decision, of course, is final and binding. This in brief is the full machinery of mutual government, a piece of machinery which has been found to work smoothly, without friction and with almost perfect results in the desired object.

As a marked evidence of this it is a fact that there has never yet been made a decision of any local or national joint commission

since the system was established in the lithographic industry, governing any trade condition or question, that has ever been reopened by either party, and, on the contrary, many such conditions that have been decided have been accepted by both sides—mark you, by *both* sides, not by either one side or the other *alone*—as more satisfactory than they previously were to either employer or employee. Notable illustrations of this are the question of overtime regulations in the city of New York and the adjustment of wage scales in various cities. As a further evidence of this is found the fact that the question of the shorter work-week—that burning question at the present time in almost all organized industries—has been for two years and a half relegated by both employer and employee in the lithographic industry to the domain and decision of the joint commission and at the same time has not yet been brought up nationally for such decision. In other words, it has ceased to be a burning question in the lithographic trade, each party, both employer and employee, realizing most fully that when the time is ripe it will be brought before a joint commission, intelligently discussed, dispassionately considered and finally settled to the best interests of the trade at large, and therefore in the truest interests of both employer and employee. Furthermore, when such decision is arrived at the enforcing or carrying out of that decision will not entail either business losses or any other of the results usually attendant upon a warfare over the question.

Though I shall give only the barest outline of the system of mutual government, yet I wish to describe one of the practical outgrowths of mutual government, or what might be termed one of its auxiliary features. I allude to what we have termed the "joint apprentice system." In the lithographic industry we have with several of the important unions set up between those unions and the employers' association a joint apprentice system, under which there are a national and various local joint Apprentice Boards. These boards have entire jurisdiction and control over the apprentices in the trade. They examine the candidates for apprenticeship, they require doctor's certificates as to health, oculists' certificates as to eyesight; they examine into the moral character and capabilities of the candidate for apprenticeship, and then, after having secured the serving by the apprentice of a certain period of probation or trial, these Apprentice Boards

re-examine the apprentice and determine whether or not he has manifested the proper qualifications to warrant his continuance in the business. Furthermore, after the apprentice is indentured and in fact, during his whole term of apprenticeship, the Apprentice Boards can at any time stop the apprentice, or employer for that matter, and break off the relationship existing, either because the boy himself is not manifesting the proper application or ability or because the employer is not properly teaching the boy the business.

These Joint Apprentice Boards are built along the same lines as Joint Commissions, that is to say, they consist of equal delegations from employers and employees, and both employers and employees are enthusiastic over the work they are doing. It does not seem to be at all unreasonable to believe that within a comparatively short period the entire apprentice question, ratios and everything else will be in the hands of the joint apprentice system of the lithographic trade, and it is also probable that in due time this system will establish technical schools under its sole control as an adjunct of the practical instruction the apprentice receives in the work shops of the trade.

I have said that mutual government should receive deep consideration before being accepted to such extent as to place the important interests involved entirely under its domination and control. Our industrial interests are of such great importance not only to those immediately concerned, but to the whole community as well, and there have been so many systems and methods offered to the world as "cure-alls" for industrial ills, only to prove ineffectual after trial, that this plan of mutual government should be fully and carefully considered before being accepted. Yet I would not have you class mutual government amongst those systems which I have alluded to as being new ideas presented as "cure-alls," because mutual government, while it comes nearer perhaps to being a "cure-all" than those systems I have referred to, it is *not new*. The principle upon which mutual government is founded is as old as the "Golden Rule," yes, it is even older, it is as old as civilization; it is as old as the first thought or principle in humanity that led men to erect the monuments of human progress out of blocks cut perfectly square and true.

Mutual government is distinctly a business proposition, and while founded on those principles to which I have alluded as cov-

ered by the Golden Rule, it is not so established through any motive of sentiment, or because of the moral principle involved. It has been found as a business proposition that the establishment of systems of business on moral principles and in accordance with righteous ethics universally result in the enlargement and betterment of the business so aided, and at the same time, it is true, that the moral principles involved become more firmly established and extended. To paraphrase this thought, "Honesty is the best policy" is a good business proposition considering it simply *as a policy*, yet when carried out it results in the building up of honesty as a principle. This is the answer to those of our critics who would say that mutual government is an impossible form of government because founded upon moral principle, and that it is altogether a utopian idea; on the contrary, we have found it to be a hard, practical and *successful* business proposition.

In the establishment of mutual government it has been my lot and experience to meet with the opposition first of employers, and a notable instance of this that I have in mind is an employer who is a leader amongst employers, who declared the system was utopian in character and impossible of carrying out in these latter days of business competition. This position was maintained by this employer not only in private conversation but in public. There was also a prominent labor leader who opposed the establishment of mutual government upon much the same grounds and consistently maintained this position of opposition. During the past six months the labor leader referred to has stated to me that in his judgment mutual government was the system that would finally dominate and control the entire industrial situation of the country, if not of the world, and that he believed it was the solution of the vexing problem. The leader of employers to whom I have alluded has lately openly and in public stated much the same sentiment, and even gone further and said that the system of mutual government comprising joint action and arbitration was worth all the trouble, all the expense and all the warfare that had been or might be required to establish it. These instances are but two out of many which show how the system wins and holds its position.

Referring again to the lithographic industry in which mutual government has been for a few years established, and as evidencing the progress made by it, I would state that at first only yearly

agreements were possible between the employers' association and the organizations of workmen, each limiting the time to an experimental period. To-day we have an agreement for three years formulated and in process of ratification. Our trade is entirely tranquil. Customers, manufacturers, employers and workingmen are all alike satisfied that in the lithographic industry peace will continue and the trade questions now so prominently before the country will be taken care of so far as that industry is concerned without serious disturbance.

In conclusion, I think I have given a reasonable foundation for the belief previously expressed, that the best way of settling industrial conflict is by preventing it, and that this may be accomplished without the sacrifice either on the part of capital or on the part of labor of any of those fundamental rights to which each holds so tenaciously; but that on the contrary mutual government practiced in good faith and properly carried out affords the truest and best opportunity of conserving those rights which we all hold so dear individually, whether we be employer or workman.



III. The Industrial Condition of the Negro in the North



THE ECONOMIC HANDICAP OF THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH

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The economic problem growing out of the negro's presence in the North borrows importance from the prevailing dread of an overwhelming influx from the South. This conclusion is founded on fear rather than on careful consideration of the facts and factors entering into the premises. Although during the last forty years there has been a thin stream of movement towards the North, yet it has not been sufficient in volume to alter the course of the general current which is moving steadily towards the Gulf of Mexico. The total number of negroes in the thirty-one free States of the North and West does not equal the negro population of the single State of Alabama. The last census decade was one of great unrest among the negroes of the South, and yet during that interval the increment in the Northern element was but slightly in excess of the natural increase in the State of Georgia. If we make the slightest marginal allowance for the increase of the negroes who were in the North in 1900, it will be seen that the entire Northern influx which occasions so much frantic discussion would be less than the growth in a single Southern State. The negro population at large arose from 4,880,009 in 1860 to 8,840,789 in 1900. In the meantime the Northern contingent had grown from 227,216 to 759,788, or from 5 per cent. to 8½ per cent. of the entire race. If the first generation after emancipation which violently upset established order shows such slight dispersive tendency, we are surely not justified in the fear that in times of comparative quiet there will be a mad hejira to the northern tier of States.

We must also take into account that the negro in the North does not seem to be a self-sustaining quantity, and unless constantly re-enforced from without would probably dwindle to the vanishing point. This failure of the race to thrive in the higher latitudes is

not, in my judgment, due so much to geographical reasons as to the benumbing effect of an unfriendly environment. An isolated class imprisoned in the midst of a more powerful and populous people is apt to be affected in its reproductiveness in some such way as animals which fail to multiply under captivity. But, however we may speculate as to the cause, the effect remains the same. The growth of the negro element in the North has been due almost or quite wholly to immigration, and not to natural increase, and it seems entirely safe to rely upon the continuance of this tendency. When this Northern movement is checked the Northern negro will become a stationary or a diminishing quantity.

Seven-tenths of the Northern negroes are found in the cities. The Northern influx during the last decade was mainly to the large cities of that section. Outside of these centers the tendency is to diminish rather than to increase. From 1890 to 1900 there was an actual decrease of the negro population in seven Northern States.

The city influx is subject to self limitation. We cannot safely base general conclusions upon the happenings of a single decade. Each city will hold just so many of this element in solution before reaching the point of saturation, beyond which it cannot go. Such cities as Charleston, Richmond, Nashville and Washington have well nigh reached that point, and the last census shows only a slight tendency of growth, and fell far short of the general increment of the negro population at large.

All of this goes to show that the economic and general problems growing out of the situation of the Northern negro are rather incidental and temporary, and form but a fragmentary part of the great race problem whose situs is in the South.

Surprise is sometimes expressed that this race does not in larger numbers remove itself from the political and civil restrictions of the South to the more liberal regime of the freer States. But it is economic rather than political motives that influence the movement of modern population. A conservative tendency disposes all people to endure political ills at home rather than fly to industrial conditions they know not of. If we except the more restless and ambitious spirit, the twenty million foreigners who have come to this country since 1820 have not been attracted by an asylum from political oppression, but have come in quest of better economic opportunity and outlook. The gates of Ellis Island swing inward towards better in-

dustrial conditions. Should conditions be reversed, and should European countries offer higher wages and better conditions of living, there would be a reflux tide at once and the gate of Ellis Island would swing outward.

In the North it is true that the negro enjoys the fullest political prerogative, his educational facilities are the best that the world affords, and yet these things attract not the mass of the race, simply because they do not carry with them corresponding industrial opportunity. The negro may for a time drift about blindly, but in the long run he will be controlled by this great economic motive which governs other people, and no amount of moralizing on our part can affect this result. The Northern movement will continue only so long as the North seems to offer the better economic advantage. When an industrial and economic equilibrium, so far as the negro is concerned, is established between the two sections the further Northern movement will be merely as flying fragments leaving the mass of the race unaffected. As inevitably as water when unrestrained flows from a higher to a lower level, so work people, white or black, move from lower to higher economic opportunity.

In dealing with the economic handicap of the negro in the North, we may as well limit our attention to the larger cities of that section and include in this category such border cities as Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis and Louisville, where the colored workman meets with much the same industrial disadvantages as in the higher latitude. Indeed the industrial status of the negro is not determined so much by the geography of his position as by the relative number of white men with whom he must enter into industrial rivalry.

The broad distinction between the negro workman in the North and in the South is that in one section he is confined generally to agricultural pursuits, whereas in the other he is shut in to personal and domestic service. It is also true that in the South, especially in the lower and hotter tier of Southern States, where white competition is not energetic, he is largely engaged in mechanical pursuits, a calling from which he is all but absolutely excluded in the North. When Jacksonville, Fla., was destroyed by fire several years ago it was rebuilt largely by negro mechanics; but no skilled negro workman lifted a hammer or wielded a saw in restoring the city of Baltimore from that awful deluge of fire two years ago.

Great indeed is the handicap of that class which is shut in to a

single line of occupation, and that, too, the one which is regarded as least remunerative and most benumbing to the just aspiration of an American citizen. The trades unions, either by the letter of the law or by the spirit in which it is executed, effectually bar the negro from the more remunerative pursuits of trade and transportation. The negro workman is thus compelled to loiter around the outer edge of industry and to pick up such menial work or odds-and-ends pursuits as white men do not care to undertake.

The negro is being driven even from the domain of domestic and semi-domestic service as fast as white men fill up the higher fields of mechanical skill and press downwards into the lower stratum of occupation. Pursuits once monopolized by the negro in the North are rapidly passing from him. The white waiter, barber, and coachman poaches defiantly upon the black man's industrial preserves. The industrial rivalry among men is almost as brutal as the struggle for existence among beasts of the forest. The attitude of the trade union towards the negro is that of intolerance and exclusion. They say to the black workman, "We fear lest there be not enough for you and us."

I cannot agree with Dr. Booker T. Washington that these pursuits are passing from the black man because of his shiftlessness and inefficiency. It is rather the case of the stronger competitor pushing the weak to the wall. The strong man enters into the house of the weak, binds him and takes his possessions, and heeds not his wail of entreaty. The smallness of his numbers is the negro's industrial weakness in the North. The white man in the union has nothing to fear from the black man's competition outside the union. Whereas in the South the trades unions must reckon with the black workman who forms a sufficiently numerous class to threaten their industrial supremacy by a flank movement. The negro waiter is polite and good-natured, and a more skillful manipulator of dishes can hardly be imagined. The negro coachman when carefully trained in his duties is keenly alive to the amenities of his position, and is a good enough disciple of Jehu for all practical purposes. The whole world acknowledges that the negro is an expert with the razor. And yet the white man supplants him by sheer virtue of the fact that he belongs to the more numerous and preferred class. These are grievous conditions and seriously must they be dealt with.

As meager as are his earning opportunities, when it comes to

renting a house, which in the nature of the case must absorb a large part of his earnings, he is often forced to pay a higher rate of rental than his white competitor for like accommodations. There is a double diminution of the fraction, both by decreasing the numerator and by increasing the denominator.

The destruction of the poor is his poverty. The excess of negro females over males is a most striking feature of the negro population in most of the large centers. In Washington and Baltimore this excess reaches the startling disproportion of 126 females to every 100 males. This enormous disproportion is both an effect and a fresh cause of economic adversity. It complicates every factor in the life of the race, and no plan can be proposed for the general betterment of this class that does take this serious factor into account.

The negro in the North, by reason of his hard industrial lot, is forced to live in the alleys and shady places, the breeders of vice and crime, of disease and death, and the feeders of jails, hospitals and penitentiaries. When these cities are threatened with such frightful death rate and crime rate among this neglected class they should remember that it is but the logical outcome of the hard industrial lot.

But I suppose that I am desired to point out remedies, rather than dilate upon evil conditions which all recognize and deplore. To propose solutions for insoluble problems is an easy and agreeable exercise of the mind. Every other American has a solution of the race problem which is relied upon with as much assurance as a patent nostrum to cure a chronic or constitutional disease. Solutions of the race problem remind us of the patient who declared that all remedies for the rheumatism were equally effective; for he had tried them all, with the result that his aches and pains were in no wise abated. I beg to present the following suggestions with the hope that their value will be revealed upon analysis:

1. Should the negro laborer receive more just and equitable treatment in the South there would be less migratory disposition and dissatisfaction on his part. The cases of peonage and chain gang abuses recently brought to light are but extreme instances of the many ways in which the black man forcibly or guilefully is deprived of the just fruits of his labor.

There is too much of the traditional bias of the slave regime which regards the negro as an inferior order of nature placed in the world to be exploited by his white lord and master. It seems to be a

hard lesson for the employing class to learn that the laborer is entitled to the same human considerations as himself. This ruthless disregard of the manhood side of the workman breeds restlessness and discontent. Those who employ labor should be most concerned in making the laborer satisfied and contented, thus insuring his highest efficiency. The South is the natural habitat of the negro on this continent, and there would be a lessening tendency to drift northward if he were assured of the full fruits of his labor and of a square deal as a workman and as an American citizen.

2. The negro in the North must make himself efficient, according to the highest standard of service in whatever field he may be engaged. He must be doubly fortified against the prevailing tendency to supplant him with workmen of the preferred class on the score of superior efficiency.

3. There should be organized under competent auspices a bureau of information which should furnish to the masses of the race through the negro press, pulpit and other agencies of reaching and influencing public opinion and action, accurate knowledge of the evil of indiscriminate influx to the North as well as the advantages of judicious migration of selected individuals. Any proposition looking towards restriction upon the freedom of movement of any class of citizens is of course repugnant to the principles of our institutions. It is not the individual who intelligently concludes that he can better his condition by moving to the North whom it is desirable to restrain, but the blind, indiscriminate tendency impelling the thoughtless to drift about without plan or purpose. If industrially inclined and well disposed negroes in limited numbers could be directed to the smaller towns and rural communities of the North they could find remunerative work and kindly treatment. The negro needs to come in close contact with the Northern habit and method of work. The whole North might thus be made to serve as a vast training school for young negroes of both sexes who might acquire the Northern secret and method with the hope of finding opportunity of exploiting it among their own people in the South. Under the slave regime the Northern mechanic was brought South in order that negro apprentices might learn the different mechanical trades. This was the origin of the slave mechanic who is now passing off the stage without leaving a successor. Just as the negro youth go to Harvard and Yale and carry their acquired knowledge to the South

to be exploited among their own constituency, so in the common household economy and in the ordinary workaday pursuits the negro may learn much by contact with the North.

4. Where there is to be found a considerable number of negroes they must create opportunity by catering to the needs and necessities of their own class. The number of negro stores and small business places that are springing up in all of the large cities constitutes the most hopeful indication above the gloomy economic horizon.

5. It may not be too much to hope that the Golden Rule will be applied to the economical domain. An able-bodied beggar in a democracy is a monstrosity. There is only one form of begging that is justifiable, and that is begging the opportunity to work upon the highest level of one's skill and efficiency.

Too much stress is wont to be laid upon the antipathy of the white workman to affiliate with his black co-laborer. In the South from time immemorial the two races have worked side by side on terms of industrial equality without prejudice to the personal claims or pretensions of either. The Northern employer is too prone to turn off the colored applicant with the bland assurance that he himself would have no objection, but his white workmen would disrupt the business if a black competitor were forced upon them. This intolerant attitude against the negro workman is largely a matter of fad and fancy. Upon the show of firmness on the part of the employer it would soon vanish away. The public becomes accustomed to a scheme of things from which the negro is excluded and soon comes to look upon it as a fixed, natural order. In Washington City we have colored members of the police force, and have become unconscious of their presence; but in Baltimore a colored officer of the law would be regarded as a serious menace to the supremacy of the white race. Philadelphia has become so accustomed to colored policemen that their presence no longer occasions remark or curious comment, but in New York, a city ninety miles further North, this would at first be regarded as an intolerable innovation. A colored motorman on the electric cars in the streets of Philadelphia would at first tie up street car traffic. The other brakemen, native and foreign-born, intelligent and illiterate, would enter upon a strike, and would remain out as long as they felt sure that they were not imperiling the permanence of their position. But if the corporation, backed up by a just public sentiment, should insist upon the right to employ

men according to their fitness alone, the recalcitrant brakemen would one by one sneak back into their old positions, and the good old City of Brotherly Love would forthwith sink into its accustomed quietness, and would think no more of the color of the man who manipulates the car cranks than of the color of his hair or the curvature of his eyebrows.

So long as the North treats the negro workman with blighting discrimination it is left little moral ground for complaint against the South where a like spirit assumes a different form of manifestation. "Ye take my life when ye do take the means whereby I live."

THE NEGRO IN THE TRADES UNIONS IN NEW YORK

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON,

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To ascertain the exact number of colored men in organized labor in New York city is a difficult matter. No record is kept by the secretaries of the various organizations as to the nationality of the members, and the Negro's name does not designate his race, as do many of the names of our foreigners. Locals containing large numbers of Negroes sometimes know the correct figures for their colored members, but where few of the race are in a trade complete information is hard to secure. I cannot be confident, therefore, that the list which I give is entirely correct. It has, however, been compiled after months of inquiry and probably has only a small percentage of error. What error there is is likely to be one of under-, not of over-, statement.

The following is a list of Negro union men in New York city. With the exception of some of the building trades, only organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are counted:

Asphalt workers, 320; teamsters, 300; rockdrillers and tool-sharpeners, 250; cigar makers, 121; bricklayers, 90; waiters, 90; carpenters, 60; plasterers, 45; double drum hoisters, 30; safety and portable engineers, 26; eccentric firemen, 15; letter carriers, 10; pressmen, 10; printers, 6; butchers, 3; lathers, 3; painters, 3; coopers, 2; sheet metal workers, 1; rockmen, 1. This makes a total of 1,388 men.

The census of 1900 gives the number of Negro males engaged in gainful occupations in New York city at 19,314. This population in the last five years has, I believe, from a study I have made of the Negro tenements, increased not less than 40 per cent. We then have to-day a working male population of 27,039 Negroes; 1,386 of these, a little over 5 per cent., being union men.

This is not a large number, but it shows an increase over former times, if we can trust the opinion of unionists, for there are no figures with which to make comparison. One colored laborer

says, "The number of Negroes in the unions has doubled in the last five years." "There are three times as many as there were formerly," says another. "I am confident that there are many more colored men in organized labor than there were five years ago," says the recording secretary of the Central Federated Union. These are only guesses, but from them it appears probably that the Negro has not lost but has gained in organized labor.

Are the Negroes in feeble unions or in powerful bodies? For the most part they are in unions of the latter character. The engineers and firemen are old and strong organizations; so are the bricklayers, who in New York get seventy cents an hour for an eight hour day. The rock drillers were able to hold their price with their employers during the whole of the building of the subway. The carpenters, though a divided body, command four dollars a day. The cigar makers are an old union. The asphalt workers are a well organized body and able to enforce their demands. The Negroes, therefore, seem to be in strong labor groups.

How do they serve in these organizations? The answer is in their favor. The official of the teamsters writes that they are satisfactory and rarely scab on them. The cigar makers say "satisfactory." A number of locals report "as good as the average." Their record in New York is creditable. One union owes its large membership and its strong organization to a colored man. The asphalt workers have for their agent, or walking delegate, Mr. James L. Wallace, a Negro from Virginia, who helped to organize his union and has worked for it with much ability. Mr. Wallace has increased the membership from 250 in 1903, when he assumed control of it, to 850 in 1906. The colored men of this union constitute a little over a third of the members, the other workers being chiefly Italians. Wages have been advanced twice since Mr. Wallace has been at the head of his local, for he has acted as its president as well as delegate, and his men now make two dollars and a half as rollers working ten hours a day, and four dollars as wood-pavers working eight hours a day, an increase in the last three years from forty-three to sixty-eight cents a day. Mr. Wallace is his local's representative at the Central Federated Union, and is spoken of by its best workers as a man of intelligence and discretion.

But while we find the proportion of union Negroes in strong organizations gratifying, we also see that there are numerous

omissions, and that colored men are in few skilled trades. There are no machinists, no structural iron workers, no plumbers, no garment makers. I find 102 different trades, or divisions of trades, on the list of the Central Federated Union which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, have no Negroes in their membership. Why is this the case? In the first place, compared with other races, there are not many Negroes in New York, and few of those that are here are skilled workmen. There are, moreover, tens of thousands of foreigners and of American-born white men who come here to get employment. The city gathers in multitudes of workers, and, while labor is always in demand, many artisans have to turn to unskilled tasks. When the few Negroes who are skilled enter this labor market, they compete with the best of the world. The struggle is severe, and they with others feel it. Then the trades union, endeavoring to maintain a high standard of living for its members, may decide for a time to adopt a policy of restriction of membership. Excessive entrance dues will be charged, or friends of the men inside the organization will be given the first chance at admission. All of the city's new comers are likely to be subjected to this policy; the Jew, who is now in nearly every union in New York, has suffered, and still suffers from it; the Italian feels it; but it is upon the Negro that it bears hardest. He is not sufficiently strong in numbers to be a menace unorganized, and he finds himself pushed aside while another man is admitted to the place he hoped might be his.

This discrimination is primarily economic, not racial; but it is hard to determine where economic motive ends and race or caste discrimination begins. Undoubtedly men are debarred from unions in New York solely because of their color. This is contrary to the ideals of organized labor, to the constitution of the American Federation, and I believe to the sense of the best men in the movement in New York. "No man shall be debarred because of his creed or color," unionists say again and again; and they rarely go against this principle openly as did the locomotive engineers when they denied their democracy and put the word "white" in their constitution. But the admission of a member is usually left to the local to which he applies, and there are various means by which a colored man may be refused admittance.

I have been unable to determine how many Negroes in a given

time have been denied membership to organizations in New York because of their color; for it is difficult not only to learn of those refused admittance, but also to ascertain the real cause when a man does not get in. Sometimes he is discouraged at the outset and hardly tries; again he is debarred because he applies at an inopportune time. I have recently had experience in attempting to get a carpenter into a certain local. At the date I asked a man to vouch for him the local was taking in no men, black or white; they had shut down on admitting members for a few months. The colored carpenter in question, had he applied alone, might have believed that this answer was intended especially for him, and would have made no further effort to get inside the organization, whereas I have every reason to hope that when the restriction is removed he will be elected to membership. Our Negro population comes to us chiefly from the Southern States, and it has been taught that labor organization is its enemy. It is timid, too, in attempting to gain its rights. Colored men have heard that white men lay down their tools rather than work with them, and they sometimes give up their trade without a trial. Still, there are Negroes of skill and persistence who have been denied admittance to the union, and who have suffered because of this.

Would the Negro as a workman be better off, then, if there were no labor unions? I have heard colored men prominent in industrial school work say that they would be; yet it is difficult to conceive of the American laborer to-day without the benefits that have accrued and are accruing to him from the collective bargaining and from the protective legislation that organized labor has often obtained. Whether in or out of the union, the Negro has benefited by this; but if labor organization creates race discrimination, then it deserves the condemnation of the colored race. It is spoken of sometimes as doing this, but the accusation is not true. It has found caste feeling and has at times been unable to overcome it, but it has not created it. If it had, we should have seen the negro strongest in those pursuits which were unorganized; yet many occupations are closed to him because of the prejudice of white employees who have never formed a union. There are to-day numbers of negroes coming to us from the West Indies who have been trained as clerks and accountants, but you will find them in New York acting as elevator boys in the halls of the business houses

whose offices they never enter. If organization made race prejudice, we should find it lacking among the women whose unions are too young to be accounted of much strength; but for years white working girls have been cruel in their refusal to admit their colored sisters to the right to work in factory or shop. Nothing in New York so holds the Negro race from moral and industrial progress as the denial to its women of the varied opportunities of labor. The banding together of men of one class and of a common interest may occasionally emphasize race discrimination, but it does not bring it into existence. And as the working man grows to see with increasing clearness that he needs all competent labor within his organization, the Negro when he is efficient will find the union discouraging the individual who allows his caste sentiments to interfere with this movement for unification. The far-sighted leaders of the labor world understand this. They strive to stamp out class feeling, not to cultivate it. Appreciating the danger of an exploited class of workmen in America, they endeavor, though not always successfully, to obliterate race lines in the organizations of the country.

But if organized labor does not create race discrimination, there is a sufficient amount of it in America to make the Negro often occupy the position of a strike-breaker. We have seen this at times in New York. When men are wanted in large numbers for comparatively unskilled work, they will be sent for from the South, as was the case with a strike of longshoremen in Brooklyn, and as was conspicuously the situation in Chicago during the teamsters' strike last summer. Some of the Negroes who come to the North do not know what the conditions are, others understand fully what they are doing; but, innocent or comprehending, they are equally hated by the men whose places they take. They have also been indiscriminately praised by the Negro world. At the National Negro Business League, held in New York last August, one of the speakers gave great glory to the Negro strike-breakers in Chicago. I do not think he said this because he was an individualist and believed every strike-breaker to be a hero; it was rather because he felt that the colored man had been imposed upon and was vindicating his rights. While this is sometimes so, it is not always the case.

Negro strike-breakers are of many kinds, and they should be

considered in relation to their immediate labor problem as we should consider any other men. There are colored men who cannot get into the union in their own city, and when a strike occurs, after having been denied the right to work under union conditions in their own trade, take the places of the striking men. In doing this they are justified. Then there are the Negroes who, coming from another State, take the jobs of unionists who have refused colored men admittance into the locals of their city. Such men, if they had work at home, are in a questionable position when they interfere with an effort on the part of the laboring class to better its condition. Their justification would be that the men of their color had not been fairly treated by the striking union. And, lastly, there are the men who take the place of strikers in a trade in which the Negro has had union rights. This, as I understand, was the status of the colored strike-breakers who took the positions of teamsters in Chicago last summer. The teamsters' union had been open to colored men, and they had no grievance against it. The Negroes who came to the city from the South and worked as teamsters were strike-breakers, and no more to be commended than the white men who did the same thing, though their bravery was doubtless greater. When Negroes, without discrimination, publicly applaud the strike-breakers of their race, they are taking a stand that they should seriously consider, since they separate themselves from the ethics of the greater part of the labor world.

In the printers' strike in New York to-day the situation has been an interesting one. Until a few weeks ago there was but one colored man in Typographical Union No. 6; it was generally known that Negroes could not get into this union. Since the strike colored men trained in an industrial school have taken the place of unionists in a prominent New York firm. This was the only chance these men had to get into printing in New York, or seemed so; but I more admire the five colored printers who went about the city pretending to look for work in a non-union shop. They did not mean to take it, but their ruse was successful; they were met by a union picket, invited to join the organization, and are now on strike pay.

I feel the need of emphasizing the Negro's entering into organized labor when it is possible and keeping upon good terms with white laborers, because I regard with some fear the counter teach-

ing which the race now so often hears, that it must win its way alone, as a segregated people. That this is possible in New York I do not believe. The colored man has neither the skill nor the numbers to maintain himself as a worker in a segregated group. We can see this in the pursuits which he has lost. At one time he had almost a monopoly of the barbering business; now he rarely keeps a shop, except where he works for his own race. As a waiter he has fast lost ground, for no first-class hotels employ him, and but few good restaurants. He cannot keep a monopoly of a trade so long as he is thought of as a worker who must always be with his kind, his own people. A man who is hiring laborers wants the greatest efficiency he can get, and he will not choose to employ men from a race that works only in race groups and at the same time constitutes but 2 per cent. of the city's population. Take the case of the waiters, for instance. There are, or were, according to the last census, 30,104 white waiters in Greater New York, and 6,078 colored. In an employer must choose either white or colored, will he not be sure to find more efficiency in the group that contained 30,000 men than in the group one-fifth as large? The smaller group will have able men in it, but they will be held back by their inefficient co-laborers. The only place in the world of labor that the colored man can win as a segregated race in New York is the place that no one else wants. He may sweep down the subway steps, run the elevators in cheap apartment houses, act as porter in stores, where the work is heavy and the pay small; but when he ceases to be segregated and enters the organized trades, he is on an equal footing with other laborers, he gets their pay and their hours, and he is a man in a movement of workingmen. How to get to this place should be his constant question. He should grow increasingly efficient and should pound at the union's door, breaking it down if he is refused admittance, but after he is within doing his best to be of service to his fellow-workers. He should learn to count on the improvement of his condition through the working class. Having so long been associated with various forms of domestic service, the colored man has laid too much stress upon what his employer might do for him. There is the occasional employer who takes a black man because he believes he should have a chance, and keeps him despite the prejudice of his other employees, but such a man is rare. "I have no objection to hiring you," is the

usual remark addressed to the Negro who looks for employment, "but my clerks would not care to work with you." A little firmness would perhaps overcome the clerks' opposition, but there are plenty of cheap white clerks; and if the black man should by chance get such a position, he would probably receive a lower wage than the white man next him.

As the Negro gains in productive efficiency he will become increasingly important to the world of organized labor. Education will raise his standard of living, and he will give his support to the effort to gain proper human conditions for all who work. It is only through the solidarity of labor's interests that he can hope to be saved from remaining in an exploited class. Every colored man in New York who stands with the organization, working for it in its defeat or its success, gains respect not only for himself but for his race. He comes in contact with men of his own class, and in the best way that such contact can come about, as a workman by the side of another workman. Caste lines disappear when men are held together by a common interest, and as they feel their dependence one upon another they gain in sympathy and in fraternal spirit.

I heard a story the other day, whose every word I can vouch for, which illustrates better than anything else I can say the thought which I have tried to express.

An Irish friend was talking on trade union matters, and she said: "Do you know, yisterday I dined wid a nayger. Little did I iver think I wud do sich a thing, but it was this way. You know my man is scretary of his union, and the min are on strike, and who should come to the door at twelve o'clock but a big black nayger. 'Is Brother O'Neill at home?' seys he. 'Brother O'Neill,' thinks I; 'well, if I'm brother to you I'd better have stayed in Ireland.' But I axed him in, and in a minute my man comes and he shakes the nayger by the hand, and says he, 'You must stay and ate wid us.' So I puts the dinner on the table and I sat down and ate wid a nayger. 'Well,' I said, 'how did he seem?' 'To tell you the truth,' she said, 'he seemed just like anybody else.'"

THE MIGRATION OF NEGROES TO THE NORTH

By R. R. WRIGHT, JR.,

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In the space allotted to me I shall consider briefly:

1. The Extent of Negro Migration to the North.
2. The Causes of this Migration.
3. The Social Effect of Negro Migration.

I. THE EXTENT OF NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH.

There is no way of directly measuring this migration, as in this country there is no registration of persons who go from one place to another, as there is in some European countries. Hence we are left largely to approximate measurements afforded by the figures of the United States Census.

According to this authority, the movement of the center of the negro population during the past century has been steadily toward the southwest over four hundred miles, and during the two decades from 1880 to 1900, thirty-one miles, from Walker County, Georgia, to Dekalb County, in northeast Alabama. The northern movement is directly opposite to this tendency, and in the past forty years has been so great as to transfer from the South to the North 2.5 per cent. of the entire negro population.

In 1860 there were 344,719 negroes in the North,¹ and in 1900 911,025, an increase of 164.3 per cent., as against an increase of 93.4 per cent. for the negroes of the South during the same period. The following table gives the growth of the negro population of the North and the South from 1860 to 1900 by decades:

¹"The North" includes the North Atlantic, North Central and Western States. As defined by the United States Census, "The South" is the States of the South Atlantic and South Central divisions.

Negro Population by Decades, 1860 to 1900 (U. S. Census).

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
The North	344,719	459,198	626,890	728,099	911,025
The South	4,097,111	4,420,811	5,953,903	6,760,577	7,922,696
Total	4,441,830	4,880,009	6,580,793	7,488,676	8,833,721

Percentage of Increase.

	1860-1870.	1870-1880.	1880-1890.	1890-1900.	1860-1900.
The North	33.3	36.5	16.2	25.1	164.3
The South	8.8	34.7	13.5	17.2	93.4
Total	9.9	34.9	13.8	18.0	98.9

Forty years ago only 7.8 per cent. of the negroes were in the North; to-day more than 10.3 per cent. This increase is due almost entirely to migration; for the available statistics seem to show that the birth rate of the Northern negro barely equals the death rate, making a natural increase practically impossible.

The following table will show the nativity of the negro population by divisions of States, according to the United States Census:

Per 10,000 Distribution of Native Negro Population in each Division, by Division of Birth (Census Bulletin No. 8, 1900).

Division of Birth	Division of Residence					United States
	North Atlantic	North Central	Western	South Atlantic	South Central	
United States ^a	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
South Atlantic	4,439	910	2,012	9,879	549	4,682
South Central	156	2,406	2,597	81	9,372	4,640
North Atlantic	5,198	115	351	15	4	239
North Central	112	6,448	2,149	6	46	398
Western	14	16	2,660	..	..	10

This table shows that of every 10,000 native negroes living in the North Atlantic division 4,439 were born in the South Atlantic division, and 156 in the South Central States, 5,198 in the North Atlantic division, and 126 in the North Central and Western divisions. In other words, 53.24 per cent. were born in the North and 45.95 per cent. were born in the South. Of every 10,000 native negroes living in the North Central States in 1900, 6,448 were born in that division, 2,406 were born in the South Central division, 910 in the South Atlantic division, while 131 were born in the North Atlantic

²Each 10,000 includes the proper proportion of those born at sea, in American possessions, and whose birth place is unknown.

and Western divisions; that is, about one-third of the negroes of the North Central division were born in the South. Of every 10,000 negroes living in the Western States, 2,660 were born in that division, while 2,500 were born in the other Northern States, and 4,609 were born in the South. Of the total number of native negroes who live in the North, about forty per cent. are migrants from the South.

The above table also shows something of the course of migration, which is along the line of the least resistance. The South Atlantic States send negroes up the seaboard to the North Atlantic, and from the South Central division they come up the Mississippi Valley to the North Central States; and from both Southern divisions they go West, some coming up the Mississippi and crossing over through Missouri and Kansas, and others going around the Southwest through Texas.

But, to be still more definite, they are the so-called border States which furnish most migrants to the North, as the following table will show:

State of Residence			State of Birth					
	Born outside of state Number	%	Maryland	Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Ken- tucky	Ten- nessee
New York	50,518	52.8	2,864	24,118	6,587	2,724	690	291
New Jersey	37,026	53.4	4,430	15,965	3,908	806	176	104
Penna.	85,002	54.5	17,415	40,870	5,206	1,009	657	835
Ohio	39,796	41.3	732	9,983	2,189	437	13,970	2,327
Illinois	53,768	63.7	693	3,473	1,073	649	10,587	10,237
Indiana	31,829	55.4	97	1,232	1,817	185	19,379	3,459
Kansas	29,814	57.4	152	1,441	618	389	5,638	5,131

From Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland come about two-thirds of the negro migrants of New York and New Jersey, and more than two-thirds of those of Pennsylvania, while these States furnish only about one-third of the migrants to Ohio, and less than one-tenth to Illinois, Indiana and Kansas. On the other hand, from Kentucky and Tennessee come about 72 per cent. of the migrants of Indiana, and about two-fifths of those of Ohio and Indiana, while these States furnish about one-fiftieth, one-sixtieth and one one-hundred and thirtieth of the migrants to New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey respectively.

But the movement has not been uniform to all portions of the North, for between 1880 and 1900 five Northern States decreased in

negro population, viz.: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Nevada and Wisconsin; and between 1890 and 1900 the two Dakotas, New Mexico, Oregon and California did the same. The Northern migration has been a movement to the Northern cities, and to the great cities particularly. Within the two decades from 1880 to 1900 the negro population of cities of 4,000 inhabitants and over more than doubled, while the rural population actually decreased more than one-tenth. The rural districts of most of the Northern States east of the Mississippi River decreased, while the cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more increased over three times more rapidly in negro population than in whites.

Northern Negro Population in Cities and Rural Districts, 1880 and 1900.
(U. S. Census.)

	1900		1880		Increase 1880 to 1900	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
Cities of 100,000 Pop.	335,531	36.8	122,203	19.5	213,328	175.5
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000.	102,055	11.2	57,787	9.2	44,268	76.8
Cities of 8,000 to 25,000.	192,624	11.3	64,773	10.3	37,851	58.6
Cities of 4,000 to 8,000.	65,555	7.2	42,198	6.7	23,357	55.3
Cities of at least 4,000.	605,765	66.5	286,961	45.7	318,804	111.1
Rural districts	305,260	33.5	339,929	54.3	*34,669	*10.1
Total (North)	911,025	100.0	626,890	100.0	284,135	39.6

*Decrease.

To-day two of the four largest urban aggregations of negroes in the world are north of Mason and Dixon's line, and are increasing with many times the rate at which Southern cities are increasing, as the following table will show:

Increase of Cities 1890-1900 (U. S. Census).

CITY. NORTH.	Negro Population.		Increase, Negroes.	Total Increase.
	1900.	1890.		
Philadelphia	62,613	39,371	59.0	23.6
New York	60,666	23,601	157.8	126.8
Chicago	30,150	14,271	111.2	54.4
Boston	11,591	8,125	13.3	25.1
Cleveland	5,988	2,939	100.0	46.1
Pittsburg	17,040	7,850	117.1	34.8
Cincinnati	14,482	11,655	24.3	9.8
Newark	6,694	4,141	61.6	35.3
Indianapolis	15,931	9,133	74.4	60.4

(562)

CITY. SOUTH.	Negro Populat on.		Increase, Negroes.	Total Increase.
	1900.	1890.		
Washington	86,702	75,572	14.7	29.7
Baltimore	79,258	67,104	18.1	30.7
New Orleans	77,714	64,491	20.5	12.0
Memphis	49,910	28,706	73.9	92.0
Louisville	39,139	28,651	36.6	30.2
Atlanta	35,727	28,098	29.3	75.2
Richmond	32,230	32,330	0.3*	28.0
Charleston	31,522	30,970	1.8	9.9
Nashville	30,044	29,382	2.3	75.7

*Decrease.

These comparisons show a remarkable amount of migration to the Northern cities, when it is considered that from the most reliable data the birth rate is low and the death rate high. For example, the death rate of New York negroes exceeded the birth rate every year from 1895 to 1904, and in 1904 it was 10.43 per thousand in excess, while the same was true for the ten years in Indianapolis, where the excess of deaths in 1904 was 3.2 per 1,000, and in Cincinnati, where it was 30.9 per 1,000. Had there been no migration to these cities the negro population would have decreased very considerably.

Temporary Migration. The census figures above used give at best only the minimum figures, and a very crude measurement of the permanent migration at two points, namely, the birthplace and the place of residence at the time of the census. It gives nothing as to the temporary migration as such, nor can we do more than form an estimate of this. We may describe the temporary migrants as summer migrants, winter migrants and roving or irregular migrants. The summer migrants are made up of those who come North every summer to work in the hotels and in domestic service chiefly at the seashore resorts. They come chiefly from Maryland and Virginia, but also from the States as far down as Florida and Louisiana, and are scattered along the seashore from New Jersey to Maine, often doubling, and even trebling, the negro population of a given place in a season. Among these are hundreds of negro students who earn their next year's school expenses in the North during the summer. There is also another class, which comes generally from the small towns and rural districts to work on the farms of Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they are in great demand. The employment agents

of Philadelphia find it extremely difficult to secure the Southern negroes wanted by farmers in the vicinity of that city, and often the farmers, not trusting to agents, go down to the boats themselves in order to persuade incoming negroes to go to farm work. These summer migrants, or a large part of them, return South when the winter's cold comes—the students go back to the Southern schools, a large number of waiters, porters, and other domestic workers go to work in Southern winter resorts in Florida and other States, and many go back to their former labor.

In the winter there come to the large cities many unskilled laborers, who find work scarce in the small cities and on the farms. Many of these have been farm laborers during the summer—some as tenants on Southern farms. Among them are many married men, who leave their families behind and go back to them in the spring. From both classes of these temporary migrants the permanent residents of the North are recruited. Some remain, having come to the city for the first time, while others go regularly from North to South each season for a dozen years or more before becoming permanently settled in the North.

There are also many temporary migrants who roam from place to place, living in one section only a very short time. They are unskilled laborers, of the unsteady type, and roving is made easy because of the demand for unskilled labor in the large cities. These migrants are from sixteen years of age to forty. After forty there are very few "rovers."

Sex and Age of Migrants. In the total negro population there is an excess of females, but in the Northern negro population the males are in the majority, there being 1,025 males to each 1,000 females. The large cities of the East, however, have an excess of females, except Pittsburgh and Boston, due to the fact that few women go to the rural districts, while there is great demand for men on the farms.

As to age, the migration begins at about fifteen years and extends to forty, being greatest between eighteen and twenty-eight for men and fifteen and twenty-five for women. The following table of 512 persons questioned by me as to the age of leaving their birth-place and the age at coming to Philadelphia illustrates this point:

(564)

Age periods.	Age at leaving birthplace.				Age at arriving in Philadelphia.			
	Males Number.	%	Females Number.	%	Males Number.	%	Females Number.	%
Under 10 years	27	10.0	41	16.9	9	3.4	11	4.5
10 to 14 years.....	40	15.0	47	19.4	15	5.6	27	11.1
15 to 19 years	74	27.5	59	24.3	69	25.6	66	27.1
20 to 29 years	79	29.4	62	25.5	109	40.5	75	30.9
30 years and over	22	8.1	22	9.0	56	20.8	56	23.1
Unknown	27	10.0	12	4.9	11	4.1	8	3.3
Total	269	100.0	243	100.0	269	100.0	243	100.0

The above table shows that considerable time elapsed between that of leaving home and arriving in the city of Philadelphia. Only about half of the migrants came directly to the city, while the other half lived in various other places covering a period which averaged over eight years. The large number of children (sixty-eight) who are reported as leaving their place of birth under ten years of age, and most of them from ten to fourteen, were with their parents or guardians. After fourteen the migration is generally of individuals.

The census brings out clearly the effect of this migration, as a comparison between the population of Pennsylvania and Virginia shows:

Age Periods.	Negro population of Pennsylvania.		Virginia.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Under 15 years.....	19,421	20,526	132,720	134,690
15 years to 29 years	27,108	28,589	90,422	98,994
30 years to 44 years.....	20,778	17,193	48,676	53,051
45 years to 59 years	8,674	7,425	31,641	31,251
59 years and over.....	2,916	3,429	18,771	18,151
Unknown	451	335	1,229	1,126
Total	79,348	77,497	323,459	337,263

The sudden drop after fifteen years in the case of Virginia is due to emigration, while the rise at fifteen for Pennsylvania is due to immigration.

II. CAUSES OF MIGRATION.

As a general rule migration proceeds from the country of greatest density, most highly developed resources, greatest competition and highest cost of living, to that of less density, comparatively low cost of living, and undeveloped but rich resources, especially where

there is an opportunity for exploitation. On this principle, millions of Europeans left their native shores for the American continent, and upon this principle thousands of the men of the East went to the West, and thousands are to-day going to the Northwest and the South. The negroes, however, seem to be going contrary to this principle, in so far as they are coming from the undeveloped South—the land of opportunity and future wealth—and crowding to the highly developed Northern cities where competition is severest, and cost of living highest. As we have seen, very few Northern-born negroes migrate South, while many Southern-born migrate North. To get the point of view of the migrants themselves I submitted to several hundred of them the question, "Why did you leave the South?" Their answers are given in the following table:

Causes for Leaving the South.

Causes.	Males		Females		Total	
	Number.	%	Number.	%	Number.	%
Desire for higher wages.....	120	44.6	96	39.5	216	42.2
Higher wages and travel	12	4.5	10	4.1	22	4.3
Higher wages and protection.....	14	5.2	6	2.5	20	3.9
"To better condition".....	25	9.3	31	12.8	56	10.9
"Tired of the South"	9	3.3	13	5.4	22	4.3
"Wanted to make a change"	27	10.0	22	9.0	49	9.6
Came with parent or guardian.....	29	10.8	40	16.5	69	13.5
Old persons, to be with children..	3	1.1	6	2.5	9	1.8
Parent died, left home to work...	2	.7	5	2.0	7	1.3
Had position in the North.....	3	1.1	3	1.2	6	1.2
Ran away from home.....	1	.4	0	..	1	.2
Brought away by soldiers	1	.4	0	..	1	.2
To attend school.....	3	1.1	0	..	3	.6
Not given	20	7.5	11	4.5	31	6.0
Total	269	100.0	243	100.0	512	100.0

Over fifty per cent. gave as their reason for leaving the South the desire for higher wages; about eight per cent. wanted, beside higher wages, protection and travel; 10.9 per cent. wanted "to better their condition," while 4.3 per cent. left because they were "tired of the South"; 13.5 came with their parents, and 9.6 per cent. left simply because they "wanted to make a change." These answers, though not very profound, leave us without doubt that the chief cause for the movement northward is economic—and is seen from the migrants' point of view in the higher wages offered in the North.

A comparison of the wages which these persons received in the South and those which, according to their testimony, they are now receiving in the North makes even clearer the force which higher wages has in the migration from the South. The following table is based upon the answers of 512 migrants:

Number of Negroes Receiving Specified Wages per Week in the South and in the North.

Weekly wages.	South			North		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
"Board and clothes".....	6	4	10	..	..	..
50 cents to \$1.99.....	8	26	34	..	1	1
\$2 to \$2.99.....	22	48	70	..	11	11
\$3 to \$3.99.....	26	34	60	..	16	16
\$4 to \$4.99.....	12	11	23	10	46	56
\$5 to \$5.99.....	21	14	35	11	31	42
\$6 to \$6.99.....	47	6	53	23	12	35
\$7 to \$8.99.....	24	1	25	35	9	44
\$9 to \$11.99.....	5	0	5	64	7	71
\$12 to \$13.99.....	1	0	1	23	4	27
\$14 to \$15.99.....	1	0	1	3	0	3
\$16 and over.....	1	0	1	7	0	7
Working for self.....	5	0	5	4	1	5
Not working.....	19	24	43	5	19	24
Not reported.....	71	75	146	84	86	170
Total.....	269	243	512	269	243	512

The wages generally paid to the women in the South were \$1.50 per week (\$6 per month) to \$3 per week in the small towns, and from \$2 to \$4 in the cities; while men received \$2 to \$3.50 in the small towns and on the farms, and from \$5 to \$9 in the cities. These wages are bettered by from 75 per cent. to 150 per cent. in the North. Domestic servants among women earn in Philadelphia from \$3 to \$6 per week, averaging about \$4.50; while men earn from \$6 to \$12 per week, averaging about \$9, with more, however, receiving \$12 per week than \$6.

These figures are corroborated so far as the South is concerned by special local studies published by the United States Government. The Bulletin of Labor, January, 1898, says of domestic service in Farmville, Va.: "The men receive from \$8 to \$10 a month; the women receive from \$1 to \$5, according to age and work; a general servant in an ordinary family receiving \$4, a nurse girl \$1 to \$3 and

a cook \$5." Laborers in Farmville receive from 30 cents to \$1 per day. In Sandy Spring, Md., (Bulletin of Labor, January, 1901), "the wages range from 'victuals and clothes' and lodging (in two cases) to \$10 a month. The usual wages for a young nurse girl is from \$1.50 to \$4 a month, generally \$3; for a housemaid, from \$4 to \$7, generally \$6; for a cook \$6 to \$10, generally \$7 or \$8."

This same contrast holds good for farm labor in the North and in the South.

According to the report of the United States Department of Agriculture, the following table¹ represents wages paid to negroes in typical Northern and Southern States:

Wages of Negro Farm Labor per Month, by the Year, Without Board and with Board; also per day, ordinary labor, 1898 and 1902.

State.	Per month, by the year				Per day, ordinary labor			
	Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.	
	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.	1898.	1902.
New Jersey	\$22.30	\$25.89	\$12.85	\$15.27	\$1.24	\$1.32	\$0.93	\$1.00
Pennsylvania ...	20.59	24.94	12.58	14.31	1.08	1.30	.80	.92
Ohio	19.54	22.31	13.26	15.21	1.01	1.15	.77	.92
Indiana	19.26	21.17	12.45	14.42	.93	1.03	.72	.82
Kansas	21.03	24.43	14.47	16.49	1.10	1.30	.91	1.01
Connecticut* ...	27.65	28.59	16.00	17.56	1.40	1.45	1.02	1.05
New York	23.01	26.13	15.71	18.01	1.23	1.38	.94	1.05
Maryland	16.63	17.29	10.36	11.15	.86	.92	.60	.67
Virginia	13.18	14.97	9.16	10.06	.67	.76	.48	.56
North Carolina..	11.10	12.77	7.48	8.84	.56	.64	.43	.49
South Carolina..	9.48	10.79	6.73	7.61	.49	.53	.41	.43
Georgia	10.36	12.24	7.25	8.50	.56	.62	.44	.49
Kentucky	15.05	16.19	10.71	11.62	.75	.81	.57	.61
Tennessee	12.83	13.94	9.06	9.71	.65	.73	.51	.55

*Connecticut and New York make no separate returns for the labor of negroes; all the other States do.

We notice that New Jersey pays the highest price to negro labor on the farm. There is also more migration of farm labor to this State, which according to the report quoted above, is the State most affected by the incoming of negro farm laborers.

Another cause, not entirely economic but having very definite economic bearing, is that suggested in such answers in the above

¹Wages of Farm Labor in the United States, Bulletin of the Department of Agriculture, No. 26.

table as, "tired of the South," "desire for higher wages and protection," "to better one's conditons." There is no doubt that the social unrest resulting from the discriminations against negroes in the South is having the effect of driving an increasing number of them from that section. The South has known the negro chiefly as a slave without political, social or even personal rights, save those which whites condescended to give. And by erecting double standards of morality, legality, social and economic efficiency, the white South seems determined that the blacks shall share in its economy to the least degree possible. On the other hand, growing intelligence on the part of the negroes demands more and more of appreciation, and when this is not given, the unrest becomes intense. This is not the desire which some wish to denote by the much misused term "social equality." It is that fundamental desire of human nature which Professor A. W. Small, of the University of Chicago, says the sociologist must assume as natural to every individual. "Each man," he says, "embodies a claim to be an undiminished unit among like units. . . . The Germans talk of '*persönliche Geltung*,' 'counting for all that one is essentially worth,' and this again seems to be an utterance of the native human instinct. The privilege of standing over against his fellow, with the assured franchise of equal freedom of self-expression, is an explicit demand of every unspoiled man. The demand is not primarily an assertion of 'equality' in the sense in which the idea is notoriously abused by pseudo-democrats. It is the demand that such as I am, with such sort and size of merit as I personally possess, I may be permitted to assert myself without suppression or subversion by the arrogation of others." "The root of the matter," continues Professor Small, "is not to be socially discounted in accordance with any fictitious scale." (*American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1900.) This inability on the part of negroes to secure this "*persönliche Geltung*" is one of the most serious factors in the progress of the negro and of the South, and needs thorough and unbiased study. At present free speech on the subject is not allowed to negroes or whites in the South, and Northern students of social conditions are not inclined to look the matter squarely in the face.

The two general causes for migration to the North are higher wages and opportunity for freer self-expression. These are the arguments which thousands of negroes now living in the North use

in their letters to their friends in the South whom they are endeavoring to persuade to come North. These are the arguments which employment agents have used to bring thousands of negroes from their Southern homes. It is very quaintly summed up in the expression of a South Carolina negro who said to me: "The white folks respects you up here. You ain' no better, and you ain' no worse than any other working man. You get what you'se worth, that's all. Down where I come from, you are all right among your own color, but when there's a white man in it, you's sho' goin' to git left."

There has been, in recent years, no wholesale emigration from any part of the South, but simply a steady flow, which in some sections is causing a slow depopulation. The young people leave first. If a young man, he sends for his brother, uncle, father or other relative, and friends. He tells of the many advantages, he compares the life in the country town with that of the Northern city, mentioning often in detail every superiority of the latter over the former, but he generally does not tell of his struggles, disappointments and sorrows. The young women write in the same strain. They persuade their relatives and friends to come North, often "just for a summer;" they secure places of employment for them, and thus the migration begins and continues. I have written dozens of letters for migrants from the South to their Southern friends and relatives, and not a few times have I had to suggest to the author not to paint the picture of Northern conditions too beautiful, which they were often inclined to do.

They are not the best negroes, from the economic point of view, who come North, just as they are not the best Russians or Italians who come to America. They are the ill-adjusted. We may divide the negroes of the South into four classes: First, the property-holders, which include most of the professional class, business men, the most intelligent artisans and farmers; second, the tenant farmers, the artisans, domestic servants of skill and intelligence, who do not own their homes; third, the unskilled laborer of the city, and the country farm hand; fourth, the vagrant and criminal class. Of these four classes, the majority of migrants to the North come from the third class, who first feel the economic stress, and who find it more difficult to get work enough to support them in the South than in the North. The second and fourth classes furnish respec-

tively the next largest number, while the first class furnishes the fewest migrants.

This might lead one to ask why do not the best negroes leave the South? for they, more than all others, ought to feel the pressure of their Southern environment. The reason can be found in the policy of race separation, which tends to develop among the negroes an upper class, who hold their places not so much because of superior efficiency as because they are negroes. Thus negro teachers, preachers, doctors, and leaders in small business concerns have been developed. It would be difficult for these, who have gotten their places under a limited competition, to hold the corresponding place in the economic system of the North as of the South. For example, the South has twenty negro college presidents, who would hardly hold the same position if they migrated to the North. But there is an increasing amount of migration even among this class. Ministers are being transferred. Many students who study in the North fail to return South, and negroes are gradually working into the public school system and in business in the North.

Since I have been gathering information with regard to migration a surprising amount of material has come to me of a type of negro who, because of his inability to use free speech in the South, has come North, where almost invariably he has proved useful. A few examples of this type are: A Georgia negro editor who was forced to leave his native city because he too strongly denounced lynching, now conducts two successful printing offices in New York. He is a college graduate. Another negro who was forced to leave the same place where he was engaged in teaching is now the secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in a New Jersey town. A Tennessee woman who edited a negro newspaper was accused a teaching unwholesome doctrine to the negroes of her vicinity and had to leave to save herself from bodily harm. She is now a most useful woman in social reform work in Chicago. A South Carolina negro says: "After a dispute with a white man who became angry with me over a trivial matter, I thought that he might kill me and there would have been no redress whatever; after thinking of my three little girls who might grow to virtuous womanhood, but whose virtue had no protection in public sentiment, I decided to take my chances in a freer, though harder climate." This man is now head of one of the largest schools in a metropolitan city of the North. Boston,

Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Chicago, and nearly every large Northern city contains many such of these "exiles" from the South.

III. SOME EFFECTS OF NEGRO MIGRATION TO THE NORTH.

What, it may be asked, are some of the effects of the migration of negroes to the North—on the North, on the South, on the negroes?

(a) The effect on the North has been but slight. The immigration of foreigners has so balanced the migration of negroes to the North that in the forty years from 1860 to 1900 the proportion of negroes to the total population has remained about the same.

Percentage of White and Negro to total Population for each Geographical Division of the North, from 1860 to 1900 (U. S. Census).

Division.	1860.		1880.		1900.	
	White.	Negro	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
North Atlantic	98.5	1.5	98.4	1.6	98.1	1.8
North Central	97.8	2.0	97.7	2.2	97.9	1.9
Western	89.0	.7	91.2	.7	94.7	.7
The North.....	96.7	1.7	95.2	1.9	95.8	1.8

In 1860 the negroes were 1.7 per cent of the population of the North, and in 1900 1.8 per cent.

Industrially the negroes have affected the North only in isolated places and in unskilled labor and in domestic service. As has been seen, there are enough negroes in New Jersey to affect the farm labor of the Southern district. In the large cities negroes furnish a great proportion of the unskilled labor about mills and factories. Negroes are the chief laborers in the laying of asphalt pavement; they are quite a considerable factor in domestic service, and in some cities they compose as high as one-fifth of the workers in domestic and personal service. Negroes have been used effectively as strike breakers in unskilled work, notably in the Chicago stockyards' strike of 1904 and the Chicago teamsters' strike of 1905, and have been able in isolated cases to demand recognition from labor unions.

(b) The South has suffered economically from the migration of negroes, for this is the time when laborers are needed, and especially on the farm. There was afforded last winter a striking

example of the effect of migration on the South by the fact that the State of Virginia made a special bid for workers from abroad. The State is in sore need of laborers; negroes form a large part of the laborers. They are leaving by the thousands, while "thousands of acres of agricultural land is now going to weeds." In the past twenty years, *i. e.*, from 1880 to 1900, two-thirds of the counties of the State decreased in negro population. The census of 1900 reports over 250,000 negroes who were born in Virginia and are now living in other States, while only 35,000 negroes had migrated to Virginia from other States. In other words, the minimum figure would put Virginia's loss of negroes at 215,000. These negroes leave, as we have seen, after the age of fifteen years, to spend the years of their economic efficiency in other States. If we use Dr. Farr's method of determining the economic loss due to emigration, we may place the loss of Virginia, because of the emigration of negroes, at not less than \$215,000,000, allowing an average of \$300 as the lowest estimate of the social loss in maintaining the individual up to the age of fifteen years, and \$700 as an estimate of the lowest average gain to the community by the presence of the individual negro. Other Southern States have suffered proportionately, as they have needed and have lost negroes. Some of these States have sought to reduce to a minimum, if not to prohibit, the emigration of negroes by excessive license fees required of "emigrant agents." Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama have such laws; but they do not prove very effective.

(c) The effect upon the negroes. In preparing this paper, I have read many articles bearing upon the condition of negroes in the North. Most of these articles claimed that the North was bad in its effect upon negroes; and some advised negroes not to migrate North. I have talked with thousands of Southern-born negroes, who now live in the North, and while with rare exception each said that *he* was prospering in the North far better than the South, the general opinion was that the Northern negro was degenerating. It is here we have the individual and social point of view in greatest contrast.

Considering the Southern negro in the North from the point of view of social development, there can be no doubt at all that the North has been of benefit to the negro and the negro has profited by it.

The reasons why the Northern Negro does not appear to have

made as rapid strides as the Southern negro are many, a few of which may be mentioned: First, the records of the races are not separated, as in the case of property lists, school attendance, etc., and therefore do not stand out so prominently; second, the extremes of poverty and wealth are greater in the North than in the South. A negro owning \$10,000 in the South is rated rich; a negro drug store or grocery, though small, is easily seen in the South; but in the North no one especially notices a \$10,000 man, even though he be a negro, and drug stores and groceries are so common that when a negro establishes one there is but little comment.

But there is an upward and a downward tendency among the negroes as a result of migration to the North. The increased amount of crime, which is slightly in excess of the South, and the high death rates—often greatly in excess of births, as in New York—indicate a downward tendency. Tuberculosis and pneumonia take away thousands of negroes from the large cities each year. Competition and the cold climate are relentless in driving the weaker negroes, the more ignorant and shiftless, to the very lowest round of the social ladder. New opportunities for crime and vice, indeed, the very opportunity for fuller self-expression, tend to develop a class of criminals, loafers and street loungers, who are all too prominent in the negro sections of any great Northern city.

But if sociology has been unfortunate in any particular with regard to its method, it has certainly been quite unfortunate, especially at the hands of the so-called practical sociologist, in giving far too large a place to pathological conditions. This has especially been true in studying the negroes. Crime, disease and degeneracy do have a place, but they have only a very small place in determining the course of social development as a whole or of a particular group. It should never be forgotten by the social student that the normal is more important than the abnormal, and especially when the abnormal is a very small percentage of the whole. Yet even in social pathology an interesting study of crime in the North might not be unprofitable, if it would reveal to us just how much is a result of degeneracy, or ill-adjustment to the new environment; how much is a result of that freedom of expression permitted in the North, which is the one great requisite for the highest social activity, though it sometime leads to anti-social actions.

There are, however, many positive evidences of a healthful

effect and an upward tendency among the negroes of the North. Physically they are improving; the death rate is decreasing, and the birth rate increasing in most of the large centers. If we keep in mind the class of negroes from which the immigrants generally come and note their condition here and that of the negroes of their class in their native homes, the progress in the north is quite remarkable. Only a few points which need more thorough investigation can be given here.

The Northern negro is intellectually improved. The illiteracy of the negro of the North is 18.1 per cent.; of the South it is 48. In fact the Northern negro under thirty is less illiterate than the Southern white, as the following table shows:

Illiteracy of Negroes of the North, and Whites and Negroes of the South by Ages, According to Census of 1900.

Age Period.	Northern Negroes.	Southern Negroes.	Southern Whites.
Ten to fourteen years.....	4.1	32.2	9.8
Fifteen to twenty years.....	6.4	35.3	8.9
Twenty-one to twenty-four years....	8.4	38.4	9.2
Twenty-five to thirty-four years.....	11.4	44.1	9.9
Thirty-five to forty-four years	20.8	57.6	13.2
Forty-five to fifty-four years	36.5	72.8	15.9
Fifty-five to sixty-four years	48.3	82.6	16.1
Over sixty-five years	61.8	88.3	20.9
Unknown	41.1	57.9	19.9
All ages	18.1	48.0	11.7

Good schools, compulsory education, free libraries, cheap newspapers, free entry to theatres, museums and other places of amusement and enlightenment, are great stimuli to the mental activity of the negro of the North, and the whole Northern environment, unlike the South, puts a value upon intelligence and demands it as a requisite for success in the negro as well as in the white man.

Competition has raised the standard of negro efficiency in every line of endeavor. Employment agents who have placed over 100,000 negro domestic servants in the past fifteen years are almost a unit in declaring that the servant who comes from the South, even with good recommendations is rarely efficient, and that the change in two years is remarkable. It is often remarked that the concentration of the Northern negro in domestic service shows that he

is losing rather than gaining; but when it is considered that these persons were very poor servants, or largely farm hands, and casual laborers in their Southern home, the concentration in the North in a higher grade of domestic service is really a gain for the negro rather than a loss. But not only in domestic service has the negro gained a higher efficiency, but in business and in the professions. It takes more for negroes to succeed in the North in the professions or in business than it does in the South, because the competition is greater. In the South a negro competes with negroes for negro patronage; in the North he competes with all men for all the patronage he can get. One would suppose that most negro business and professional men would go where the race is represented in greatest numbers, but that this is not the case, as the following table, based on the United States census for 1900, seems to indicate:

*Number of Negroes in Business and Professions and the Proportion of the same to every 1,000 Negroes in the North and South,
Based on U. S. Census 1900.*

Professions.	Number.		Per 10,000 Negroes.	
	North.	South.	North.	South.
Lawyers	280	438	3	$\frac{1}{10}$
Dentists	109	96	1	$\frac{1}{10}$
Clergymen	2,600	12,764	28	13
Government officials	141	2454	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
Physicians and surgeons.....	474	1,100	5	1
Actors and showmen	1,335	685	15	$\frac{1}{4}$
Teachers	2,319	18,948	25	19
Musicians	2,118	1,797	23	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Other professions	805	750	9	$\frac{1}{6}$
Total	10,184	37,038	112	37

Business Occupation.	Number.		Per 10,000 Negroes.	
	North.	South.	North.	South.
Agents	618	1,487	7	1
Bankers and brokers	81	144	1	$\frac{1}{1}$
Bookkeepers & stenographers	2,986	4,056	33	4
Merchants	2,156	7,087	23	7
Undertakers	93	346	1	$\frac{1}{10}$
Manufacturers, etc	411	754	5	$\frac{1}{10}$
Photographers	115	115	1	$\frac{1}{10}$
Printers	471	648	5	$\frac{1}{10}$
Salesmen	902	1,897	10	2

When the competition which one has to undergo to succeed is
(576)

taken into consideration, it should be expected that the highest individual efficiency would be found in the North, and so it is. The largest businesses, the oldest and largest newspapers, and five out of eight negro magazines, are in the North. The majority of negro inventors and the best authors were either born in the North or migrated to the North. If the following tables, from Bulletin No. 8 of the United States census, are correct, the average size and value of the negroes' farms in the North are above those of the South:

Number and Acreage of Negro Farms.

Division.	Number of farms.		Acreage		Per cent Improved.
	Total.	With buildings.	Total.	Acreage per farm.	
Continental U. S.	746,715	716,512	38,233,920	51.2	23,362,786 61.1
North Atlantic	1,761	1,724	84,407	47.9	55,079 65.3
North Central	12,255	11,665	787,071	64.2	566,073 71.9
Western	337	324	76,005	225.5	20,850 27.4
South Atlantic	287,933	278,308	15,573,561	54.1	8,874,506 57.0
South Central	444,429	424,491	21,702,876	48.9	13,846,274 63.8

Average Value of Property on Farms of Negroes. 1900.

	Average value per farm.				
	All farm property	Land and improvements (except buildings.)	Buildings.	Implements and Machinery.	Live stock
Continental U. S.	\$669	\$434	\$96	\$25	\$114
North Atlantic	2,712	1,513	832	117	250
North Central	2,008	1,463	239	59	247
Western	3,117	2,133	329	107	548
South Atlantic	566	369	93	20	84
South Central	690	443	91	27	129

The average size and value of the Northern negro's farm even exceed the same for the Southern white's farm.

The Northern negro earns more, as we have seen in the comparison of wages. He is, therefore, able to maintain a higher standard of living. His expenses are a great deal higher, but not for the same things, but for better things. He lives in a much better house by far, and he pays sometimes two or three times as much rent for it; he wears better clothing; he has more leisure; he has more amusement; and with all his high expenses he is able to save more. Of the 373,450 homes owned by negroes in 1900, 45,913, or 12.3 per cent., were owned by the negroes of the North, who compose 10.3 per cent. of the negro population. If the farm homes are excluded, the Northern negroes would own 22 per cent. of the remaining.

The North has taught the negroes the value of money; of economy; it has taught more sustained effort in work, punctuality and regularity; it has taught negroes even a greater race respect and race loyalty. And though the negroes, with the weight of the inheritance of slavery (for perhaps 95 per cent. of the Northern negroes are descendants of slaves), and with the weight of ignorance and poverty, together with the great inconvenience they suffer because of their color, from the American point of view, are only beginning to be real Americans; and though they are greatly handicapped in the struggle in the North, I think I can safely say that the North is indeed the great and hard school for them, where they are learning their best and often their first lessons in American thrift and industry, and the true dignity of American citizenship.

THE TRAINING OF THE NEGRO LABORER IN THE NORTH

By HUGH M. BROWNE,
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"All nations have their message from on high,
Each the messiah of some central thought,
For the fulfillment and delight of man;
One has to teach that labor is divine;
Another Freedom; and another Mind;
And all, that God is open-eyed and just,
The happy centre and calm heart of all."

An English colonist of South Africa, writing about the future of the native African in that section, says, "The natives must go; or they must work as laboriously to develop the land as we are prepared to do." Ex-President Harrison was accustomed to say, "The Indian has citizenship and a white man's chance offered to him, and must take it or perish." These two statements, I candidly believe, represent the attitude of the vast majority of the Anglo-Saxon race toward "retarded races." This attitude means that we, as a race, must "work as laboriously" and as successfully to overcome in the struggle for existence as the white man has done, or we must go—whether we dwell in dear old Africa or sojourn in other lands. What I should like to see expressed in every word and act of my race is the determination not to go—whether the going means annihilation or amalgamation. But, determining to stay, shall we labor to produce an imitation of a white man or a thoroughly developed black man? Shall our goal be an artificial flower or a naturally developed wild flower? Or, to be specific, shall citizenship *de jure* and *de facto* in these United States be the end of the colored man's efforts in social and political development, or the means by which he shall become the founder and builder of a developed African nation? Should the thoughtful colored men—whether pure black or mixed blood—come out into the open and answer honestly this aim-settling question, the Negro problem would become clarified and

we could call a spade a spade, and the adjustment of the races would become an easier proposition. For myself, I stand for a developed African race in Africa and, to me, the United States is the greatest of the schools from which the founders and builders of this African nation are to be graduated. This race lesson, which I learned first at my mother's knee, has been confirmed by the observations and experiences of my life in this country, in Europe, and in Africa.

I accepted the honor of an invitation to take part in the discussion of the topic, "The Training of the Negro Laborer in the North," before this distinguished Academy, solely that I might, perchance, invite its thought to this view-point of the Negro problem and present some considerations which make the economic training of the Negro laborer a necessity.

I believe God has ordained of races, as well as of plants, that each shall bear fruit after its kind, and that the periods of maturity—fruit-bearing times—differ among races as they do among plants. I have, therefore, no patience with the sentimentalities, weak excuses, and grotesque imitations which flaunt themselves as solutions of a problem which, under God's Providence, must be solved by natural laws.

We have before us to-day the records of two and a half centuries of slavery in this country; the records of forty-three years of freedom in this country; quite an extensive knowledge of Africa and its peoples, and the records of the civilizations of the other races and peoples which inhabit the earth. The time has fully come for us to read our destiny in these records. We shall, however, most assuredly fail to discover God's purpose concerning us if we fix our attention upon any one, or any class of facts in our history or in these records. We must take in the whole range of His Providences if we would know by what path He leadeth us, and appreciate the design in any one of them.

Let me illustrate by the following story, which I heard while in Africa: A clerk in one of the European factories there was previously a member of a German military band. He carried his horn with him to Africa and regularly practiced alone the bass parts of the pieces which he had been accustomed to play at home. A native boy, who worked in the same factory, frequently expressed his surprise that the white man, who could do so many wonderful things, could not produce any better music than that which came

from the clerk's bass horn. It chanced that one of the agents took this lad to Hamburg, where he heard a full brass band. On his return he said to the clerk, in the English of the west coast of Africa, "Daddy, your horn no be fit for something by himself; but suppose you can blow him one time with all dem horns, he be fine plenty." It is only in the harmony of all our experiences that we appreciate the music of any one of them. Joseph in the pit; Joseph a chattel in the Ishmaelite's caravan; Joseph a slave in Potiphar's house; Joseph a common convict in the Egyptian jail, are single facts in which there is no music; but these several facts blending and harmonizing in Joseph the Prime Minister of Egypt and the saviour of Israel from starvation, produce rapturous music which lifts us to "a height from which we anticipate better ages;" to a height from which we comprehendingly and joyously swell the chorus when Shakespeare sings:

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

To this height I would have every thoughtful Negro climb to-day, and from it interpret our present condition and environment in this country and learn that misfortunes, single or many, unrequited toils, and terrific violences in the life of a race, do not indicate that God has no gracious purpose concerning it, but that these are but the chastisements of a loving Father, made necessary by the stiff-neckedness of that race. Our view of the Negro problem, then would be comprehensive and racial. It would not be colored by impulses and desires born of selfishness and egotism, nor would it limit the time element of the individual reformer to the three score and ten years.

The development of a race or people is a process which requires not years, but centuries; the food on which it feeds requires such a long time to digest, and affords at each meal little real nutriment. Listen to this historical statement concerning the civilization of Europe. Says Guizot, "The history of the European civilization may be thrown into three great periods: First, a period which I shall call that of origin, or formation, during which the different elements of society disengaged themselves from chaos, assumed an existence, and showed themselves in their native forms, with the principles by

which they are animated; this period lasted almost till the twelfth century. The second period is a period of experiment, attempts, groping; the different elements of society approach and enter into combinations, feeling each other, as it were, but without producing anything general, regular or durable; this state of things, to say the truth, did not terminate until the sixteenth century. Then comes the third period, or the period of development, in which human society in Europe takes a definite form, follows a determinate direction, proceeds rapidly and with a general movement toward a clear and precise object; this began in the sixteenth century and is now running its course."

I am disposed often to look upon the proscriptions, discriminations and prejudices which we are made to feel at every turn in this country as a chastisement necessary to accomplish in us what the chastisements of the wilderness accomplished in the Jews. And I fear that we have, as yet, but tasted of the bitter waters of Marah; the deadly bite of the serpent is yet to come, unless, happily, our necks prove not so stiff as theirs and we become persuaded by gentler strokes in this, the formative period of our development, to learn, among others, the following vital and indispensable lessons:

1. We must come to know God as the God of our fathers. He must become to us Jehovah, a God perfecting that which he has begun in us; a God fulfilling the promises which he made to our fathers. We must come to understand and believe that blessings dispensed by Him are equally efficacious, whether we picture Him dispensing them with ebony black or lily white hands. Yea, we must come to know of a truth that He says to us, as a race, "If you obey My voice you shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me."

2. We must come to know ourselves. If the proper study of mankind is man, then we should specialize in the study of the black man. Our present progress has begun to create a demand for this knowledge, and the data for it is fast coming to hand.

When the Jew entered the wilderness all his types of civilization were Egyptian; but he did not wander long before he felt the necessity for types of his own: then he began to use the former as a means to an end. Like the old-fashioned pump-makers, he poured the water of the pumps in operation down the barrel of the new pump, to enable it to send forth its own. This lesson a kind Providence is teaching us now. All the lessons of civilization which we

learned in slavery and are now learning in freedom must be regarded by us as the water from the pump in operation, to be poured into the barrel of the new one. "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life," is commanded of races as well as of individuals; and the inscription over the temple of learning is also the inscription over the gate which opens to the highway of a race's development, namely, "Know thyself."

It is, however, so much easier to live upon the crumbs that fall from the rich race's table than to raise the grain and make one's own bread that many are satisfied to eke out an existence in this way. But the time will come, under God's Providence, when these crumbs will produce nausea, and their starving bodies, minds and hearts will turn toward more appropriate and nutritious food. I am aware that this is a strange doctrine to those of my people who have grown fat on these crumbs and believe this fatness to be health. These men are not so wise as the foolish servant who wrapped his talent in a napkin and hid it. They give their talent at once to the man who has five, and are idiotic enough to believe that they will share the profits which he earns. If he who brought back all that his Lord gave him is accounted accursed, what shall be the lot of these? Tell me not that God has put millions of black men on this earth and given them a rich continent for no special purpose! Tell me, rather, what history teaches, that the black man has not yet reached that stage in his development where the idea of race mission enters—where races fall upon their faces and exclaim, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

3. We must come to know that the potentialities of a nation have been implanted in us. In Egypt Israel was a family and a tribe: in the wilderness she became a nation. God made the black race for a nation. He is the Father of all nations and will be glorified by their differences. He has appointed different nations for different missions in the accomplishment of His purposes in this world. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; diversities of workings, but the same God who worketh in all."

There is no malice against the white race in this view-point of the Negro problem, nor is there any antagonism to the efforts of the white people of this country to assist in our peculiar development. A nobler and more Christ-like body of laborers never entered the field for humanity than the white philanthropists and teachers who

started and, in many instances, are still carrying on the work of education among our people in the South—be these philanthropists and teachers northern or southern. On the contrary, their assistance from this view-point becomes more essential and effective, because it will touch our struggle only at points where the impossible, to us, presents itself. With the spirit of the Master before the tomb of Lazarus, these benevolent friends will do for us only that which we cannot do for ourselves, and they will require us to roll away the stone. Assistance rendered us in this wise will not interfere but hasten the accomplishment of the God-appointed mission of the black race. The duckling will take to the water, even though the hen furnish the warmth for its incubation. Confusion, incongruities and consequent waste of effort and means arise when the hen attempts to make a chick of the duckling.

We rejoice in the soul-stirring song which our white brother is still writing and singing to the world. What encouragement and enthusiasm it carries to those who are in the thickest of the struggle for life, and how the arches of heaven must ring with the strains of altruism which, ever and anon, burst forth to strengthen those who struggle for the life of others. But

"Because the nightingale so sweetly sings,
Shall meadow-lark and hermit thrush be still?"

Give us not this song as a substitute for ours because ours is still unwritten. Rather, teach us the theory and practice of music and the art of composition, that we may write and sing ours. Teach us this in the spirit of the brotherhood of man, and we shall produce our song and sing it; not in opposition nor in competition, but as a part of that God-ordained variety which must be the charm of heaven as it is the spice of life on earth.

The Japanese who fifty years ago were known as little, harmless heathen, are to-day, in their same home, one of the first nations of the world. They gathered all over the western world the waters to start their pumps, and the life-giving and preserving value of the flow of these pumps has astounded the world. In God's appointed time the same will be true of the now heathen African, and the western waters which shall start the flow of his pumps will be carried back to Africa principally by American citizens of African descent. Already a band of Tuskegee graduates, under the auspices

of the German Government, has introduced cotton raising among the native Africans in Togo, Africa. I beg pardon for the personal allusion, but I consider it the greatest privilege of my life that, twenty years ago, I was permitted to furrow the ground for the seeds of industrial education in the Republic of Liberia.

In all due modesty, let me suggest that:

The soul which under the benumbing influences of slavery has given the world the Negro plantation melodies possesses a natural endowment too rich to be developed for any other mission than its own;

The slave who has supported and protected the wife and daughter of his master while the latter fought to perpetuate his slavery has too much altruism to sell his birthright at any price;

The man who has forgiven and forgotten so readily and willingly as has the Negro the most barbarous outrages on his wife and daughter has too much of the Christ-spirit to sail on the sea of life under any other colors than his own.

Let me affirm, in this connection, that the training in civilization, citizenship, and self-government which my people are receiving in this country will no more lead to the bugbear of Negro domination or the scarecrow of amalgamation than will a course in gymnastics lead to the change in the color of their skin. On the contrary, the desire to strike out for themselves will vary directly as this training.

Having stated my point of view, I wish now to refer briefly to the necessity for our training in the economic activities of your civilization. When I was in Africa I saw two farms; the first was worth twenty times its original purchasing price, and the second was worth simply its original cost. These farms had the same soil, the same climate, the same sunshine and rain, and were on the bank of the same river. What nature had done for one she had done also for the other; but the owner of the first farm had cleared it, set out coffee trees, cultivated them, cured and hulled the coffee bean, shipped the same to Europe and lived on the money returns; while the owner of the second farm had left it almost as he found it and lived on its wild products. When I came to know them, I found that these two men differed as much as did the farms. The difference in value between the two farms was due to the amount of work done on each by its owner, and the difference between the two men was due to the amount of work done on each by his farm. The first man was a

strong, vigorous physical specimen of humanity; every stroke of the axe, every stroke of the hoe, every pull of the rake, reacted on his body and made his muscles supple and strong, his digestion good. This man was also considered a strong man mentally; he was considered by his neighbors as a well-informed man, a man of good judgment; in his efforts to plant and cultivate a profitable coffee farm he had read all the literature and sought all the practical advice obtainable on this subject; he had tested this information in the practical management of his farm; he had gone further and experimented along lines which his actual observations had suggested; he had purchased and used implements employed in other countries on coffee farms; he had reconstructed some of these and made others of his own. All the thought and manipulation that he thus gave to the cultivation of his farm reacted upon his mind and made him what his neighbors considered him. Further, this man was looked up to as a man of good principles, a morally strong man. In the purchasing of the things required for the development of his farm and selling the harvest of the same he had bargained with other men, had been cheated and cheated others; but, bent on success, he learned first, amid these experiences, that honesty is the best policy, and, later on, became a disciple of the Golden Rule.

As I thought of these two men it seemed to me that the difference between them was, in a general way, from an economic standpoint at least, the difference between your race and mine. We have, practically, lived for centuries upon the wild products of Africa, while you have cut down the forests, gone down into the mines, crossed the seas, captured the forces of nature, made them do your bidding, and are now the strong and the conquering race that you are, by reason of the reaction on you of the work you have done on nature. So tremendous, so complex, and so subtle have become your efforts that you have outgrown the capacity of the organs of your senses, the medium of communication between you and nature. Why, if the instruments which you have invented to reinforce the natural capacities of these organs were destroyed, you would be as helpless in many departments of the activities of your civilization as a man deaf, dumb and blind. We have not yet reached the stage in our development which even suggests that the natural capacities of these organs are limited. The qualities contributing to social efficiency which you possess by reason of your achievements, viz., "such char-

acteristics as strength and energy of character, probity and integrity and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty in such circumstances as arise," are attainable by us, and you, under God's Providence, have become our teachers and our trainers. You cannot legislate these qualities into us, nor can you preach them into us; but you can, and you should, secure for us "a free hand, a fair field, and a cordial God-speed" in the economic activities and avocations of your civilization; so that, struggling in these, we may develop such qualities. Work is the means by which you have succeeded and it is the only means by which we shall succeed. Our introduction to continuous work was in slavery in the Southern States. The climate was similar to Africa, vegetation was similar to the vegetation of Africa and the economic system was exceedingly simple. This condition permitted us to pass somewhat gradually from the work of gathering wild products to the work of cultivating these products. The reaction from the work in slavery produced the natural results, as benumbing and degrading as the system was. During slavery the mental element was a minimum and the moral element was present by precept only. I have no excuse to offer for slavery; nevertheless it has brought us into contact with a more advanced race, and whatever of civilization and development we now possess came to us by means of it. The blessings to Israel in Egypt were mightier than the hardships endured, and I am persuaded that we shall, by and by, acknowledge the same concerning our bondage in this country.

Since slavery the elements of self-help, self-direction and self-protection have entered into our work; but the change from unskilled labor to skilled labor has lagged far behind the natural and necessary demand on the part of my people for it. We have received about all the developing influences which can come to us as a reaction from unskilled labor, and we stand face to face to-day in this country with the tragic situation of a race shut out from the only economic means which will secure its natural development in its present stage—the opportunity to learn and practice skilled labor. As a class, my people are to-day restricted to the formulated knowledge of books treating of the economic activities of your civilization. Exercise in these activities out of which these books grow and by which you have been developed, is denied us. And yet many of you are surprised that we do not possess the social efficiency which is

the effect of this exercise. The most serious feature of our condition in this country to-day is the lack of opportunity to engage in work which requires knowledge, thought and skill.

As the poor man in the midst of wealth feels his poverty all the more keenly, so the northern colored laborer, living in the section of discovery, invention, commercial enterprise, and all the other myriad forms of Yankee ingenuity, realizes more keenly this lack of economic opportunity. It is also observable that the benumbing and degrading effects of this deprivation are more pronounced in him by reason of this environment.

It does seem to me that the necessity to train the colored laborers in the North would follow also from considerations like the following:

1. The surest and quickest way, if not the only way, for him to get a working knowledge of your civilization is through systematic and continuous work in the scientific processes and with the devices, machinery, apparatus and the like, which are the useful applications of the formulated knowledge of your civilization. Or, if you please, in this way only can he learn to work your farm profitably to you and gain thereby the requisite knowledge and skill to eventually work his own farm. (I know there are people who, having read a book on electricity, think they can run an electric plant, but the man who owns such a plant never thinks so.) This is the way the colored laborer of the North can catch the spirit of progress and thrift of the present day, and by skill, dexterity and excellence make the profits of his labor purchase other and better opportunities. Unless he is allowed the benefits of such training he will remain, as now, in the procession of your progress, but out of step.

2. Training in the economic activities of your civilization will best enable the northern colored laborer to discover in work other returns than the wage. Such, for instance, as the satisfaction of having done a piece of work well, and the highest reward of all, the development which comes by reaction to the worker. At present he sees only the wage and takes the shortest cut to obtain it. Sometimes I wonder if you fully realize the amount of friction between us which this short-cut method is producing. It causes you serious vexations and it is lessening daily our opportunities for even unskilled labor. I tremble with anxiety when I think of the possible end to which this may lead.

3. The saddest and possibly the most serious feature of this lack of economic opportunity is the effect on the children of the laborer. Fancy a child pursuing a course of instruction every concept of which has been built up by another race and from first hand facts, about which neither his parents nor his playmates know anything. This fact simply paralyzes the vital principle in education of apperception.

In this connection, let me testify that if ever there was a man sent of God to a needy people at the psychological moment, Booker T. Washington is one. And I would further testify that the support which the white people have given him is to-day the rainbow of promise that the door of hope will not be closed to the brother in black. Christian industrial Tuskegee, under a corps of colored executive officers and colored teachers, is to-day the most potent force at work in our development in this country. It was the realization of the importance of contact with these first-hand facts that led the Friends to establish at Cheyney, two years ago, a normal school which will supply these first-hand facts in the classroom.

We are further insisting, in this connection, at Cheyney, that the present condition of the colored people makes it necessary that the school teacher be able to give helpful precept and practice along all the lines of every-day activity. For many years to come the colored teacher will find parents' meetings a field for vital usefulness, almost as large and important as that of his school. Nicely prepared essays and speeches will not avail in these meetings; the developing influence for these meetings consists of the teacher's ability to actually perform, after the most approved and economic methods, the every-day activities of the housewife and the husbandman.

In conclusion, I wish to say that those of us who regret most the lack of these opportunities bear no malice to you, never dream of despair, and are firmly convinced that we shall secure a "free hand, fair field and a hearty God-speed" in these opportunities some day only by deserving them through our own activity and our own spirit of love. In this spirit would I remind you that you are the truant officers who have brought us into your own school, and beseech you in the name of our common Master and your sense of fair play to teach us after the laboratory method.

THE INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF THE NEGRO IN NEW YORK CITY

By WILLIAM L. BULKLEY,

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During the nineteenth century the Afro-American population of New York State increased more than 300 per cent., or from 31,320 to 99,232. The greatest percentage of increase in any decade was from 1890 to 1900, or 70,092 to 99,392.

New York City has received the largest part of this increase, the population almost doubling in the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, or 36,134 to 65,984. In 1890 the Afro-American population of New York City was 42,816; to 1900 there was a gain of 23,000. In the whole State during the same period there was a gain of 29,000.

New York City now has a larger Negro population than any other Northern city, and stands fourth in the list of all cities of the United States.

This great influx is due both to the universal tendency to drift to urban centres (the larger the city the more attractive) and also to the intolerable civil, social, educational, and political conditions existing in various parts of the South.

But we are not to discuss the cause of their flocking to the city, but rather to discover what they are capable of, what they are now doing, and what hope is before them. Therefore,

(1) Is the Afro-American possessed of the necessary qualifications to hold his own in the strenuous industrial and economic conflicts of a city like New York?

(2) Are his opportunities for employment conducive to the development of the best of which he is capable?

(3) What kinds of employment are open to him?

(4) Is prejudice increasing or diminishing? Is there reason to hope that he will find a satisfactory place among other craftsmen in the various lines of industrial endeavor?

(1) With regard to the first question, it would be needless to take time to touch upon it, if one would only remember that for two centuries almost all the labor of the South, both skilled and unskilled, was by the man of African lineage. He was not only the butcher that slaughtered the cattle, but also the tanner that prepared the hide, and the shoemaker that put it into shape. He was the laborer who felled the tree as well as he who sawed it into boards, and he who built the house. He was the brickyard hand who dug the clay and burned the brick; he was also the workman who put the finished product into buildings. Though his field is being now encroached upon by the native white man and the foreigner, he is still the ubiquitous artisan of the South. He comes to New York and other cities with this same skill of hand, ready and anxious to continue his trade. Where he has found employment he has given satisfaction.

(2) Such being the case, does he readily find employment? Or, rather, does he find employment as readily as the other immigrants to the city? Does he, a native of the United States, have an equal chance with the unnaturalized European immigrant, or does he suffer a disadvantage? Unfortunately and regretfully the last is the case. While there are many unions that are, in their constitution, open to all men, there are others which bar the doors tight against any man with an admixture of African blood. There is, further, a conviction that even the supposedly open unions do not always give the black brother a cordial welcome. As a result of these conditions there were reported in the last census only 4,419 men and 1,401 women engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits out of a total population of 99,232 in the State. It is safe to assume that many of these so rated were only irregularly employed, working at their trades as odd jobs. An investigation of the rosters of trades unions would in all probability show only a minority of them as members.

(3) What, then, are the vocations in which the majority of Afro-Americans are to be found? The census of 1900 shows that there were in New York State 57,000 at work over ten years of age. Deducting from the aggregate those in professional service, such as physicians, dentists, teachers, clergymen, actors, musicians, etc, 1,342; trade and transportation, 1,021; manufacturing and mechani-

cal pursuits, 5,820, we have left about 49,000 in service more or less menial. Between the 57,000 reported as at work and the 99,000 in population we have the difference of 42,000 to be accounted for as follows:

Under school age	7,000
In school	12,000
Mothers in charge of own homes	10,000

We would still have 13,000 to account for as in hospitals, institutions, unable to work, or idle.

Most of the skilled laborers among Afro-Americans in New York have migrated there after learning their trades in the South or the West Indies—fathers of families many of them; in some cases bringing their families with them; in others leaving their families till employment is secured. As deeply concerned as one may be about their welfare, of no less importance is the problem, What shall be done with and for the boys and girls that are growing up in our city?

Some one has remarked that, if a boy in the city of New York wants to learn a trade he must commit a crime, meaning by this that he would be sent to one of the reformatories where manual training forms an important part of the school curriculum. It may not be so bad as this, but this much is certain, the boy, whether white or black, finds it no easy task to learn a trade. For the white boy, however, this difficulty is counterbalanced, at least to some extent, by the many opportunities offered in business. The colored boy, on the other hand, runs sheer up against a stone wall here. As an illustration of the difficulties that confront a colored boy I may cite one case. I received a communication the other day from an electric company (possibly all other male principals received the same) stating that they could use some bright, clean, industrious boys in their business, starting them at so much a week and aiding them to learn the business. I suspected that they did not comprehend colored boys under the generic term "boys," but thought to try. So I wrote asking if they would give employment to a colored boy who could answer to the qualifications stated. The next mail brought the expected reply that no colored boy, however promising, was wanted. I heaved a sigh and went on.

The saddest thing that faces me in my work is the small opportunity for a colored boy or girl to find proper employment. A boy

comes to my office and asks for his working papers. He may be well up in the school, possibly with graduation only a few months off. I question him somewhat as follows: "Well, my boy, you want to go to work, do you?" "What are you going to do?" "I am going to be a doorboy, sir." "Well, you will get \$2.50 or \$3 a week, but after a while that will not be enough; what then?" After a moment's pause he will reply: "I should like to be an office boy." "Well, what next?" A moment's silence, and, "I should try to get a position as bell-boy." "Well, then, what next?" A rather contemplative mood, and then, "I should like to climb to the position of head bell-boy." He has now arrived at the top; farther than this he sees no hope. He must face the bald fact that he must enter business as a boy and wind up as a boy.

A bright boy came to me one day for his working papers. I was sorry to see him want to leave school, but he had no father, and his poor mother had the hardest sort of job to earn enough over the wash-tub to pay the rent for their two rooms and to buy their meager food and clothing. The boy earned what little he could by odd jobs in the afternoon, Saturdays and holidays. Still, I felt that if I could get him to stay till he could finish he might chance to find something better; but that would mean at least three years more of school. In reply to my urgent request that he try to battle through, with sad face he said: "I am old enough now to help mother; she needs me. And, again, there is nothing better for a colored boy to do if he finishes the course." The reply pierced my heart like a white-hot bolt. I shall remember that scene till my dying day. All the monster evils of prejudice passed before me in procession like the hideous creatures of an Inferno, and I thought of the millions of hopes that have been blighted, the myriads of human possibilities that have been crushed, the intellects that have been stunted, the moral lives that have been gnarled and twisted, all because the iron heel of this base, hell-born caste is upon the neck of every boy, of every girl who chanced to be born black.

(4) But should he despair? Is there any rift in the cloud? Can one catch here and there a ray of light, of hope, of encouragement through the oppressive pall?

Let me cite a few instances why we should not despair in New York City.

- (a) The liberal educational system.
- (b) The numerous stalwart friends of humanity in the pulpit, at the bar, in the press, on the rostrum, in business, and in the trades.
- (c) The influx of foreigners.
- (d) The spirit of our government.
- (e) The growth of socialism.
- (f) The determination of the people to rise.

(a) Our educational system. There is no such a thing as a caste public school in the whole Empire State. The two men who, as Governors of our State, did most to kill this vicious distinction in our public schools are the two men who deserve to rank through all time among our most distinguished Presidents—Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt. Educate the children of our land together; the result is a better understanding of each other, a kinder feeling one for the other; a diminishing distrust; and an increasing mutual respect. Common interests in childhood are the seeds that develop into common interests in manhood. This system of mixed schools is to me one of the most hopeful means of a satisfactory solution of our civil and industrial problems. Further, through the liberal-mindedness of our excellent city superintendent and his aides and because of the fairness of our Board of Education and the Board of Examiners there are possibly more colored teachers in our public schools than in any city north of the Mason and Dixon line. They stand entirely on their merit, and are winning the respect and confidence of all who know them.

(b) A powerful force for present and future good are the many men and women in the higher professions who stand for equality of opportunity, liberty, justice. They are legion. They are the sinew, the brain, the blood, the very life of every movement for the betterment of our people in this city. They are too numerous to mention. To name even one would be unfair to the thousands of equal zeal and goodness. No false note there; their ring is always clear and true and forceful.

(c) The cosmopolitan nature of our population. The hundreds of thousands of Europeans who crowd our city have brought nothing against the black man. All that they know and feel has been learned and acquired here. It is skin-deep only; not born in them, soaked through the bone and marrow.

(d) The spirit of our constitution is all right. Whatever is wrong is but the flapping of the sail; the old ship is secure. The time must come when all men under the stars and stripes will enjoy the right to work as well as the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!

(e) The growth of socialism, as represented by such men as Eugene V. Debs, promises equal opportunity to all men.

(f) Lastly, the determination of the people to rise is itself the highest and best encouragement. Even with all the keen opposition that a small business man feels, one finds scores, yes hundreds of small enterprises, mercantile and industrial, conducted by colored men and women in the city. They are increasing with normal rapidity.

A most encouraging evidence of the eagerness to know how to do something well, to be prepared for some sphere of industrial usefulness was the attendance this winter at our evening school for adults. We had expected to register possibly 200 people in the common branches (the three R's) and the industrial classes; but we registered 1,500 people, of whom about 1,300 were colored. The enthusiasm in the work, the faithfulness in attendance, the excellence of results, so pleased the Board of Education that they are planning to enlarge the plant next year.

To show the spirit that filled this school, permit me to draw a picture as I drew it some months ago in the press of New York:

FUTURE OF COLORED RACE.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

While Dixon's "Clansman" is being played next door, Evening School No. 80, in which 1,000 colored men and women have registered, is industriously attending to business.

Within thirty feet of my office, where I now write this, the curtain is possibly being raised at this moment in an effort to portray the negro race in the worst possible colors; within this building hundreds of the maligned race are at the same moment quietly but earnestly working at their books or in the trades.

So far as I can note, not one of them cares a straw what slanders any marplot may heap upon them; happy, hopeful, busy each and all.

What a refutation to all pessimism would it be if the audience in the theatre would take a recess for a few moments and go through our classrooms! Suppose they could see these men and women, up to sixty-seven years of age, present in full force this stormy night, hungry for knowledge,

determined to learn some trade that will make them worth more to the community—what an object lesson it would be!

Not a room in the building is vacant. Even seats for baby pupils and kindergarten tables are occupied. Neither cold nor heat, snow nor moonshine, with all their attendant drawbacks or attractions, can keep these pupils away.

In the theatre the audience is looking at the past; these people are looking into the future. To the one crowd despair; to the other hope.

What may be the thoughts of the people who are witnessing the play I do not know, but of this much I am sure—there are not 700 happier people in any building in New York than those who are busy here to-night.

WILLIAM L. BULKLEY, *Principal*.

New York, January 8, 1906.

To be sure, we have our full share of worthless men and women who are a disgrace to humankind. May their tribe diminish! But, in my moments of quiet contemplation, I wonder not that there are so many Afro-Americans that are good for nothing, but that there are so few. It takes tremendous courage and determination to rise to the plane of respectability beneath such a Cyclopean weight of prejudice. A little charity towards the weak brother and sister cannot surely be too much to ask.

In closing, let me appeal for the establishment of trade schools in the cities of the North to do work similar to that done in our industrial schools in the South. And, then, let this be held out before every boy and girl of all the races as one of the fundamentals of our constitution—the *right to work; opportunity to work; encouragement to work* in any sphere in which one may be useful.

THE THREE AMENDMENTS¹

By JOHN BASCOM,

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A restless doubt begins to be observable in the public mind whether the last three amendments made to the Constitution of the United States do, after all, express the wide, sound policy they were thought to contain. This uneasiness is to be regretted, as it goes to show that public opinion is again becoming variant and wayward, rather than settling down into principles fundamental in our policy. This hesitancy seems to arise from a faulty and conflicting sentiment, South and North, toward the colored race, a sentiment which inclines us to regard negroes as an exception to the rules of government which hold between white men. It has been greatly increased by the errors of reconstruction—errors traceable to other causes, but assumed to inhere in these amendments. As prosperity has returned and increased vigor has spread over the land, there has come with it a revival of earlier feelings; a disposition in the North to settle back into indifference, and in the South to reassert long-cherished social distinctions. These sentiments were many years in formation. The communities subject to them have not been wholly lifted out of them by one violent wrench, and we begin to feel the tendency to slide back into the convictions familiar to us. One feels something of the same solicitude at these rising waves, that comes to the engineer at the first approach of a storm, which threatens to test the strength of a lighthouse just made ready to hold its dangerous position.

¹Although dealing with the civil and political status of the negro in the United States, this paper may appropriately be published in connection with the foregoing addresses dealing with the industrial conditions affecting negro labor. Professor Bascom points out that two requisites must be met if the colored man is to advance: (1) He must be given economic opportunities. "If he is to be pushed aside in favor of white labor, the problem of poverty and social depravity will remain, ready to beget new evils and set up new barriers to growth." (2) The civil and political rights of the negro must not be curtailed because of his race. We must hold to the fundamental principles "that birth brings citizenship and citizenship civil rights, that political rights turn on the ability to use them, this ability resting on tests the same for all."—EDITOR.

The three amendments give distinct statement to principles which our history has labored with from the beginning, and still holds back from their complete enunciation. These amendments betray an anxious state of mind that could not satisfy itself with a simple statement of primary truths, but was still fearful as to the manner in which they might be applied. This hesitancy and apprehension are disclosed in the clause with which each amendment is finished. "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Congress was not willing to rest without an explicit declaration of a power plainly implied in previous sections.

This distrustful state of mind is also seen in the third and fourth sections of the fourteenth amendment. These clauses are not so much a statement of constitutional principles as of specific regulations to be made under them. They are legislative enactments rather than constitutional conceptions. The third clause specifies the conditions under which those who had been in rebellion should be restored to their political rights.

"No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under the State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability."

This was a question on which Congress was feeling its way with much disturbance, yet with much determination, to a policy which should fully secure the fruits of the great sacrifices which had been made in the war. This clause was not so much the enunciation of a principle to guide action in any and every case of rebellion as it was a vindication of legislation which was being framed to close a controversy, the like of which was not expected to recur. Congress felt, in those days of anxiety, that it had to deal both with the present and the future, and must be at liberty to lay secure foundations for a quiet national life. In less dangerous times simple legislation might suffice, but now men looked for a modification of

the organic law which had been for so many years in bitter controversy. Inference and generalities had so often missed their mark that those who were now responsible for the conditions of peace were quite ready to descend to explicit statements.

It may also be doubted whether this clause does not outline a policy unduly severe under the circumstances. Considering human nature and human history, the readjustment of political relations by Congress at the close of the war was considerate and just. Yet a more kindly and wise policy would seem to have been within reach. The history of the past had not been such as to inspire confidence between the two portions of the country. A disagreement on the subject of slavery had led to a misapprehension of character and to many ungenerous feelings. The long and severe conflict had brought into the foreground the immense liabilities and losses of this dissension, and those on whom devolved the settlement of this protracted controversy could not but feel that every possible guarantee for the future should be secured. This led in part to an oversight of the fact that the third section, rigidly enforced, went far to destroy for the time being the political integrity of the South, and to make impossible any adequate collective action either for good or for evil. It is not easy to punish a people, and impossible to punish them and at the same time to expect from them considerate conduct. The material losses of the war could have hardly been made greater short of annihilation. If the North could have regarded this fact as sufficient, and, with more confidence, have rapidly rehabilitated the South with political rights, the conditions of reconstruction would have been far more favorable. In that case the real power and life of the South would have been brought into the foreground. Those would have been occupied with laying anew the foundations of society who were chiefly interested in society and best able to estimate its gains and losses. It is not surprising that this magnanimity of reconciliation was impossible on both sides, but its absence was the great evil of the reconstruction period.

This third section, however, has ceased to have any significance. Events have traveled beyond it, and it simply remains as a mark of the obscure and murky conditions which once prevailed.

The fourth section also pertains to an immediate, practical question—the indebtedness of the two sections.

"The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void."

Though the conditions to which the points raised in this section chiefly apply have passed by, there still remains some vitality in them. Our pension policy covers claims of very different degrees of justice. While a considerable portion of it is a patriotic recognition of fitting claims, another portion can hardly be freed from the charge of unwise concessions for political ends. The history of the Grand Army goes far to confirm the wisdom of those prognostications which resulted in the suppression of the Order of Cincinnati at the close of the Revolution. Though the abuse of pensions has been to the South a grievance, it has called out little criticism. Both the North and the South have accepted it in silence as one of those evils too deeply ingrained in politics to render protest in any degree promising.

When we scale off from the three amendments these adventitious sections, we are impressed with the fundamental character and natural sequence of what remains. The first of the three makes the prohibition of slavery a part of the organic law; the second protects the civil rights incident to this universal freedom; and the third removes from political rights any taint which might attach to race, color or condition of servitude. Emancipation thus became not nominal, but real and complete. The thirteenth amendment was the direct and chief result of the war. No diversity of feeling remains at this point; or, if such feeling remains, it is not of any moment. Though the first and second sections of the fourteenth amendment arise as a direct corollary from the previous amendment, there is in them still the possibility of violent dissent.

1. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any per-

son of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States; or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

Nothing can well be worse than a servile population whose rights are inadequately defined and carelessly guarded. Freedom owes its chief value to civil rights. These rights define the difference between the thrall and the freeman. No more obvious obligation rested on the North than this, that having secured liberty for the negro, it should make sure that the emoluments of liberty went with it. The first clause meets this claim. The blacks born in the United States are citizens of the United States, entitled to all the rights of citizens without equivocation or abbreviation.

The interpretation of this first clause by the Supreme Court gives it a meaning exclusively applicable to the colored race, more so than the language alone seems to imply. The court has held that this section must be interpreted in the light of the circumstances which gave rise to it; that it was not the intent of the amendment to give any new rights to the citizens of the States, but to make the negro a full partaker in these rights. The court went somewhat farther than this, and affirmed that Congress had no right, under this section, to enter the domain of police law in the States, but must satisfy itself with the annulling of any law that disregarded these limitations. The initiative still lies with the States, not with the United States. The office of the latter is simply one of correction.

The second section defines the conditions under which alone political rights can be restricted, and in doing this it gives a strong motive to make the terms of suffrage as free as possible. Citizenship

carries with it civil rights, but not political rights. Indeed, the third clause was inserted expressly to withhold political rights. The doctrine is accepted that political rights are to be bestowed or withheld as those who receive them are prepared to exercise them. They are not like civil rights to be protectively enjoyed, but to be actively exercised. Certain powers are presupposed in them. Different States do not necessarily have the same criteria of these powers. They are left to establish their own criteria, but the political power that they are granted in reference to each other is made to turn on the political power they themselves have recognized in their own concerns. Those who are deprived of political power are not supposed to enlarge the power of those who have deprived them. One who cannot himself exercise political power has none to bestow on others.

This section had a double purpose; it induced the States to establish liberal forms of suffrage, and it put upon a just basis, the representation between the States. This representation had been a standing grievance previous to the war. That a slave should possess neither civil nor political rights, and yet be able to confer political rights on others, was an anomalous state of things. The same act which deprived the slave of power bestowed additional power on the master. The master was left to use the representative capacity of the slave against the slave. That this representative capacity was cut down to three-fifths simply showed how wholly artificial was its character. It would not be fitting that an inequality between the States which was always irritating should again be tolerated. Political power should in every case rest on its own numerical basis.

A little later, when it became plain that the fourteenth amendment was not likely to accomplish its object, and that political rights would be withheld simply on the ground of race, the fifteenth amendment was framed to meet the evil. The general principle of equal rights on which our institutions rest, the plain fact that a portion of the colored race is pre-eminently prepared for suffrage, the especial obligation of the North to watch over the interests of the negro, and the fear which the North felt of leaving any seeds of mischief in the soil, combined to lead to this amendment.

1. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

This amendment completes the series. The negro as a negro has no longer any barrier placed in his path. He stands on the same footing as his fellow-citizens. The "inalienable rights" of the Declaration of Independence are for the first time recognized. No position short of these three amendments could be logically or safely taken. They do not establish universal suffrage, they simply involve the doctrine that its conditions, whatever they are, shall be the same for all. Men as men shall stand on a fair footing with each other.

Why then does dissatisfaction arise with these amendments which simply place us openly on the principles which, from the very beginning, were thought to inhere in our institutions? It has arisen chiefly out of the difficulties of reconstruction. There was no possibility of an entirely fortunate solution of the problem of reconstruction. Though the war settled and clarified the public mind somewhat, we were still under the accumulated social feelings and political evils which pertained to slavery and were only partially removed by its abolition. These evils had not been escaped, they were to be met and slowly, very slowly, overcome. The expiatory process could not be avoided, and we had neither the wisdom nor the good will nor the patience demanded by it. Much of the old diversity of opinion remained, North and South. The errors which have been committed were so reciprocal, so the fruits of circumstances, and have so acted and reacted on each other to the mutual obscuration of sound opinion, that we have little occasion for recrimination, and much occasion for gratitude that we have emerged from that dark period with growing prosperity and fellowship. To overcome evil with good is a slow process, and seems at the outset to accept the evil at its highest terms. It is the mastery of the mind itself which finally tempers down disaster, and turns it into permanent welfare. When we confronted the question what was to be done with this large dependent class, ignorant and ready to drop into poverty and vice, every mind and every community was searched for its best moral appliances, and some found them in rigorous law and some in gentle persuasives, stimulating hopes and endless waiting.

The North suffered from too little sympathy and too great fear. We had behind us only a melancholy history of inadequate efforts to stem an evil which had always proved too strong for us. The North desired, if possible, a reconstruction which should leave no

room for further trouble. It had had its defeats, delays and disappointments, and it wished an immediate and radical remedy. It held, in a general way, to the principles of the Revolution, but it had never boldly sustained them or found them adequate to its purposes. It was still apprehensive of the indomitable temper of the South, though it had for the moment fought it down. The doctrine of State sovereignty, which had been the evil spirit of the Union from the beginning, once more raised its shaggy locks, now clotted with the carnage of many bloody battles. The United States was conceded sufficient competency to endure the disastrous strife, but not a particle of power with which to exact guarantees for the future. Her resources were like those of Prometheus, able to face pain, but not to correct it. The convention called by the President in South Carolina repealed the act of secession as if it were still a valid law. The States returning to the Union were thought to be in full possession of their former rights. We could win victory, but could not frame peace. The North, with divided counsels, was afraid of itself and afraid of its adversary.

The South, always bold, always unhesitating in its convictions, while compelled to yield slavery, was still disposed to save the wreck. The loss of the battle did not alter its feeling as to the true relations of the races. It was not ready for a future, new in its aims and principles. There was thus the same conflict of opinion in a different, but equally urgent, form to be met. It was impossible that this contention in its present, as in its previous phase, should pass by without grave evils. The North and the South, instructed, but not corrected, in their errors, must encounter as best they were able the obscure and trying experience before them.

The first mistake of reconstruction was that the governments established in the recalcitrant States, resting on a doctrine of perfection applied to most unsuitable material, were left unguided and unrestrained by Congress. Republican institutions, above all institutions, call for watchfulness, many safeguards and a delicate balance of interests. The North, entering on so remote and extreme an experiment, should have given itself no rest in carrying it forward. A military government is a simple thing, but to start free institutions in a chaotic social state, associated with extreme industrial depression, and the deepest possible division of interests, was an undertaking quite beyond human power. The only apology for

so crude an effort was that the North was at its wit's end. No safe path seemed to lie before it. The response that this labor should have been passed over to the South itself is one readily made, but one not at the moment promising success. The South was no more prepared for wise action than was the North. If the South had been ready to rehabilitate the States under admissible principles of liberty, the North would have been inexcusable in preventing it. But this was not the attitude of the South. Under the guidance of the President they had an opportunity to show their hand. The result was a black code, which laid heavy stress on the servile condition of the negroes, guarded carefully against it with penalties that were sure to be abused, and which were accompanied with no provision for progress, no recognition of political rights. The old idea of rule by force prevailed throughout, such a rule as that expressed in Georgia by the chain gang. In South Carolina, Governor Orr, General Hampton and others were said to favor restricted political rights. If this temper, or any temper its equivalent, had prevailed in the conventions called to restore State institutions, the case would have been entirely altered. The disposition seemed rather to be to rake together what remained of former sentiments and institutions and build upon them a social system still uninstructed in the principles of liberty. The rights and hopes of the colored race were lightly esteemed. They were ready to sink into a servile state no more consonant with our form of government than slavery itself. Fidelity to the negro, fidelity to itself, fidelity to the future, forbade the North to accept this adjustment. Events which from the beginning of the strife between the two sections had shown themselves so critical, so difficult of management, so readily perverted, would not allow themselves to be slurred over or patched together in this fashion.

A true policy of social growth neither portion of the nation was prepared to conceive or establish. We are only now approaching such a policy, we have not reached it. A distinct and degraded class, severe vagrant laws, lynching, a bitter tyranny of feeling, can never secure social progress. As long as these methods and these ideas are in the foreground, the entail of slavery will rest heavily upon us. What the South has not fully earned in these intervening forty years was, at the period of reconstruction, a very obscure vision in the future. The errors of reconstruction grew out of circum-

stances from which there was no method of immediate escape. The mischief which came from the policy adopted was no more intentional than is the corruption of our large cities a part of the purpose of universal suffrage. The North, undertaking reconstruction at arm's length, was in no condition to devise or apply any other principle than that of manhood suffrage. The military government to which the South reverted, when its own efforts at reconstruction were unsatisfactory, was not much complained of in its administration, and gave little opportunity, when State conventions were called for the formation of constitutions, to devise or apply any test of suffrage but the familiar one of manhood, in frequent acceptance at the North. But conventions elected under this free form of suffrage inevitably made it the basis of the constitutions framed by them. The North has never demanded universal suffrage of any State as a condition of membership in the Union. The three amendments do not call for it. They only enforce the principles of liberty which lie at the basis of our polity as applicable to all citizens under the same conditions. There is nothing in these amendments which is fitted to interrupt the harmony of the two sections, North and South, if only rights, civil and political, are defined by suitable limitations the same for all. They simply shake off every form of servitude and annul every taint of blood.

A difficulty attended on reconstruction which is always closely united with human action, that of a makeshift policy which concedes too much to present embarrassments and attaches too little importance to the conditions of growth. To make way for the future, to look to progress as a correction of evil, is a wisdom rarely attained by us. The passion and prejudice and clamor of the hour are allowed to crowd back the adjustments which just sentiments and far-reaching plans urge upon us. The unduly irritable feeling present to those who controlled reconstruction was evinced in the impeachment of President Johnson. The alarm excited by his action was excessive, and the evils associated with it could have been overcome by milder methods. It belongs to free institutions that more should be expected from them than they are likely to render. They give an opportunity, but they do not necessarily secure its realization. The spirit which is to make these institutions successful remains to be won. The State governments which at length appeared under the protection of Federal authority were out of har-

mony with the constituency which they represented, and could not but produce results very different from those hoped for and intended. By the haste of growth the conditions of growth were embarrassed and lost. If the primary ideas expressed in the three amendments could have been offered to the Southern States, not in their formal, but in their actual force, and been accepted cheerfully by them, while immediate results might not have been all we could wish, they would have prepared the way for a quiet and rapid development in the future. A score of years were consumed in the colliding of hostile interests which would otherwise have found more quickly the path of reconciliation. For this result the South was as much at fault as the North. The conciliation should have been mutual, the concession joint. If, as in the case of President Johnson, Congress was hasty, that haste was not unprovoked. Perhaps a reconstruction, sympathetic, concessive, patient of delay, was not possible. Certainly it was not attained.

We have occasion to congratulate ourselves that the evils developed in reconstruction took on no such violation of fundamental principles as to leave the occasions of strife uncorrected. They were chiefly loss of time and resources. The years that have intervened have been years of true reconciliation and a better grasp of the problem with which we have to deal. That these years of reconstruction should disclose serious differences of opinion was inevitable. The only thing to be escaped at all hazards was a revival of the irrepressible conflict out of which the war sprang. This result would seem to have been proximately attained, and the two sections are better prepared than ever before to seek their own prosperity and the national prosperity along paths fairly open to progress. Our great danger is the formation of a servile class, suffering oppression by the debased sentiment it creates. This danger we have not yet escaped. The problem of dealing with the colored race assumes more varied form and is more mutual than before the war. It was then easy to say that slavery was our embarrassment, and that slavery was confined to the South. The negro race is now spread through the nation, and calls everywhere for a special mode of treatment. On this question the North has strong feeling and somewhat less sympathy than the South. The South has an irresistible pride and fear of social trespass which render its sympathy nugatory. While the race problem is modified in practice by a large variety of senti-

ment, it is mainly to be settled by growth achieved under the general principles of liberty,—the principles embodied in the three amendments. These standing firm, the immense impulse given by our industrial prosperity and the placable temper of our Christian faith will accomplish the rest. The problem resolves itself into one of time. The speedy solutions of violence lead to farther violence, and give rise to a servile state ever sinking into deeper servility. This was the difficulty of slavery: the slaveholder could never be sufficiently protected. Intelligence and virtue and all forms of thrift were constantly getting in the way of obedience. The overcoming of evil with evil is impossible; the overcoming of evil with good is often a slow and wearisome process. The better impulse must have time in which to mature its own fruit; the mistakes of the fire-eater must have time to disclose themselves and to disappear. The better method, whose proofs are found in the slow, unfolding of experience, must be accepted in faith. Some of this process we have seen since the war. If the movement has been slow, if it has shown periods of dangerous reaction, the wiser opinion and the better temper have prevailed. The colored people have gained in intelligence, in resources and in self-reliance. The South is occupied with prosperous industries. These cannot fail to correct the evils of slavery under two conditions: First, these economic interests must include the negro, and include him rewardfully. If he is to be pushed aside in favor of white labor the problem of poverty and social depravity will remain, ready to beget new evils and set up new barriers to growth. The evil logic of oppression will grow with oppression. Second, civil and political rights, the rights which we define and establish in our collective action, must be allowed freely to establish themselves under their own principles on their own basis. Herein is the importance of the three amendments. Our troubles have arisen from the absence in our national counsels of these fundamental convictions; the incompatibility of constrained labor with free institutions; that birth brings citizenship, and citizenship civil rights; that political rights turn on the ability to use them, this ability resting on tests the same for all. No one of these principles can be obscured or reduced without danger. If they all remain, growth is possible under them and will overcome minor difficulties.

There may be no danger that these constitutional safeguards will be withdrawn. More than this is needed; that they receive com-

plete and cheerful acceptance. No evasion is to be thought of, no concession tolerated. Under them each State can shape a policy in accordance with its own conception of its own wants, but the limitations of suffrage must be honestly framed and the results of these limitations on the collective action of the States be cheerfully accepted. In the long contention which preceded the war the difficulty was that we had no common ground of principles on which to base our arguments. The South assumed that property in slaves was as much a right, in the presence of constitutional law, as was the possession of any other form of property. This opinion the North hesitatingly denied. No reconciliation was possible because the division inhered in the starting point. The three amendments reconcile our institutions with the principles of liberty which the founders of the government failed distinctly to enunciate. The least confusion at this point, like the early evasion, will issue in endless difficulty. The theoretical integrity of our institutions must be fully accepted, and be allowed to vindicate itself in the national life. There is sufficient harmony and strength in that life to clear itself the moment it has the field.

IV. The Condition of Working Women in the United States

THE BETTERMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF WORKING WOMEN

By EDWARD A. FILENE,
Boston, Mass.

So large is the number of women working for a living, so fast is that number increasing, that an examination of the conditions under which they are employed is well not only from the standpoint of the workers, but also from that of society. Such an examination quickly shows that many women work under conditions that are a serious menace, both to their own welfare and to that of our social institutions, our family life, and our democracy. We find great numbers of women and young girls working for sums that are not living wages, in unsanitary quarters and for too long hours.

Let us briefly look into the conditions of three groups of women workers. Each of these groups differs from the others, but together they seem to me to bring out clearly the evils of the conditions under which women work and their possible remedies. The three groups are: (1) Those working in factories and workshops; (2) store workers, and (3) domestic servants. The worst conditions of the three groups are found in factories, workshops, laundries, and similar industries in cities. In these the wages of the unskilled women workers are very low and the hours, strain of work and environment are often such as should not be tolerated by a decent society.

The conditions are worse in proportion as the trade is unskilled. In trades which require no special training or skill great numbers of women and girls are willing or are forced to work for three to five dollars a week, and are not steadily employed even then. Moreover, so many women and girls are always at hand to take vacant places that there is no pressure from that most effective source, the scarcity of workers, to increase wages and improve conditions.

The fundamental cause of the trouble lies in the fact that great numbers of women and girls are forced to work who have never been trained to work—who do not know how to work—who do not know how to keep themselves well—who lack the qualities necessary

to enforce their rights—who lack the intelligence and necessary will power to organize for their own and society's rights. My experience leads me to believe that the greater part of so-called unskilled trades can be practically put into the class of skilled trades if sufficient training is provided; for training will enable the workers to produce more and of a better quality, and even with higher wages, will reduce rather than increase the cost of production.

The duty of such industrial training lies upon society—upon us. The time has come for us frankly to admit that our educational system is a class system, for, with more than 90 per cent. of our children ending their school education with the grammar school, and with a certainty from the beginning that they must start to earn their living at the end of such a grammar school course, we have nevertheless made almost no direct attempt to prepare them for their life work. The time is here to confess that we have erred frightfully. The time has come, as we look upon the victims of our mistakes in our streets, factories, jails, hospitals, and almshouses, to show our repentance by work that shall never end until our public education is vocational industrial education. *Education in a democracy must be vocational.*

With the alarming facts of the women workers and child labor before us, it is too late to grant any longer the theoretical claims of classical educationalists that the whole end of education is culture. Or, at least, we should reply, that if they be right, then they must make vocational education cultural and we should enforce our reply with the stunted figures, the starved bodies and souls of the victims of our present educational system. You cannot teach spiritual truths to starving bodies.

Germany has already produced the results I am pleading for in practically less than thirty years. She has established a compulsory system of industrial vocational education, so that every boy learns how to work, either in the day or evening school. What Germany has done we will do. Our needs, our conscience, our common humanity compel us.

As a result of the large supply of trained workers coming from such a reform there will be little or no place for wholly untrained workers, and the demand for untrained immigrants, and therefore the supply of such workers willing to live and work under un-American conditions, will proportionally decrease.

As a further result, another remedy, thought by many to be the only adequate one, will become more powerful as a corrective for the evils under which women work. I mean that when the untrained workers are no longer suitable to replace the average workers, then it will be far more possible to organize women workers in unions. The ability of women workers to enforce their just demands is minimized as long as they can be replaced by an almost unlimited supply of untrained non-union workers.

There are other reasons why it seems to me that at present it is almost hopeless to expect adequate results from trade organizations of women workers until industrial training has done at least a part of its work. What is it that prevents working women from combining successfully and thus gaining the power to enforce their just demands as the male workers do by the help of their unions? Lest I be accused of being prejudiced, and of judging from the man's point of view, I am going to give you the answers of some wise women—wise because they judge this problem not only with knowledge but also with sympathy.

In a consultation I had recently with a woman whose profession is industrial betterment work, she said:

"Regarding the organization of women in clubs and unions, as to clubs, they have been fairly successful; the women like to get together at the noon hour if there is music provided, and after work hours for social entertainment.

"As to women joining unions, there are three principal reasons, in my experience, why they do not.

"First. Lack of courage. The average factory working woman has not the same courage as the factory-working man, and the women hesitate to undertake an aggressive policy.

"Second. Marriage. By reason of expectation of marriage, the wage question does not present itself so definitely as likely to be an important question all their lives. They expect to escape by marriage from whatever pressure there is from insufficient wages.

"Third. Factory women, as a whole, are not as intelligent as factory men are. They will not take time to study labor questions, or the technique of their trade; their reading, in my experience, is almost wholly novels and light literature, while in the same plants the men to a far greater degree take from the libraries serious books which will educate them along the lines of their work."

In Western Pennsylvania, where most of this woman's experience has been, she found that a great many of the factory working

women are daughters of women who worked in the factories before them, and who went into factory life at an early age, and got only the most necessary schooling—as much as the law compelled them to take. But, where there are more high school girls in the factories, as in Eastern Pennsylvania, even there they want their evenings for entertainment and pleasure, and are not willing to devote them to study or serious reading.

Another wise woman, also a professional social worker, said to me:

"The Women's Trade Union League feels that women and children form a helpless class in industrial competition as regards hours, wages, and conditions of work, because they have continued to bargain for their labor individually. We feel that the best thing for them to do is to follow the line of trade unions and to bargain collectively."

This woman concludes from her experience that the reasons why women do not form unions are:

1. They feel that they are not going to stay in trade very long—they look forward to marriage.
2. They have less intelligence than the men and a narrow outlook. Some girls told her they believed in the union, but it did not mean anything to them personally. They were not willing to sacrifice a part of their salary for the dues. She thinks they do not understand what the union represents.
3. They are diffident. You cannot get them out to the meetings—that they "will come if the others come," is the most they will say.

Still another says: "The suffragists will tell you that the ballot will awaken in women that self-respect and sense of responsibility they lack. My own feeling is that many poor women dread unions, as they associate them with strikes and fighting. The policy of the 'closed shop,' though doubtless a necessary method to meet the aggressions of the other side, leads to a violence, repugnant to the mind of a woman whose training has been to please, to make things pleasant."

Another woman, whose sympathy is as broad as her knowledge is deep, writes, in part:

"The chief reason why women do not readily combine in trade unions is because the woman wage earner is a rapidly changing creature. The average wage earner among women is a wage

earner less than five years, so far as continuous service is concerned. The minority of women who continually serve in 'gainful occupations,' as the census calls it, are not numerous enough, nor themselves determined enough, to keep in that class as a life devotion, to give the body of women workers leadership."

Trade unionism among men gets its strength from two basic convictions on the part of men wage earners: The first is that the wage earners' position is a permanent one; that is to say that the old, rapid and frequent changes from the position of wage earner to head of a business or small factory are for the most part gone in this day of large concerns, great capital and highly organized management.

The second conviction that makes the strength of men's trade unions is that of the individual workers that they will work for a long term of years in exactly the same relations, and that, therefore, each one must gain, if at all, in wages, hours, and in general condition by combined effort.

Women lack both these convictions because the majority of women wage earners do not expect to remain permanently in any work outside the home and, therefore, they see no reason why they should combine for mutual benefit. They are not more selfish than men were under the old order, when they *did not try to improve, but to escape from*, the bad conditions of the average wage earner.

In the case of women, however, there is added a more serious menace to the kinds of labor in which they are especially employed, since the understanding that they will not remain long as individuals in work outside the home, and that they are seeking generally not full but partial support for this limited time, makes employers able to offer and makes women willing to receive (without full consciousness on either side of the magnitude of the social crime thus perpetrated) less than a living wage for full time work.

This constitutes a permanent difference in the relation of men and of women to trades unionism. While welcoming the new movements toward trades unionism among women in so far as they succeed in developing a class spirit strong enough to forbid the present almost universal underbidding among women, and also so far as they draw women of all classes together for a more thorough study of industrial conditions as they affect the sex, I do not anticipate anything like the practical amelioration of bad labor

conditions for women by means of the trade union movement which men have secured for themselves by the same movement.

But I look to advanced legislation, well administered, more than to trade unionism to better the condition of the wage earning woman, for she is, as a majority class, too young, too ignorant, too short-termed in her industrial relation, and, therefore, in too large a proportion unskilled, to "know her rights and dare maintain them." While making due allowance for the many different causes pointed out by these opinions, yet it seems to be that here again vocational industrial education which includes some simple courses in economics will do much to fit women for organization into unions to enforce their rights.

Let us briefly consider the second group, the store workers:

The chief defects of the conditions of women workers in stores are underpay, the strain of work, and, for some, instability of work. The most important of these defects are due to lack of training for their work and an oversupply of workers; and these in turn are largely due to the fact that store work is as yet practically an unskilled occupation.

But in almost all stores the value of the merchandise, or what amounts to the same thing to the employers, the number of valuable customers, is largely enhanced by an increase in the intelligence and skill of the saleswomen. Now whatever pays in retail business will be done if it is practically possible to do it. Competition sees to that. Therefore, within a reasonable time, storekeepers will see to it that the greater skill and intelligence which pay better are supplied.

Many stores have already begun to train their employees in store classes; and in Boston we have had for three years a class in the evening school for salespeople, and the Women's Educational and Industrial Union has had another class this year. As a result of these and similar successful experiments elsewhere, I feel confident that there will be established in time a standard for salesmanship which will take it out of the unskilled trades, and thereby largely diminish, if not abolish, the surplus supply of store workers, and correspondingly increase wages.

The public can help in the attainment of these desired reforms by demanding good conditions for the workers and intelligent, skilled service from salespeople, and by giving patronage to the

stores that supply these requirements. This the public can afford to do from self-interest, if from no other motive, for skilled and intelligent salespeople mean, all in all, better goods and lower prices and more opportunity of getting the right thing.

Even now there is a great shortage throughout the country of women capable of filling those positions in stores which pay very good wages, which require more than the average skill and intelligence, but which are not out of reach of a thoughtful, determined store worker of no extraordinary ability. Moreover, it is a general truth that even now the percentage of cost of wages to sales is usually less for the higher priced, skilled salespeople than for the cheaper, less skilled ones. It appears to me, therefore, that this kind of vocational education, public or private, is bound to come, and in coming will fix a standard of skill for store workers high enough to advance wages, especially by making it impossible for the great numbers of unskilled girls and women to compete for store work at wages that are not living wages.

At this point the question naturally arises, What will become of the unskilled workers? The supply of unskilled workers from immigration will, in a large measure, be diminished or stopped when there is little demand for them, because a large number of immigrants are induced to come by the feeling of certainty that there is work to be had in this country, even though the immigrant is unskilled, at wages which are living wages to them in the countries from which they come. Yes, living wages, according to the standards such immigrants have been forced to submit to and judged by the cost of living in their own country, but not living wages by American standards. The supply of unskilled American workers will be correspondingly decreased by the lack of demand for them, and parents will be forced to keep their children in school long enough to be taught how to work, and, in most cases, to acquire some vocation.

But it may be argued that there is danger of an oversupply of trained workers, making conditions worse than before. I think that this is not to be feared, for the chief evils of the conditions under which the groups of women we are discussing work are the same that men have had to contend with and which they have conquered in proportion as they have become more intelligent and better trained to work.

The servant girl problem differs from the problems affecting the other classes considered. Here we find a group of workers that is comparatively well paid and whose conditions of work are generally considered to be far better than those of the factory workers. Yet our American homes and family life are threatened by the servant girl problem. Good servants are not to be had in sufficient numbers. And it will continue to be impossible to obtain them in such numbers until conditions are made so much better that women who have any ambition or any choice at all will no longer refuse to enter this occupation, and that the more intelligent servants themselves will no longer go into some other kind of employment as soon as opportunity offers.

Investigation shows that the causes of this state of affairs are not low wages and bad material conditions—are not the causes that are fundamental to the evils of the conditions of women in factories and stores. What then are the causes? We can best ascertain them by reviewing an actual incident.

A woman came into our store one day with a letter of introduction that asked for her the privilege of interviewing our employees. She stated that she was employed to help the solution of the servant girl problem, and incidentally to help factory and store girls by placing them in good houses as servants. As she was evidently inexperienced, I ventured to tell her she had a very difficult task before her and offered to help her with the first few she interviewed, granting her the privilege of interviewing alone thereafter as many more as she cared to see.

Together we talked to three saleswomen who were not selected, but who were taken by chance as business brought them to my office. The first girl was about sixteen. My visitor offered her a short training free to begin with and then four dollars a week and board and lodging in a family where good treatment could be assured. The offer was promptly declined, with the explanation that she would not be a servant at any price; for if she were, her friends and schoolmates would look down upon her.

"But," I said, "you can get four dollars a week and board and lodging, while as an apprentice here you get only four dollars a week without board and lodging." "Yes," said she, "but I don't pay for board and lodging at any rate. I live at home and all apprentices get six dollars at the end of the first year, and then I'll

be a salesgirl and earn at least eight or ten dollars—and all the time I'll have my evenings and Sundays for myself."

The next girl interviewed also refused to consider the offer, saying that nothing would induce her to become a servant; a salesgirl's work was more interesting—she saw more of life—saw more well-dressed ladies, and could copy their dress and the way they talked—had much more free time.

The next girl emphasized the loss of social position in becoming a servant. None of the men with whom she associated, she said, would marry a servant. Last summer her vacation had been spent at a hotel, where she had a good time, and nobody at that hotel had thought less of her for being a salesgirl, but no one there would have talked with her had she been a servant.

Thereupon one of our young women who is a buyer at a salary running into the thousands came into the office. My visitor was going to interview her also, but I am glad to say that I was strong enough to overcome the malicious delight offered by the prospect of what would happen to the one who was herself unwilling to become a domestic servant if she asked this girl (the buyer) to become one.

In short, it is almost needless to say that my visitor did not get a single recruit, and that I have never known of a salesgirl becoming a servant. I think this incident confirms the general conclusions of investigators of the servant problem, that the comparatively good wages and possibilities of steady work do not compensate for the loss of social position, the loss of independence and the lack of leisure time.

My own investigations force me to the conclusion that in this domestic servant problem lasting reform must begin with the employers and not with the employees. And this is doubly necessary, for the evils that threaten the home from this source at the same time threaten our democracy. For the causes of these evils are lack of sympathy, lack of understanding on the part of the average mistress, who, as a rule, looks at the servant from a class point of view.

It is of course an axiom that a democracy cannot live if class distinctions grow and multiply constantly. But that is what in the natural order of things has come about in our country from things that were done with good motives. For as we became richer we

moved our families from the less desirable, more crowded districts where they had been living, to sections where there was more room, more sunshine and more air—all things worthy to be sought for. But we left behind our neighbors without more air, without more sunshine, with a narrower life in every way.

And for them democracy took up the fight. For the God that made the universe and universal law has not made His standard of right conform to that of man. In His omniscience, He has made the law that is and will be steadfast for all time, and he who tries to break it suffers even if he attempts to break it in the belief that he is right, and with the best motives. That is the supreme thing in this world—the steadfastness of the law of the universe—God's law; and that it does not change even for the right—man's idea of right.

And so when, instead of improving conditions we tried to escape them, when we moved away from our less fortunate neighbors, and sent our children to our own special schools, and went to our own special clubs and our own special churches, and lived largely with our own class, and lost contact with and comprehension of the masses, we broke God's law of brotherhood—democracy—and sowed the seeds from which grew suspicion, prejudice and class differences, which are at the bottom of our political, religious, educational and industrial troubles in this country. We sent our children to private schools, or to the public schools of these better districts, which at the best offered no opportunity for meeting and understanding the girls who were likely to become servants, or at any rate who had the point of view of those likely to become servants. Thus we lost knowledge of the masses we had left behind with less sunlight and less good air and fewer of all the good things in life we enjoy. And losing knowledge, we lost also sympathy, and lost the power of handling wisely such problems as the servant girl problem. For democratic wisdom is knowledge, plus sympathy, plus love.

When this estrangement has taken place we introduce into our homes these women whom we do not understand, whom we do not sympathize with, and depend on them for orderly, peaceful homes. The situation is impossible, and I, for one, am thankful that it is impossible.

If it were possible to cure the evils of the servant problem permanently by anything less than genuine sympathy and under-

standing, I should despair of the future of our democracy. For class distinction would continue to grow and we should finally have a plutocracy instead of a democracy. Yes, the basis of the servant problem is a class point of view—a lack of sympathy and understanding—even as it is the basis of municipal corruption when it enables demagogues and grafters to get control of voters by appealing to social, religious and class prejudice.

Thank God for the present servant girl problem—is what it seems to me every true lover of democracy must say as soon as he analyzes causes and sees their meanings and tendencies impersonally. The remedies to be applied to the solution of this problem are simple, as simple as all really fundamental remedies must be. Let us love our neighbors. Let us have genuine good-will for our really nearest neighbor—our employees—the ones who work for us and with us. Let us be really democratic. Let us acknowledge the dignity of labor. Let us judge labor by its social value. Thereupon household work will no longer be a stigma, shutting out the worker from all higher social companionship and attainment. Thereupon the hours of work will be adjusted so as to compare favorably with factory and store work, adjusted so as to leave leisure for development and pleasure. We should all rejoice that the only permanent remedy for the ills of democracy is more democracy.

In conclusion, it seems to me that grave as are the evils we are studying, still, unless I have erred entirely as to the needed remedies—the future is full of hope. For they are remedies possible to be achieved by work and devotion, if what is needed is, first, vocational (industrial) public education; second, the effective organization of working women; third, more sympathy and understanding—more real democracy—expressing itself in work for the common good, more neighborliness, and wise, progressive, remedial legislation.

THE DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS CONFRONTING THE WORKING WOMAN

By DOROTHY RICHARDSON,
New York City.

I hope I shall not be charged with heresy to the working woman when I say that I believe the greatest dangers and difficulties which confront her to-day in her struggle for industrial equality with man are to a great extent inherent in herself. I believe them to be not so much of an economic or social nature as they are physiologic and temperamental limitations fixed by sex.

So long as women continue to be the child-bearers of the race—either in fact or in potentiality—will they be confronted by conditions which present graver dangers and difficulties than those which come to the lives of workingmen.

The conditions that confront men in factory, in workshop, store and office are, it must be admitted, bad enough. How infinitely worse then are they for women, with their more delicate and complicated nervous organizations? An environment in which man may labor equably for indefinite time will induce in the woman hysteria, disease and ultimate physical and nervous collapse.

The same thing applies to her food and lodgings. A healthy, hard-working man demands certain elements of food day by day, and if they are supplied him, however coarse or unsavory they be, he goes on ordinarily with a well-nurtured body. Not so the woman. Call her finicky if you like, but in reality her constitutional sex difference makes it impossible for her to regularly stoke the human furnace with food fuel. Not one hard-working woman in a thousand is devoid of an abnormal appetite. A day off food with a day of toil, and she has begun the erratic course of working girl dietetics which leads to her ultimate destruction as a useful unit in the field of economic industry.

Another dire distress which is the portion of every working woman lies in the fact that, dollar for dollar and penny for penny, it is much harder for her to live upon her wages than it is for the

man. Especially is this true in the large cities, where the homeless working woman has no hotel or lodging house which provides cheap shelter and food for her.

The workingman's hotel and the workingman's lodging house have long been established institutions. Men, if they must, can live to-day upon very meagre salaries. By the aid of such institutions as the Mills Hotels and the municipal lodging houses men can find decent shelter for the night; they can get a hot dinner and a good breakfast for a very small sum of money. But women in similar situations as regards income cannot do so. There is no provision whereby a girl laboring faithfully from eight to ten hours per day can live honestly upon a wage of less than \$5 a week. This sum will readily keep a single man in food, shelter and clothing. And because of this stern, uncompromising fact, the average young working woman in our great cities must perpetually face a danger of the gravest social, as well as moral, import.

It is almost impossible for a large class of women wage earners to be healthy, and when I say healthy, I refer quite as much to the mental as to the bodily health. Working women do not have good health—that is, they do not have the best of health. All things else being equal, the wage-earning woman compares unfavorably in this respect with either the society woman or the woman whose activities are confined to the household. The working woman must conform not only more or less to bad sanitary and hygienic conditions in her place of employment, but she always lives from necessity in the least desirable quarters of her city or town. In proportion to men, she pays more for the actual necessities of life than men.

As I have pointed out in my book, working women's hotels might do much to remove many of the more sordid temptations which surround the toiler of the cheerless life. But she—a woman ever—would live in no institution in which there was not a man. She must be allowed to entertain her men friends at home or she will do so somewhere else.

While it may seem harsh and is warranted to bring down upon me a chattering of disapproval, I must say that, as I have seen the working woman, her most fundamental difficulty lies in her inability and unfitness for sustained effort, as compared with her male competitors. Woman is not capable of doing well much of the labor she has essayed. She does not know how to work as men know how

to work. She has not been trained in the past. She has no inherited aptitude for doing things with a view to economic ends. She has not the faintest conception of the general rudimentary principles of intelligent labor, of conscious and carefully co-ordinated effort. And until we have learned to be intelligent workers, capable of sustained effort, we are going to confront perpetually that greatest of difficulties—the wage problem and its attendant complications.

That they can or ever will develop equal industrial abilities I doubt much, for the very reason I have pointed out earlier, that as potential mothers they are functionally limited mentally and physically.

I see no such danger for the male worker. In spite of all the pother we have made over it, in the face of all the fuss and worry that has been created because several million or so of us women have chosen or been forced by economic circumstances to invade man's industrial domain, the fact remains that the work of the world is being done to-day, as it has always been done, by men. Man is doing to-day not only all the work he has been accustomed to doing in the past, but he has even invaded woman's special sphere of activity, or that sphere which tradition has imputed to feminine talent and skill. It is a significant fact that men, not women, are our best milliners, our best dressmakers, our best ladies' tailors, our best hairdressers, our best cooks. It is a significant fact that none of us will employ women to do these things for us where it is possible to get the services of a man. Take, for instance, the exceedingly feminine employments of millinery and hairdressing. Men design our hats, and none but a man can perform the rites of a Marcel wave satisfactorily. In a number of the best New York hairdressing establishments women operatives have been dispensed with entirely, because they cannot do such good work as the average man hairdresser. And who ever heard of a woman chef?

THE CONDITION OF WORKING WOMEN, FROM THE WORKING WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

By ROSE H. PHELPS STOKES,
New York City.

The topic, "The Condition of the Working Woman," itself suggests forcibly the chief evil which working women have to face. The selection of this particular topic by those who have arranged the program of the annual meeting of the Academy calls attention to the assumption prevailing throughout our country, particularly among men and women of the employing class, that a rather natural distinction exists between women who work and women who do not. It is not uncommon to find the view held by people of culture that it is entirely proper for women to be thus divided: for some to produce far more than they require to supply the needs of themselves and their families, and for others to consume far more than their own efforts produce.

Obviously it would be improper to regard the products of manual toil as the only products necessary to human welfare. It is evident that grace and culture and refinement are in themselves human products of much usefulness, and that a world devoid of these would be a cold and dreary place in which to pass our days. Grace and culture and refinement, where these are expressions of real feeling and of depth of human desire to be just and courteous and true, are evidently of large human value; so much so, that where economic and industrial conditions prevail such as to hinder or prevent their development, it becomes desirable to ask whether the conditions are necessary which thus thwart progress, and whether they could not be so modified and changed by human effort that none need be deprived of opportunity to make constant progress toward all that is admirable in manhood or womanhood.

It must be perceived by even the casual observer that working women, as a rule, are permitted to retain but a portion of the value of what they produce; that they add more value to the material upon which they work than they receive in payment for their labor;

that the average working woman produces, on the whole, more than she consumes, and that the excess is consumed by those who produce insufficient for their own maintenance, and who would probably resent being called working women; yet who are thus as dependent as any pauper is upon the labor of others. In other words, much of the hardship of the working classes is consequent upon the fact that they are obliged not merely to support their own families, but to contribute, whether they will or not, to the support of other families which live in idle luxury upon the products of working people's toil. It is the nearly universal recognition of this fact among the working people of our country that leads more than all else to strikes and industrial disturbances, to ill-will, to class hatred, and to that craving for larger justice which underlies the socialistic program.

The working woman sees herself and her factory sisters working under conditions detrimental to the growth of body, mind and spirit. Ten to fifteen hours a day spent in the monotonous repetition of purely mechanical actions, amid ill-ventilated and otherwise unsanitary surroundings, destroys bodily vigor or prevents its development. Those inherent tendencies to spontaneous and glad thought and action which are essential to the development of a higher type of personality become paralyzed. The working woman sees, or at least feels, that excessive toil on her part would be unnecessary if the burdens of production were more fairly distributed, and if waste prevailed less widely. She sees no justice in an economic system which requires of one woman physical and spiritual exhaustion, in order that some other woman, absolved from the necessity of labor through the accident of birth or otherwise, may waste in idleness and luxury her product and the product of her fellows.

The average working woman knows from her own experience, and from that of the workers about her, that under the existing economic system she must ever live at the margin of subsistence, and that through no effort of her own can she rise to a condition of rightful and necessary independence, where daily fears and anxieties would give place to opportunities for bodily and spiritual rest and recreation and health. Moreover, she sees that, situated as she is, driven by hard necessity, she must pass through a long period of her life deprived of opportunities for those social relations with

her fellows that are essential to the development of much that is best and noblest in her nature. In proportion as she lives and labors as a mere machine the progress and growth of her soul is apt to be thwarted and checked. Not only is she commonly ignorant and of narrow vision, but she is denied, most often, opportunity for physical or mental or spiritual development.

On every hand evidence is accumulating showing the havoc wrought upon the physical health of the workers by the harmful environmental conditions amid which their work is done. The inroads made by pulmonary affections upon women who labor in the spinning, weaving and felting industries are appalling. Results are similar wherever labor is required for excessive hours under unhygienic conditions. Women who bend over the sewing machine for ten to fifteen hours a day, or over artificial flower benches or over cigar benches in the health-destroying atmosphere of tobacco dust, in ill-ventilated, ill-lighted shops, or in the dingy atmosphere of a tenement room, readily fall prey to germs of disease in the air and food and drink.

Nearly all of those diseases which so devastate our communities owe their inception to the impaired power of resistance of the individual attacked. We all breathe daily the germs of infectious disease. The secretion of our mouths is found to teem with germs of putrefaction and decay, and very often with those of malignant and infectious disease. The germs of typhoid fever and dysentery are common in the waters we drink. Pathologists tell us that characteristic lesions of tuberculosis and appendicitis are found in most cadavers when subjected to searching post-mortem examinations, whatever may have been the cause of death. In other words, all become invaded with the germs of disease, but, roughly speaking, those alone succumb whose power of resistance is low. The working woman knows the lassitude and depression and weakness which prevailing industrial conditions entail, and she can see no justice in an industrial system which maintains and perpetuates conditions inimical to health and to character.

For bodily health is not all that is destroyed or impoverished. Character, too, often suffers as well. Excessive hours of toil and consequent craving for relaxation and refreshment lead naturally to the seeking of gayety and recreation after the day's work is done; and conditions under which alone gayety and recreation can be had

by the average working girl in our large cities are far from conducive to the highest standards of social life.

Every working man and working woman feels the need of recreation and social enjoyment, and particularly so after hours of arduous toil. It is but natural for people, young people especially, to seek recreation and refreshment in social pleasures of one kind or another. Now, it must be borne in mind that in many of our industrial communities in the crowded sections of our cities opportunities for wholesome enjoyment are few and far between. Where opportunities for wholesome recreation and enjoyment cannot be found, unwholesome enjoyment and recreation will be had. It is futile to speak against the evils of cheap dance halls and vulgar resorts so long as opportunities for a wholesome social life are not in existence.

It is true that many employers of women's labor seek to supply the need to which I have alluded by the introduction into their industrial communities of what has become known as welfare work. Welfare secretaries are employed to promote the social and recreative interest of working women, and comfortable reading rooms, rest rooms, social rooms, game rooms, dining rooms, and other facilities are provided, and attempt is made to improve the conditions of life and labor in the factory and in its immediate environs; and the working girl is expected to duly appreciate these advantages, and to look upon the employer who provides them as a true friend of her class.

The working girl may indeed look upon such an employer as "friendly" to her class, but friendship in this narrow sense does not seem to her to fulfill the requirements of justice. What the working girl wants (like the working man) is fair hours of labor and fair pay for its product. Unless she feels that she is receiving in payment for the product of her toil a fair portion of the value of that product, she cannot easily regard those as her friends who withhold from her the portion, however small, of that which is her due. Welfare work under such circumstances she regards as but a pacifying measure to secure her good will despite injustice or wrong, or reads into the motive of the employer the desire to improve his business by appearing before the patrons of that business as a "fair" employer.

Far be it from the working girl to object to improvement of

industrial conditions, however inadequate such improvement may be. But, while appreciating the improvement, she knows that even with it she must necessarily get less than the fair reward for her labor if she receive for her day's work barely enough to hold body and soul together, while those who exploit her labor live in luxury and wastefulness, and spend in extravagant living what she has earned. She often realizes that the idle classes harm not only the working classes by their extravagances, but themselves as well. She sees in a vague sort of way that they who do wrong to others wrong themselves as well, because they make themselves unjust, and she can see neither rhyme nor reason in an economic system that checks tendencies toward spiritual perfection—the goal and reason of all human life.

An enormous majority of working women live and labor under conditions inimical to health and happiness. Nearly one-third of the deaths among working women between the ages of twenty and forty-five occur from tuberculosis alone, and these deaths are due almost always to needlessly bad conditions of tenements and shops. The bad conditions are maintained, usually, by people of the employing and propertied classes, who prefer to continue them rather than suffer such slight curtailment of revenue as improvement might cause.

In one block of New York City there has been a new case of tuberculosis reported to the Board of Health once every twelve days, as an average, for the past nine years, and from six houses on that block one new case has been reported every thirty-two days. In one flat in one of those houses four families successively were devastated by that disease in five years; yet, whenever attempt is made by the Board of Health or by other bodies of public-spirited citizens, to secure such alterations in that block as would eliminate its death-dealing features and replace them with health-giving ones, the cry is raised of interference with vested rights, of interference with contract between landlord and tenant, and of interference with the right of every individual to conduct himself as he pleases in relations which are his own. As a result, all attempts at bettering the area have failed, and year by year scores of additional victims become impregnated with the conditions and fall easy prey to the disease. Similarly throughout the factories and workshops of our land, unsanitary conditions and starvation wages each year weaken

and kill scores of thousands of victims. The destruction is as needless in one case as in the other.

A few weeks ago it was shown before the Assembly's Committee on Labor and Industries, at Albany, that in one widely prevailing trade (a man's trade, that of metal polishing) 92 per cent. of all the workers die of tuberculosis or other pulmonary disease, and that 82 per cent. of them die before reaching the age of forty years. Yet a vigorous effort was made by representatives of the employing class in that industry to repeal the mandatory provisions of the law which requires the use of exhaust fans or blowers wherever harmful dust is produced in the workshops and factories of New York State. Even with the wide use of the blowers and fans, the appalling mortality prevails. Without fans or blowers to remove the deleterious dust from the air, the vital statistics of the industry would be more terrible still. With blowers the costs of production in the industry are enhanced by the cost of the blowers. Without blowers the cost of production would be enhanced to an immeasurably more terrible degree by the cost of still more human lives sacrificed in a mad scramble for wealth.

Throughout the length and breadth of our land the terrible question faces our people: Shall the health and lives of our workers continue to be jeopardized and sacrificed to swell the incomes of the few?

The working girl does not object to the accumulation of wealth when accumulation harms no one; but her soul cries out in revolt against the callousness and heedlessness of those who in their mad greed for gain ignore the conditions under which the gain is produced. She sees herself and her sisters struggling ten or twelve or fourteen hours a day under conditions destructive to health and to progress, in order that the incomes of employers and their families may be large enough to sustain them in luxurious living. She and her working sisters see the daughters of their employers lead idle and self-indulgent lives upon profits wrung from the health and strength, and often from the virtue of those who must ignore industrial injustice or starve. "By what right," she cries, "whether divine or human, am I and my sisters compelled to exhaust body and soul that other human beings may be idle and wasteful, and even destroy their own souls in vicious and thoughtless living?"

The working woman sees the women of the employing class

mock the teachings of their great religious leader by manifesting everywhere, contrary to His injunctions, pride, vain glory, and hypocrisy. Instead of "remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy" they choose that day of all others to "make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the borders of their garments," and to ignore His injunctions to humility and consideration of one's fellows.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself" sounds hollow and derisive to the working girl, who on the Sabbath day, and many other days, sees wealth and fashion "pass by on the other side" in all their show and glitter, while the victims of greed and oppression lie sick and poverty stricken in tenements close by.

As to the subject of religion, it is difficult for the working girl to rely upon its teachings, when on every hand she sees the wicked, the dishonorable and the covetous in high places, and the majority of honest workers abased, and compelled by circumstances beyond their control to toil and suffer excessively; particularly is it difficult for her to respect those churches in which "uppermost seats" are bought and paid for, like so much merchandise, with money unjustly earned. The working girl who received her first Christian precepts from a hard-working mother may have a deep and abiding respect and love for Jesus and His teachings, and faith in the ultimate triumph of right, but she cannot respect that false religion misnamed Christianity, and those false teachings of its preachers, which confine themselves to blasphemously singing praises of God while repudiating the great commandment to "Love thy neighbor as thyself." For there is no loving one's neighbor as one's self, says the working woman, where one's self lives in wealth and luxury and affluence while one's neighbor, like the victim in the parable, lies robbed, wounded, starved and dying on the Jericho road, priests, churchmen and pharisees seeing his affliction, but "passing by on the other side."

Contributions made in aid of rescue homes, missions, settlements, welfare work and other "charities," representing a few dollars spared by employers from incomes wrung from human lives, are commonly regarded with distrust, and often as less commendable than the gift of Ananias and Sapphira; but those people who personally devote themselves to the work are held in high esteem,

and frequently warmest friendships are formed between them and the working women.

Many troubles are caused to the less serious minded working girls through natural, though foolish, attempts to imitate the habits and dress of those who live and dress extravagantly. Earnings needed for bodily sustenance and protection are wasted upon ribbons and feathers and modish dresses, for no other reason than that they believe such expenditures raise them to a higher social level than they could otherwise attain. Money needed for the relief and aid of a sick neighbor, or for food or clothing for a younger brother or sister, is often squandered on imitation jewels or other finery, where no other motive exists than that of vanity and vain glory, prompted by the extravagance and ostentation of the rich.

It is, of course, thought by wealthy men and women that no blame is theirs if others follow, foolishly, foolish and wasteful examples. The attitude of the wealthy differs greatly in this regard from that of St. Paul, who in his first letter to the Corinthians said, "Take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling block to them that are weak." Unfortunately, there is not a very large percentage of women in any class who realize fully that the more worth a woman has in herself the less worth is she apt to put on herself, and that we are held in esteem a great deal more for what we have in us than for what we have on us. Efforts at show and adornment, copied from the rich, lead often to bitterest and narrowest heart yearnings and jealousies and despair, and money and time and thought and effort which could be expended far more profitably in promoting real human interests or in supplying real human needs are wasted and squandered in finery and folly. This condition of affairs cannot easily be changed, unless those women who pose as the working girls' superiors will set a superior example.

"How these working girls do dress! No wonder they are poor!" exclaimed a very well meaning and overdressed woman whom I met downtown one day, a woman who did not know me and whom I did not know. "Look at their hats and suits!" The woman expected tatters, and was rather surprised and shocked to find decent clothing, perhaps a trifle gay. "Why the children uptown dress no better than that!" I was glad for the working girls that their critic took no walk through the East Side streets, and thereby

avoided setting further harmful examples of extravagance, show and vanity, already so widely set by her class.

A word must be said in regard to the working girl's attitude toward that patronizing, condescending type of interest shown so often by rich women toward working girls' clubs. It is far too common in our settlement houses and elsewhere, even in tenement homes themselves, to find wealthy women very expensively dressed attempting to encourage the so-called unfortunates by visiting them and telling them what they should do. Not long ago, in one of the principal settlement houses of New York, a very fashionably dressed woman, a lorgnette dangling from her finger tips, opened the door of a working girls' club, uninvited, and, raising her lorgnette to her eyes, surveyed the group before her, and, as though desiring to compliment the girls, remarked in the hearing of all, "What a very attractive looking lot of working girls these are!" This sort of thing is by no means rare. Wealthy women visiting settlement houses, as they do in large numbers, feel offended if their desire to visit intrusively every club in the building is discouraged by those in charge. In some of the larger settlement houses an evening rarely passes without from two to one-half dozen groups of such visitors showing their lack of regard for the feelings of others by intruding upon the privacy of one club after another, inspecting them successively as they inspect animals in their cages at the zoo. As a rule the poorer girls, members of these clubs, have sufficient good breeding to refrain from manifesting resentment at the intrusion, but too often such intrusion on the part of merely curious persons, slumming parties, and so forth, are carried to the degree of extreme discourtesy and become intolerable. But good-will and pleasure are always manifested by the members when they are visited out of pure friendliness, without condescension and without patronage.

And now a word as to the attitude of the working girl toward organized charity. She knows that there is no true charity except where there is true sympathy, and that true sympathy can exist only in proportion as there is true understanding of personal needs and feelings. To be sure, there are many working women who will readily accept donations of money or food or clothing, whether the gifts be given by ward politicians seeking the votes of the husbands, or by such of the rich as seek through "charity" to "cover a multitude of sins," or by societies which advertise conspicuously the

donors to their funds; but most self-respecting women would rather go without asking for aid of any kind until they are half starved and half frozen than accept the doles of hard-hearted men in high places, or the doles of ostentation, hypocrisy, or sham, wherever or however offered.

Even where charitable societies seek in as kind a manner as they know how to provide relief for those genuinely in need, the methods which they sometimes pursue to ascertain the reality of the need are most harmful. Particularly harmful is the custom of such societies to spy upon applicants and to seek through secret questioning of neighbors to learn of every weakness or misdeed that might necessitate labelling the applicant as "unworthy," and then, after arousing the suspicion or ill-will of the neighbors, refusing to relieve. Even where, after such investigation, the applicant has been declared "worthy," and relief has been given, the poor woman henceforth is known to her neighbors as a dependent upon public charity, and at once falls in her own estimation, and in that of her neighbors as well, who usually compose all of her social acquaintances. Let those of some imagination endeavor to consider the position of such a woman and of her family.

This prevailing distinction that is so commonly made between "worthy" and "unworthy" applicants for relief is, in the opinion of the writer, most mistaken and unfortunate. Not that every drunkard and loafer should be maintained in vice and idleness by the gifts of well-meaning people, or that any one should be given anything inimical to his or her highest welfare, but no man or woman is so degraded as to be unworthy of aid to a better and worthier life. The more degraded men and women are the more worthy they are of aid to nobler living and of relief from the thralldom of evil ways and evil environments. We cannot have too much of the kind of relief that does truly relieve, or too much aid of the kind that does enable men and women to become more self-respecting, self-sustaining, self-denying members of a community. There is no relief in throwing an anchor to a drowning man or in throwing money to one who is being morally and spiritually drowned in vice and profligacy. What the struggler needs in either instance is an opportunity to live and labor under conditions less destructive of physical or moral welfare. The relief must be suited to the sufferer, but relief of the right kind need never be withheld.

More fellow-feeling is what the world most needs, more true sympathy, more determination to promote justice and right living, by being just and living right one's self; more readiness to subordinate one's personal desires in consideration of the needs of one's fellows, and of the underlying causes which occasion those needs; more of the sort of charity which leads the individual not merely to offer aid to those who suffer, but to search out and remove from human environments the needlessly harmful conditions and the far-reaching manifestations of human greed and injustice that usually underlie the conditions to which, in last analysis, most of the suffering is due.

ORGANIZATION AMONGST WORKING WOMEN

By LILLIAN D. WALD,
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Over five million women are at work in the United States according to the 1900 census, over five million removed from the home wholly or in part, over five million who are factors in the industrial world to reckon for themselves, to be reckoned for and to be reckoned with. Despite such figures, as a nation we superstitiously hug the belief that our women are at home and our children at school, and though legislators have at times enacted laws protective to them, regulating hours and in some instances dangerous occupations, as a whole the community—and this includes many of the working women themselves—is reluctant to face the situation frankly and seriously, that women no longer spin and weave and card, no longer make the butter and the cheese, scarcely sew and put up the preserves at home, but accomplish these same industries in the factories, in open competition with men, and except in the relatively few instances of trade organization, in competition with each other.

The introduction of complicated machinery, the substitution of machine-made for hand-made things, and the impracticability of the introduction of these machines into the homes are of course primarily responsible for the transfer of the women workers from the home to the factory and shop. The fact that the women have received their pay in money for their labor under these altered conditions has had probably no little effect upon the changes in their position in the social world, and has helped to give them their distinct place in the industrial consideration. Probably they worked as hard, produced as much under the old methods, but laboring at home for and with the domestic group, they neither had occasion nor opportunity to classify in the larger group of trade and occupation.

I will acknowledge in the beginning of this brief outline of
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women's efforts in organization that my mind is filled with the paramount importance of the arguments for coming together in trade unions, though I am not competent to speak as an expert and would probably be open to the discriminating charge of the old darkey, who said, "Pears to me that sometimes when a reformah gits up to 'splain, it's like de preacher who took two hours and a half to 'spress one of de ten commandments, and dey nevah was no disputation bout it in de fust place." I do know that there are many who, while agreeing as to the efficacy of trades unionism among men, have not taken the women seriously in this.

There is little reliable data from which to make deductions concerning working women; indeed, we scarcely know more than the numerical facts and are not able to establish reliable theories. From the census we learn that the five millions and more women earning money away from home are increasing in number more rapidly than are the working men, and that the rate of increase is greater than that of our entire female population. These figures are expressive of a possible reversal of the orthodox order of things, potentially involving us in a new order; and they are suggestive, if not explanatory, of the race reduction statistics.

Congress is now considering an application from the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to make appropriation for a thorough Federal investigation of women in industry. This has been earnestly urged by the women in industry themselves through their trades unions, and the Women's Trades Union League, and by others. Because of the dearth of authentic information, and also because of many erroneous and sometimes sensational ideas afloat, it is to be hoped that accurate information of the whole subject will be made possible (through this investigation) and that public opinion not less than educational and legislative plans may be guided by its results. Meanwhile, and because of the paucity of literature concerning the American situation, one must draw upon accumulations of personal experiences and observations for inferences of significance in the movement among the women towards organization. Whether it is an unconscious merging of the interests of the crowd, a movement fraught with signs and portents intelligible and seriously considered by the initiated, what is the attitude of the outsider, what the moral obligation of those indirectly involved? In ten minutes I can hope only to touch upon the attitude of the non-

combatants—if the term is permissible—and of those directly involved.

Abroad there have been more protective governmental measures than with us. One English writer says: "Out of the desecration of child life and womanhood recorded in the blue books in the earlier part of the last century came the beginnings of a state control in England of special conditions of health and security for them."

Certain trades have been considered particularly dangerous to women. The recommendations of the White Lead Commission in 1898 practically put a stop to the employment of women in that industry. Many countries have precautionary legislation for women before and after child-birth (see Oliver in "Dangerous Trades"), and all civilized countries forbid their employment in mines.

The International Labor Conference held last year in Berne (every civilized country being represented with the exception of the United States and Japan) made an international agreement to keep women out of manufacturing establishments at night. This is to go into effect in three years from the date of the conference, and covers all manufacturing trades with the exception of a few special industries where the time limit is extended.

Last February (1906) the American Association for Labor Legislation was organized, which in the future may send delegates to this international body. Under date of December 12, 1905, an American Consul, reporting on this body to the Secretary of State, urged among other things, the advantage to be gained through uniform action by the different nations in regard to prohibition of night work by women in industrial establishments.

In America there is legislation in all States in which mines are situated prohibiting employment of women. In seven States there is legislation which prohibits employment of women to do buffing and glass polishing. Women are also prohibited from working behind bars. There is legislation in many States regarding this, and in those where the laws do not prohibit public opinion serves the same purpose.

There are also the better known restrictions as to hours of work permissible to women—limitation to fifty-eight hours a week in Massachusetts, sixty hours in New York. This law has been judged in the Supreme Court of Illinois as unconstitutional; has been judged constitutional in Massachusetts. Its constitutionality was

tested but yesterday in the courts of New York, and it has been enforced for years in Ohio. In this we can see the uncertainty of a uniform enforcement of attempted protection by the States.

I make reference to these statutory measures showing the existence of a public sentiment as to the necessity of guarding the interests of women, and there is yet a seemingly deep-rooted prejudice against regulations by themselves for themselves when expressed in trades unionism, a curious confusion in democratic principles. Law enactment is worshipped and yet law is suspected if made by an absolutely self-governing body, while, to the student, the development of protective legislation for working women seems a preliminary to the establishment of further protection through their own efforts. Law enactment has been and perhaps will be confined to the establishment of a standard for hours and hygienic conditions, leaving the question of wages entirely to the workers themselves.

In the United States, with the fear of special class legislation and paternalism in government, there is, perhaps, greater need than abroad for concerted action for the purpose of guarding and advancing the interests of the workers themselves. What part have the women workers played in this?

Historical precedent, lack of education in administration, and the conventional tradition of women—not any less among those who work—are potent frustrators of strong and permanent organizations. Though some have grasped the elementary fact of the advantage of collective bargaining and are not loth to be advantaged thereby, ignorance among the many of the import of trades unionism must necessarily make progress slow. The hope of marriage, the insufficient trade training, the demand for cheap and unskilled labor in many trades, and therefore the easy substitution in the ranks of the women wage earners are detrimental factors that preclude expectation of a large, general trades union movement among women in the near future.

More definite and therefore perhaps easier to combat, although a very serious obstruction to women's unions, is the sex antagonism, the blind rage against them for taking men's places, and the consequent disparagement and ridiculing by the men of the girls in their attempts to take their place in the industrial world seriously. Men's unions with larger vision, however, and this is more especially true of late, have invited and assisted women, either in separate organi-

zations or with them, and the American Federation of Labor has declared its policy to be "heartily in sympathy and ready to co-operate with any movement to organize women."

The women, despite handicaps, have organized in those trades where special skill is required, and also where the public sentiment among their comrades has been conducive to dignified organizations. For instance, the laundry workers in Chicago for ten years have sent their representative to the American Federation of Labor. The felt hat trimmers have been organized for nineteen years, the cigar makers for fourteen years, and in the boot and shoe work the women are said to be stronger unionists than the men in some localities.

Miss Herron's recent report of "Labor Organizations Among Women" gives us at some length the facts of their history and place in unions, and it is a favorable showing on the whole, an encouraging evidence of the working woman's intelligence, and is capable of favorable comparison with the position the "modern woman" has taken in the professions, in civic and educational and social organizations.

The Union Label League, pledging its members to patronage of articles made under union conditions, that is, in union shops, and holding the same philosophy that has gained the respect of the economists for the consumers' league, urges the power of the purchaser to create the condition. Some of the trades unions have auxiliary label leagues composed of the women members of the working man's family.

There has not been a valid economic argument presented by theorist or practical trades unionist that I have not heard from the lips of the leaders among women laborers. They know full well the fundamental economic fact of the essential and permanent inequality between the individual wage earner and the capitalist employer, and that the possibility of an absolutely free contract between them is a delusion. They are well aware that the danger to themselves and to their countless successors lies in the cutting under of prices by the "sweater" and the "poor widow" who has the "freedom" to work all day and all night at home. They speak with eloquence of the devastation of child labor, the destruction to the homes through long hours and "speeding up" in the shops, their

deprivation of leisure and therefore the home. "For all we know," said one, "soup grows on trees."

These are the leaders, the forward guard who proclaim their right to engage in industry when they choose to do so, and to enter on terms of justice and with dignity, since the position of women in industry is dignified and should not be parasitic. They are producers, wealth creators and permanent factors, to be dealt with seriously, no better, nor worse than men, but according to their strength, their tasks and ability.

I have refrained from harrowing or romantic tales illustrative of women's struggles, hardships, heroisms, abilities, disabilities, exploitations, temptations, etc., because such illustrations must be familiar to all in this audience, and also because the dignified women I know in the industrial field would, I think, disparage such methods of presenting their cause. For thirteen years, however, I have seen various little groups organize under the inspiration of fine leadership and then melt away. Other groups have replaced them and the experiment has been repeated. Always have I been thrilled by the wisdom and unselfishness of the leaders, and overwhelmed with the pathos of the sacrifice of the standard-bearers and the great odds against them in their struggle.

The more or less ephemeral character of the organizations does not, however, affect the situation materially. Women remain in the trades and will for all time, and it is of grave importance that the best conditions should be established, not for favorable discrimination on account of sex, which cannot be defended, but for just pay for such work as her talents and her ability and her general fitness may entitle her. For this larger end may we not regard them also as students in an educational movement, though perhaps on the whole an unorganized five million still learning the rudiments of the industrial struggle, learning the hard lesson that it may be passed on in their homes with intelligence and comprehension to sons and husbands and daughters. The failure of the single trades union seems to count but little with these students, for never have I known one girl who believed that the principle, inso-much as she had grasped it, was wrong, but always that it was the circumstances beyond her control that prevented continuity of the group, or the misfortunes of strife that broke it up.

The public's attitude towards trades unionism has been prej-

udiced and the moral vision obscured. Good men and women speak of the menace to individual liberty through regulations and restrictions by unions, while agreeing to, and, in fact, often eager to accomplish this same restriction by legislation. As I have said, it is a great mistake to assume that there is more personal liberty or less in one than in the other. Labor legislation must of necessity act for the young and the immature, but intelligent trades union regulation for women by women has failed to be effective only because of lack of strong trades unions among them. Unless we speed their day they will be working "The Long Day" for small wage and carrying home the unfinished work to sap the strength of the youngest. When women have effective organizations and suitable State legislation, home work, which means sweat work and children's work, will be abolished. Legislation cannot accomplish this alone; the women are in a position to regulate and enforce this if backed by public sentiment.

The saving of the home of the working people rests upon the women. The elimination of the sweated workers is their task ultimately, and their intelligence can be trusted. They know why tuberculosis so often takes their shop-mates, why the shop work so often injures the eyes, why the "speeding up" with new machinery exhausts them, and the best of them believe that the hope of the betterment of women in industry lies in their quickening of industrial evolution, and that with more secure establishment in the trade they will be able to screw up the standard of life and the home bit by bit, and that they are not liable to get this unless they demand it and secure it themselves.

To sum up:

It is significant that, despite discouragement and handicap, the most thoughtful working women persist in their faith in organization, and it must be obvious that several things can be read from their persistency and their success as well as their failures.

1. The educational value for themselves and their families.
2. The evidence of the thought and decision and the parallel in club and social associations of the "new woman."
3. The serious recognition of themselves as permanent factors in the industrial and social world.
4. The belief in the possibility of their industrial organization replacing their present industrial disorganization.

5. Their need of the public's help and sympathy.

It is difficult to close without suggesting some action by the less directly involved public. This struggle of the working woman is not a class matter; it is one for the race welfare, and though there are heroes among them ready "to die for the cause," to establish themselves in better fortunes is beyond their feeble power unassisted by public sentiment. They believe—these most thoughtful working women—that the most direct way to a stable realization of their standards of wages and hours is through their own trade combinations, and that they are helping the employers as well as themselves. They agree to the necessity of that unfortunate law of competition that the conscientious and well-meaning employer is forced to the level of the employer without scruples, because hours and wages regulate the cost of production, and both the conscientious and indifferent enter the market in competition.

The last organization to be formed is the Women's Trades Union League, composed of working women and their allies, men and women who agree to the claim that I have set forth, and who desire to work with the women rather than for them in their efforts to obtain better conditions. The league owes its existence in America to a large-minded working woman, who has many times said much better what I have tried to say for her fellows to-night. She has been for years an organizer of women's trades unions, and holds that to be her highest mission, but she believes now, as do those enrolled in membership of this organization, that it is proper for men and women to give support and assistance to the working women in their efforts for organization, and that they—the public and the working women—need each other to accomplish this. This seems to be a clear call to that part of the community that with any seriousness concerns itself with the welfare and the fate of the women in industry.

WOMEN WHO WORK AND WOMEN WHO SPEND

By MAUD NATHAN,

President of the Consumers' League, New York City.

I fear that my title implies that there are two distinct categories, and that the women who spend do not work, and the women who work do not spend. This, however, is not my inference. I merely wish to differentiate between the women whose daily occupation is spending, and who work occasionally (perhaps most when trying to spend money) and the women who work hard every day and spend money occasionally. I want to point out the relationship between the two and show, if I can, the large measure of responsibility which rests on the women who spend for some of the existing abuses and evils surrounding the women who work.

Women have always worked—but not as wage earners. When they used to work in the home they passed from the kitchen stove to the spinning wheel, from the soap vat to the vegetable garden; they made the rope, the candles, the carpets, did all the spinning, weaving, knitting, cutting and sewing. They made all their own preserves, pickles, bread, pastry and confectionery. There was sufficient variety to the work to prevent monotony and tedium at least, even though the hours of work were so long that they fell asleep over their knitting needles, and arose at dawn to get their households in order. Through the ages has come down to us the adage: "Man's work ends with the setting sun, woman's work is never done."

To-day, through the invention of cumbersome machinery, work has been taken out of the home and put into factories and workshops. Because the woman leaves her home to do work and becomes a wage-earner she is for the first time recognized as a working woman. In this new position her work has become far more monotonous. It may be her duty to stand all day long at a loom making but one little gesture. But the nervous strain is terrible; should she put her finger a quarter of an inch too near the machine it would be torn off; should she drop her hand from mere exhaustion, her work might be damaged and she would either lose some of her

wages or else perhaps lose her position. This is one reason why working women need to-day a shorter working day. The roar and buzz of machinery is deafening and nerve-racking. The air is often foul, and filled with particles of lint or wool, and because of the lack of skill or taste or intelligence required, the wage is low. If the woman works, not in a large factory, but in a tenement hovel, known as a sweat-shop, then to offset the evils described she has the fatigue of bending over a foot-power machine, she has longer hours, little light or ventilation, shorter seasons of work and lower wages.

Now, in what way can the women who spend, alleviate the conditions surrounding the women who work? There seems to be little necessity to expound upon the economic truths relating to the laws of supply and demand to the members of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Therefore, let me merely point out the fact that since there is never a supply of anything until the demand of the purchasers be felt, and since women are largely the purchasers of the household, if all the women who spend would demand that their garments, their household furnishings and their food supplies be made under wholesome conditions—wholesome to the producer as well as to the consumer—and if they made that demand sufficiently strong and with united pressure then merchants would insist upon manufacturers complying with this demand of their customers, and manufacturers would be forced to comply in order to find a market for their wares.

Professor Gide, the renowned French economist, prophesied that the twentieth century would be the century to inaugurate the moral education of the consumer. Consumers have apparently begun their studies; we are at present in the primary grade. We no longer buy slaves, and during the Civil War some of the conscientious consumers even refused to buy the product of slave labor. We no longer buy our servants, as in the old days of indenture, but some of us seem to think we buy their entire time, and that they should have no interest in life outside of our households. We do not buy little children, but we still buy the product of child labor; we use underwear* woven in Southern mills where tiny little children are allowed to work all night long; we wear shoes which they help to make in factories; hats which they braid; we trim our hats with artificial flowers which they help to make in tenement rooms. We wear silk and velvet which they help to make, assisted by huge ma-

chines which seem to be almost as intelligent and mature as the children. We use paper boxes and bags made by them; we eat candy packed by them; nuts picked by them, and we are willing to have all these things carried home to us by them, even though they arrive at a late hour at night.

Perhaps after leaving the primary grade in our studies, we shall realize that we are not intelligent consumers so long as we consume our children. If the women who work are to have good results from their labor, are to labor for life and not for death—life for the nation as well as life for themselves—then they must not commence their work at an age which spells ultimate breakdown. We consumers have had some moral education. We do not buy stolen goods, but we have not pursued our course of instruction sufficiently far to enable us to restrain from buying goods, the profits of which have been stolen from the wages or overtime work of helpless working girls. We would not buy garments bearing a tag, "tenement made," such as those tagged by the Health Department when infectious disease is found in tenement rooms where such garments are made up. But we neglect to insist that there be some label—such as the Consumers' League label—guaranteeing that the garments have been made under sanitary and uplifting conditions. The Consumers' League label further guarantees that no child labor has been employed, and no night work exacted, and that no State factory laws have been violated.

We would not buy poisons to assassinate our neighbors, but we are willing to buy wall-papers, matches and pottery which poison the producers, and we buy adulterated foods and drugs which poison the consumers. We do not buy animals to torture them, but we buy beef of cattle which before being slaughtered had been tortured almost to death on freight trains, left for days without food or drink. We do not go about ruthlessly killing little birds in their nests, but we wear aigrettes which can only be produced by capturing the mother bird when, rather than desert her little ones and leave them to starve, she prefers capture to flight. We do not go about wilfully inoculating our fellow-citizens with germs of tuberculosis, but by buying clothing made in sweatshops we encourage conditions which lead inevitably to tuberculosis. We do not deliberately fill our tenement houses with microbes, but we allow tenement houses to stand when they are so impregnated with disease germs that in one block

alone in New York city, known as "Lung Block," there has been a fresh victim of consumption every twelve days during the past nine years.

Many of us do these things quite innocently, and we look about us helplessly, wondering what we ought to do to put a stop to these evils. These I may call our sins of omission, because we do nothing to remedy matters. But there are sins of commission, of which the women who spend are guilty, and these can scarcely be condoned on the plea of ignorance.

When women order their costumes or Easter hats at the last moment they must realize that such rush orders can be completed only by exacting overtime work at night or on Sundays of the women who work. When we leave our Christmas shopping until the very last moment we are surely aware of the extra strain we are deliberately putting on those who are overburdened and exhausted at that season of the year. When we deal at stores where notoriously the saleswomen receive low wages, work long hours, get no vacations with pay, and no half-holiday in summer, we must be conscious of the fact that we are encouraging those firms which have a low standard of competition to the detriment of other firms which ought to be patronized in order to encourage a higher standard.

When we neglect to pay our bills promptly, especially when dealing with small tradesmen, we ought to realize that, perhaps through our neglect, wages of employees cannot be paid and other debts cannot be met.

Many philanthropic women who have larger incomes than they care to spend on themselves will give away large sums of money in order to provide funds for working girls who have broken down physically, mentally or morally, yet had these women, in providing for their own wants, taken the precaution to spend their money in such a way as to create favorable conditions for working girls, the workers in all probability would not have broken down and would not have required any aid.

We should not be too proud of our charitable institutions. Preventive philanthropy is far better than palliative charity. Instead of building so many hospitals for the maimed and diseased, let us create industrial conditions which will not maim and cripple working people by the wholesale, and make them diseased at an early age. Let us give them homes where the sunshine can penetrate and

parks where the children can play, and there will be fewer hospitals required.

Instead of establishing so many homes for the aged and infirm, let us pay a fair wage for work and charge less for rent and commodities, so that working people need not expend 80 per cent. of their wages for absolute necessities, which, according to statistics, the average working man does to-day.

Instead of organizing working girls' vacation societies, let us give working girls vacations with pay. If there were no cruelty enacted towards animals and children there would be no necessity for the formation of societies to prevent cruelty. If there were no injustice dealt to the poor and helpless, there would be no work for the Legal Aid Society. We should hang our heads in very shame because of our need for so many charitable institutions, we should not feel that they are a commendable source of pride.

We are constantly clamoring for very cheap lodging houses for working girls who receive pitifully low wages, but why should we encourage employers to pay pitifully low wages, and why do we countenance the rapid advance to great wealth of men who make profits in this way? The women who spend, by encouraging employers who pay fair wages and give their employees just and fair treatment are helping to better industrial conditions. By contributing towards the cramped lives of the women who work, a measure of richness and fulness, of beauty, joy and dignity, the women who spend thereby help to abolish much of the distress and misery for the lessening of which our charitable institutions are organized.

Hobson, the well-known English economist, who lectured in this country during the past season, has well said that "every purchaser by each act of purchase exerts a direct power of life or death over a class of producers." This is readily understood when we consider that in every industry conditions are either those which make for life—wholesome, uplifting, constructive—or those which make for death—unsanitary, degrading, destructive.

If then the women who spend will but take Ruskin's advice to heart, and "in all their buying consider first what condition of existence they cause in the producers of what they buy," there would be more of the perfume of fragrant roses, and fewer briars in the walled-in gardens where toil the women who work.

V. Immigration

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT.

By GROVER G. HUEBNER,
Of Wisconsin.

I. THE PROBLEM OF AMERICANIZATION.

"Americanization" is assimilation in the United States. It is that process by which immigrants are transformed into Americans. It is not the mere adoption of American citizenship, but the actual raising of the immigrant to the American economic, social and moral standard of life. Then has an immigrant been Americanized only when his mind and will have been united with the mind and will of the American so that the two act and think together. The American of to-day is, therefore, not the American of yesterday. He is the result of the assimilation of all the different nationalities of the United States which have been united so as to think and act together.

Again, Americanization is very different from amalgamation.¹ Amalgamation is but one force which appears in the Americanization process and that an unimportant one, as it usually occurs only after the immigrant has been at least partly Americanized. Furthermore, "to think and act together" does not necessitate that race ties are wholly lost. That is its usual meaning, but nationalities such as the Jews, Italians, Bohemians and even Scandinavians often settle in practically exclusive settlements. Such settlements are Americanized in as much as the immigrants learn to think and act like Americans. "To think and act together" in some cases is, therefore, to think and act like Americans, and in others it is the actual uniting of the minds and activities of the immigrants with those of the Americans by actual, permanent association.

Finally, it is essential to recognize degrees of Americanization. Some immigrants will adopt certain American methods, customs and ideas, but will refuse, or prove themselves unable, to adopt others. Some will, quite fully, adopt the industrial methods of American

¹Prof. Commons, *Chaut.*, 28:42; Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9:670.

industry and yet be unable to speak the English language. While they are not fully Americanized, they are at least to a greater or less degree.

The Size of the Problem.

The bulk of the problem will show what the various Americanization forces have to contend with. The mere number of immigrants who come each year shows something in this direction. In 1904 the number amounted to 812,870, and in 1905 it reached 1,026,499.² The following table of percentages shows that, in 1900, 34.2 per cent. of the total population was of foreign parentage and 13.6 per cent. was actually of foreign birth. The separation of the figures into smaller divisions is still more significant. In the North Atlantic Division, for example, 51.1 per cent. of the total population is of foreign parentage and 22.6 per cent. are immigrants. On the other hand, in the South Atlantic Division the percentages are but 5.9 and 2.1, respectively. These figures show, therefore, not merely the size of the problem from the physical standpoint, but also that there is a tendency to crowd it into certain localities:

TABLE I.
Nativity in the United States.³

Division.	Native Par.	Foreign Par.	Foreign Birth.
United States	65.9	34.2	13.6
North Atlantic Division.....	48.9	51.1	22.6
South Atlantic Division	94.1	5.9	2.1
North-Central Division.....	55.8	44.2	15.8
South-Central Division.....	92.4	7.6	2.5
Western Division	52.4	47.6	20.7

An investigation of separate States shows that in fifteen States more than 50 per cent. of the population is of foreign parentage and that in seven the per cent. goes above 60.⁴ The same crowding of the problem into localities is again shown. The statistics for cities also present this side of the problem.⁵ In New York, Chicago, San

²Reports U. S. Commissioner of Immigration.

³U. S. Census, Vol. 1, pp. 806-808; Vol. 1, p. (XCIX), (CIH), 485 (Population).

"Foreign Parentage" includes Foreign Birth.

⁴U. S. Census, Vol. 1, pp. 806-808; Vol. 1, p. (XCIX), (CIH).

⁵U. S. Census of Pop., Vol. 1, pp. cix, cxii and 609.

Francisco, Detroit, Cleveland and Milwaukee more than 75 per cent. of the people are of foreign parentage, and in every large city, except in the South, the per cent. goes above 50. Statistics also demonstrate that in each instance the per cent. of foreign population in the principal cities of a State is larger than for the remainder of the country.⁶

The problem is further explained by noticing the great multiplicity of nationalities and races composing this large bulk of immigrants.⁷ All of them have distinct characteristics, some being more easily influenced than others. Again, some can be influenced only by certain forces and others by different conditions. Some nationalities possess a greater capacity to become Americanized than others, and some have a larger degree of willingness.

Illiteracy is also an important factor in this respect. Whether or not, it is a test of the immigrant's capacity, the great difference in the literacy of the various nationalities certainly indicates that one nationality presents a different problem from another.

Is the Problem Becoming More or Less Difficult?

The statistics of the total annual immigration to the United States since 1870 indicate that the absolute number of immigrants is rapidly increasing. When, however, these statistics are viewed relative to the total population, no increase is noticeable, so that from the mere standpoint of population the problem is not becoming more difficult. Far more important, however, is an examination of the component parts of the total number of immigrants. The statistics show that a change in the source of immigration has taken place. Formerly the bulk of immigrants came from northern European countries; now they come more and more from southern and southeastern Europe, where the capacity and willingness for Americanization is not as great.

The illiteracy of these separate races also shows an increasing difficulty. The illiteracy of those races who are more and more gaining the upper hand in immigration to the United States is very high, while that of the races who formerly composed the bulk of immigration is comparatively very low. In many cases, also, the

⁶U. S. Ind. Com. Report, Vol. 15, p. 278. E. D. Durand.

⁷U. S. Com. Immigration Reports.

immigrants from southern and southeastern Europe in themselves are becoming increasingly illiterate.⁸

Furthermore, the tendency to crowd into cities, formerly shown, means an increased difficulty in the problem of Americanization. Finally, a greater and greater proportion of the immigrants cannot speak the English language. In the aggregate it seems, therefore, that the problem is becoming greater and more complex.

II. THE FORCES OF AMERICANIZATION.

The question now to determine is: What is being done to meet this growing difficulty in the problem of Americanization? What are the Americanizing forces? How do they affect the immigrant? Are they the same for all nationalities? Are they the same for the city as for the country? To what extent are they successful with the various nationalities? What forces are doing most to meet the problem?

(a) *The School.*

The importance of the school as an Americanization force lies chiefly in its effect upon the second generation; yet indirectly it affects the adult immigrant himself,⁹ in as much as his children, consciously and unconsciously, influence him in the same direction. A considerable number of immigrants, also, come as children and can and do attend school.

One very striking instance of the assimilating activity of the public school is found in the immigrant districts of Boston. In the "North End" the public school has to deal with a child population of which more than 90 per cent. is Hebrew and Italian.¹⁰ At least one-half of the children were born on foreign soil and the remainder came from homes scarcely touched by American influences. The effect of the public school on this mass of foreigners is marvelous in spite of the fact that 75 per cent. of the pupils never reach the eighth grade. The "South End" of Boston does not consist of immigrant colonies, but of a mixture of nationalities,¹¹ and this very fact results in an even greater success for the school.

⁸U. S. Com. of Immigration Reports, 1905.

⁹U. S. Ind. Com., Vol. 15, p. 475.

¹⁰"Americans in Process," p. 272.

¹¹"City Wilderness," p. 40.

The church schools in these districts are much inferior to the public schools as Americanizers. It is even claimed that, in some respects, they are a hindrance.¹² Evening schools for adults tend to do for the adults what the public school do for the children, but on a much smaller scale.

The coal fields of Pennsylvania are another example of Americanization through the medium of the public school. The schools here are not in themselves inefficient,¹³ but their effect upon the immigrant child is not as it is in many other immigrant centers. The trouble lies in the fact that the children do not attend to a sufficient age. In the Schuylkill region 95 per cent. of the pupils do not go above the common grades.¹⁴ In small mining camps from 90 to 95 per cent. of the scholars do not go beyond the primary department. The parents take the boys out of school, in many cases, at the age of twelve and set them to work in breakers, mills and factories. Yet, even in this alarming condition, President Mitchell calls the public school the greatest Americanization force in the coal fields.¹⁵

In these coal fields there are also many parochial schools. They are very generally upheld by the Hungarians, Lithuanians, Polanders and Slavs. On the other hand, the Ruthenians seldom send a child to a church school. As in the case of the Boston immigrant districts, these church schools are much inferior as Americanizers.

Another specific instance of Americanization through schools is found in the iron centers. Here the success of the public schools is in marked contrast with that in the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Even the Hungarians, who are so woefully delinquent in the coal fields, send the child to school longer than the law requires.

The factory towns of New England furnish further evidence. "At present the Americanizing process is going forward almost as rapidly as the foreign elements are being introduced."¹⁶ These towns seem to bear out the general coincidence, that in localities where assimilation is very rapid the schools are efficient, and that wherever it is slow the schools are comparatively poor.

¹²Am. In Process, p. 376.

¹³Roberts, p. 54; Anthracite Coal Strike Com. Report, p. 470.

¹⁴Roberts, Anthra. Coal Communities, p. 166.

¹⁵Mitchell: Organized Labor, p. 184.

¹⁶Spahr "America's Working People," p. 21.

What does the School Do to Americanize the Immigrant?

The following are some of the main Americanizing activities of the public school:

1. It at once throws the children of different nationalities into mutual relationship. This inevitably breaks up the habits of any one of the foreign nationalities. The next step is, then, to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which practically means the adoption of the American standard. This does not, however, apply to exclusive foreign colonies where schools may consist of a single nationality. In many cases it not only means the forced association of different nationalities, but of an immigrant child with children who are already Americanized. It is evident that in this case, which is the normal one, the immigrant child necessarily loses its foreign ideas and unconsciously adopts the thoughts and activities of the American companions. Even in the so-called foreign colonies, where schools are filled with practically a single nationality, the unamericanized will be obliged to see the customs of those of their own nationality who are already partly Americanized.

2. The public school teaches the children the English language. This enables them to associate with the various nationalities in their community, even outside of the school.

It is probably necessary that a distinction be drawn here between the country and the city. The testimony is universal that the English language is essential for Americanization in the city. Yet in the country it is quite plain that the English language is not necessary in order to secure a very considerable degree of Americanization. There are many farmers in the northwest who cannot speak English and yet they are acquainted with the American methods of agriculture. There are settlements of Bohemians, Germans and Scandinavians in Wisconsin and Michigan who cannot speak English, but they are Americans in practically every other sense.

3. The public school tends to break up hostility between nationalities. Not only is this the natural consequence of the close association between the children of different nationalities in the school, but the teacher prevents its open appearance and teaches the existence of common interests. Social solidarity is secured.

4. It teaches American traditions and the history of our insti-

tutions. This again means a breaking up of race ties and a building up of social solidarity. Under this comes, also, the growth of American patriotism, which, while not important industrially, is a step toward the assimilation of minds and wills.

5. The public school is the first and chief trainer of the immigrant child's mind to fit it for originality and inventiveness. It enlarges the child's capacity.

6. The introduction of machinery makes it essential that labor shift from one kind of work to another. The public school, in training the minds of the children, fits them to meet this versatility in American industry.

7. The American characteristic of aspiration to reach a higher plane of production is transmitted to the immigrant child. This Americanizes the thoughts of the immigrant.

8. Finally, the public school, by the introduction of manual training, not only tends to give the child some idea of American industrial methods, but teaches him that manual work is here the universal rule and is not a stamp of inferiority.

Little need be said of the parochial schools. Opinions differ even as to whether or not they are a positive hindrance to Americanization. It seems, however, that they do something toward assimilation. In many cases they mean the break-up of foreign nationality by bringing several nationalities into association. At times they bring unamericanized children into contact with Americanized children. They also teach some of the branches taught in the public schools.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that these church schools often consist of but a single nationality, and that means the strengthening of race ties. Then, too, the church school frequently leads to priest domination, which is the very opposite of original thinking, of inventiveness, of individual ambition and of the participation of the immigrant in industrial, social and political control. Finally, the church school frequently not only hinders the adoption of the English language, but tends to perpetuate foreign languages.

The influence of industrial schools outside of the public school is conceded. "The industrial school plants itself squarely between the tenement and the public school."¹⁷ The Americanization is

¹⁷J. A. Ellis, "The Children of the Poor," Chap. XII.

mostly industrial, but aside from this it is much like that of the public school. Evening schools, wherever they do not fail, are to the adult, on a limited scale, what the public school is to the child.

Extent to Which the School Reaches the Immigrants.

Table II contains the percentage of white persons of foreign birth, foreign parentage and native parentage, who attended school in the United States in 1900. The one marked point is that nativity causes but little difference in the attendance during this period of the child's life. For the whole United States the per cent. of attendance for children of foreign parentage is the highest (71 per cent.), for those of foreign birth it is second (68.6 per cent.) and for those of native parentage it is actually the lowest (65.2 per cent.). The statistics for separate States show, however, that this very low per cent. in the case of native parentage is largely due to the Southern States. Yet if there is any general difference, it leans in the direction of the children of foreign parentage.

TABLE II.

Percentage of White Population, Five to Fifteen Years of Age, Attending School in 1900.

	Nat. Parentage.	For. Parentage.	Foreign Born.
United States	65.2	71.6	68.6
Alabama	44.0	57.0	51.7
California	71.0	74.0	75.0
Connecticut	75.0	75.0	74.0
Delaware	64.0	68.0	60.8
Georgia	52.0	67.0	68.0
Illinois	71.0	66.0	69.0
Indiana	72.0	72.0	74.8
Massachusetts	81.0	78.0	74.0
New York	74.0	73.0	71.4
Pennsylvania	71.0	67.0	59.0
Wisconsin	75.0	74.0	73.0

Computation from U. S. Census of Pop., Vol. II, 1900.

The extent to which these schools are effective in influencing those children whom they reach varies for different communities and nationalities. Illiteracy, however, may show something about the subject in general. While it is not claimed that an illiterate

man is not an American and that a literate man is, it does indicate whether or not the school has influenced him. It is safe to say that if the school has changed the child from a condition of illiteracy to one of literacy he has been Americanized to a large extent.

Table III presents the percentages of illiteracy of persons ten years of age and over, according to nativity. For the entire country the illiteracy is greater for persons of native parentage than for those of foreign parentage. Even in smaller geographical divisions the same difference is shown, both in the Northern and Southern States. More trustworthy results, however, are secured by examining the percentages for single cities. Of the twenty-seven cities tabulated in Table IV, twelve have a higher percentage of illiteracy for native than for foreign parentage, twelve have it higher for foreign than for native parentage, and three show no variation. Of the twelve cities, however, showing greater illiteracy for native than for foreign parentage, seven are southern cities. For the industrial cities of the North, therefore, which really contain the immigration problem, the proportion of illiteracy in the case of native parentage is lower than in the case of foreign parentage. Comparing this with Table III, it follows that in the country the population of foreign parentage is less illiterate than that of native parentage, while in the city the opposite is true.

The illiteracy of persons actually foreign born varies all the way from 24.1 per cent. in Fall River to 2.2 per cent. in Montgomery. In almost one-half of these cities it is above 10 per cent. Thus, while in the case of immigrants illiteracy goes as high as 24.1 per cent., in the case of the second generation it in no case goes above 2.1 per cent. Certainly, therefore, the schools were successful in influencing the children which they reached.

TABLE III.

*Percentage of Illiteracy of Native White Population of Native Parentage
Ten Years of Age or Over.*

	1900.	1890.
United States	5.7	7.5
North Atlantic Division	1.7	2.4
South Atlantic Division	12.0	15.4
North-Central Division	2.8	4.1
South-Central Division	11.6	15.6
West Division	3.4	5.6

Percentage of Illiteracy of Native White Population of Foreign Parentage Ten Years of Age or Over.

	1900.	1890.
United States	1.6	2.2
North Atlantic Division	1.5	2.1
South Atlantic Division	2.1	3.0
North-Central Division	1.3	1.9
South-Central Division	6.8	7.0
West Division	1.3	2.0

Percentage of Illiteracy of Foreign Born Population Ten Years of Age or Over.

	1900.	1890.
United States	12.9	13.1
North Atlantic Division	15.9	15.6
South Atlantic Division	12.9	12.2
North-Central Division	9.4	10.6
South-Central Division	22.8	20.2
West Division	8.5	10.4

TABLE IV.

Percentage of Persons Ten Years of Age or Over Who Are Illiterate in Certain Cities of the United States.

CITY.	Native Whites. Native Parentage.	Native Whites. Foreign Parentage.	Foreign Born.
Allegheny .....	.5	.7	13.1
Atlanta .....	.3	.9	8.6
Augusta .....	.7	.4	6.1
Baltimore	1.3	1.2	12.9
Boston .....	.1	.3	11.3
Buffalo .....	.4	.6	12.0
Chicago .....	.2	.3	8.2
Cincinnati .....	.8	.6	8.9
Cleveland .....	.3	.3	10.7
Dallas	1.4	.8	8.0
Detroit	4.0	.6	8.6
Erie, Pa.	4.0	.6	9.3
Fall River	1.1	.2	24.1
Galveston	2.5	.8	6.1
Kansas City, Mo. ....	.7	.6	8.8
Louisville	1.9	1.0	10.8
Milwaukee .....	.2	.4	8.8
Minneapolis .....	.2	.3	4.4
Montgomery	1.7	.1	2.2
Nashville	1.5	.3	9.9

CITY.	Native Whites. Native Parentage.	Native Whites. Foreign Parentage.	Foreign Born.
New Orleans	2.0	2.0	18.3
New York .....	.6	.5	13.9
Philadelphia .....	.5	.6	12.1
Pittsburgh .....	.5	.8	15.1
San Francisco .....	.2	.2	5.6
Scranton	1.0	2.1	20.9
St. Louis	1.0	.9	9.8

Furthermore, it was seen that the illiteracy of those immigrants who are coming more and more each year is very high compared with that of the nationalities who formerly comprised the bulk of immigration. This means that each year more illiteracy enters the United States, yet the illiteracy of the population of foreign parentage is practically the same as, or lower than that of native parentage. The illiteracy of the population of foreign parentage has actually decreased between the years 1890 and 1900.

It was shown above that the problem of Americanization is, on the whole, becoming more difficult. Yet, the effective way in which the school meets the difficulty in certain specific instances, the permanent elements of American life which it instills into the immigrant child, and the great extent to which it is reaching the immigrant children, indicate that, even now, the school goes far toward a solution of the problem. In the future this will be even more true because of the increasing prevalence of compulsory school attendance laws and the growing stringency of the laws concerning child labor.

(b) *Trade Unionism.*

While the school is the greatest Americanization force for the second generation, it has but an indirect effect upon the adult. The problem of how to induce this adult immigrant to adopt American life is rapidly coming to be a function of trade unionism. Professor Ripley says:¹⁸ "Whatever our judgment is as to the expediency of the industrial policy of our American trade unions, no student of contemporary conditions can deny that they are a mighty factor in affecting the assimilation of our foreign population."

Several limitations must be noted in giving trade unions a

¹⁸W. Z. Ripley, *At. Mo.*, ap., 1904, p. 299.

relative position among other Americanizing forces. First, their influence is generally limited to the first generation; their effect upon the second generation is much inferior to that of other forces. Second, their influence applies only to the city. Third, their aggregate effect has as yet been of comparatively short duration, as the movement toward the unskilled immigrants is but a recent development.

The most pronounced instance of union Americanization is the activity of the United Mine Workers. There are twenty-six nationalities now working in the coal fields,¹⁹ with a growing difficulty in the form of a movement away from the mines by the Irish, Welsh, English, Germans, and Scotch, and the coming in of an increasing number of Poles, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Italians, and Bohemians. To-day the union members consist of over 90 per cent. of foreign birth, one-half of whom cannot speak the English language.²⁰ Before the union entered, these people were formed into hostile groups, which made Americanization impossible. The Lithuanians, for example, were bitter enemies of the Poles; the Magyars were the enemies of the Slovaks. At first separate nationalities had separate unions, because they could not be induced to organize together. In this form they were first taught that they had common interests. Then it was that men of the common nationalities and districts were organized together. Now it is not so much a question as to whether a man is Polish or Italian, as to whether he is union or non-union.

Addresses are made in two, three or even more languages, but the association of the various nationalities must inevitably result in the adoption of the English tongue. The union is also breaking up the domination of the priest. Again, it teaches the immigrant that he is not working because of the generosity of the boss. It also teaches these men the power to sacrifice something for a cause, and consequently leads them to recognize something more than private interests. Finally, it has increased wages, reduced hours, and improved other working conditions.²¹ Without this the pauper immigrant would not have the ability to adopt the American standard of life.

¹⁹Roberts, p. 19.

²⁰Ripley, *At. Mo.*, ap., 1904, p. 299.

²¹Anthra. Coal Strike Com. Report, Ect. Fct.

The unions of the clothing trades have also done much to Americanize the immigrants. The present weakness of the United Garment Workers is but temporary, and their history indicates what can be expected in the future. In New York City the union began twenty years ago,²² and, with periods of success and failure, although controlled by the Jews, finally abolished the sweatshop and task system, increased wages and reduced hours of labor, secured large factories in many instances and steam power instead of foot power. Thus it Americanized the industry itself, and made the Americanization of the immigrants in other directions a possibility.

Then it was that assimilation advanced in other directions. In the 1904 strike, while many of the immigrants did not know exactly why there was a strike, they struck because they thought their union was in danger. In other words, they knew how to fight for a cause. Those union men who worked for independent employers paid from 15 to 20 per cent. of their wages to support the strikers,²³ many of whom were non-union men and not even Jews, but Italians and Lithuanians. When a Jew voluntarily does that, one can say that he is no longer a Jew. He is at least partly Americanized. Ties of nationality are being broken. Americans, Germans, Lithuanians, Italians, Irish and Scotch are in the same union, and are harmonious. Furthermore, when the Jews arrive they, more than any other nationality, are timid and fear the employer. During the recent strike, however, they considered their union as unconquerable, and expressed confidence and fearlessness. This leads to participation in the control of business by the employee, a great step toward Americanization.

The Longshoreman's Union has also been particularly active among the immigrants. This union has a mixture of nationalities such as probably no other union can lay claim to having, and has the worst elements of those nationalities. Drunkenness prevailed and feuds existed between hostile "gangs" headed by inhuman stevedores. Although the union was organized as recently as in 1892,²⁴ it has destroyed the stevedore system everywhere except in Chicago, Buffalo and Milwaukee, and has at the same time increased wages and reduced hours—thus preparing the way for rapid assimilation.

²²U. S. Ind. Com. Rept., 15: 327.

²³Baker, *McClure's Monthly*, Dec., 1904, p. 129.

²⁴Ind. Com., 17: 264.

lation.²⁵ The joint agreement,²⁶ which, in contrast with the stevedore system, means very great participation in industrial control by the workman, has been widely adopted. The old feuds between nationalities have also been destroyed by the union. Better homes are secured, and an ambition to rise out of the position of mere unskilled labor is growing. Drunkenness is prohibited by the union constitution,²⁷ and there is a growing movement toward self-improvement—all of which are steps toward Americanization.

Further evidence of union activity among immigrants can be found in such industries as the lady garment makers' trade of Chicago, the meat-packing industry, and the textile industry, but space will not permit an explanation of these.

What Does the Union do to Americanize the Immigrants?

Some of the most important activities in this direction are the following:

1. The union teaches the immigrants self-government. It is the first place where they learn to govern their own activities and to obey officers whom they themselves elect, where each has a vote, and each can state his grievances, not to be remedied by some superior force, as in his native country, but by himself and his fellow-workmen.
2. The union gives the immigrant a sense of common cause, which leads to a sense of public, not merely private, interest.
3. It throws different nationalities into united groups, so that the foreign nationality of any one of them becomes lost. The next step is to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which is Americanization.
4. It often brings foreigners into direct association with members of unions who have already been partly or wholly assimilated. These foreigners then learn to see the difference between the customs of these assimilated workmen and their own.
5. The union usually requires every member to be a citizen of the United States, or to have declared his intention of becoming one.

²⁵Ind. Com., 19: 316; 17: 777.

²⁶Stewart, "Commons," April, 1904, p. 130.

²⁷Ind. Com., 9: 11.

6. It develops foresight in the immigrant. In fact, the very act of joining a union is an evidence of foresight.²⁸

7. It does away with the arbitrary dictation of bosses and employers, and introduces the idea of partial control of the industry by the employee.

8. The union shows the immigrant that he does not hold his "job" solely because of the generosity or personal favor of the employer, but because he has an inherent right to work.

9. It does away with priest rule.

10. It raises the immigrant's wages, reduces his hours and improves his physical working conditions. In other words, it enables him to adopt the American social and moral standard of living.

11. It breaks up hostilities between nationalities. This is not only in itself a step toward Americanization, but is essential before the immigrants can begin to adopt the thoughts and activities of Americans.

Extent to Which the Union Effectively Reaches the Immigrant.

The extent to which the union effectively reaches the immigrant in certain specific instances has been shown above. Statistical statement for the entire country is impossible. It varies with different nationalities. On the one hand, the "English and Scotch take to team work like ducks to water."²⁹ Bohemians are also "ardent unionists" when once organized, and are known as faithful "stickers"; yet until very recently the labor movement has not made much progress among them. Swedes are hard to organize, but when once organized are good members. Their success is shown in the clothing industry, where, in the special order division, they have the most successful union in the entire industry. The Irish of the upper class are not only ardent members, but very often control unions in which the mass consists of other nationalities. The Irish of the lower class, however, are shiftless, and consequently have a very unstable membership. Germans will not organize unless a good reason is pointed out to them. Then they readily join and become good members.

²⁸City Wilderness, p. 109.

²⁹Ripley, *At. Mon.*, April, 1904.

On the other hand, Poles are very poor unionists. They are much more successful as strike-breakers than as union members. Jews have a queer idea of trade unionism. They look at it as a matter of bargaining in a trade, seeing little use for a union in time of peace. Even when they have a union in time of peace, it has a constantly fluctuating membership, and they engage in socialistic discussion rather than in strengthening it. French Canadians also have little aptitude for organization, but usually can be induced to join. Syrians and Armenians not only resent all attempts at organization, but are hated by other nationalities. Until recently there were no Syrian unions, but even they too made a beginning. Greeks are hated by unionists even more than are the Poles. They are known as professional strike-breakers.³⁰ Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Magyars, Slovaks, Finns and Portuguese are all classified as nationalities not easily unionized. Yet they can and have been successfully organized in some industries. Lithuanians have been organized in the meat-packing and clothing trades; Slovaks in the meat-packing trade and coal mines; Hungarians in the coal mines and longshoreman's trade; Ruthenians and Magyars in the coal mines, and Finns and Portuguese in the longshoreman's trade.

But even though the extent of union activity differs with different nationalities, there is a general movement of unionism toward unskilled labor.³¹ Industries and trades are being more and more subdivided, so that unskilled labor can be introduced to displace skilled labor. This means that the union must organize these unskilled men. To adopt that policy means that each year the immigrant from southern and southeastern Europe will receive more attention from the union.

Especially in large manufacturing and mining centers, the union is assuming a new and special form in order to meet the occasion, as is manifested in the industrial union instead of the strict trade union. Hundreds of trained and salaried organizers are sent out by the American Federation of Labor,³² and by individual unions, for the express purpose of rushing the unskilled workers into the union. As never before, circulars are sent out, speeches are made and labor magazines and papers agitate for the

³⁰Commons, *Qua. Jour. Econ.*, 19: 28.

³¹Walling, *Ann. Am. Acad.*, Sept., 1904.

³²Reports Am. Fed. Labor—Sec. and Pres.

rapid organization of all workmen. Membership rules are becoming more and more lax in all but the very strongest unions, while organizers no longer aim to secure men of high efficiency, but to secure all workmen.

In a single year the Carpenter's Union granted 534 new union charters, the Longshoremen 171, the United Mine Workers 690, the Blacksmiths 130, the Meat Cutters and Butchers 140, and other unions in immigrant trades formed large numbers of new locals. The increased membership of unions in the immigrant trades, also, demonstrates the rapid extension toward the immigrants. In a single year the voting strength of the United Garment Workers' Union, in the American Federation of Labor, has, for example, increased from 53 in 1896 to 457 in 1903,³³ the Longshoremen's Union from 40 to 400, the United Mine Workers from 154 to 2173, the Carpenters' Union from 200 to 1090, the Brewery Workers from 75 to 300, and the Tailors' Union from 59 to 138.

It was determined first, therefore, that the immigrant, when he enters the union, becomes Americanized, at least to a very considerable degree. Industrially he is there wholly Americanized, and socially he is slightly Americanized. Second, it has been shown that unionism already has a large number of immigrants within its ranks, and that every effort is being made to increase the number. Combine these two facts and it follows that, as was first stated, trade unionism is the greatest Americanization force for the adult immigrants in the cities and large industrial centers.

(c) Physical Environment and the Presence of American Life.

Not a little Americanizing influence is exerted by the physical conditions in which the immigrant lives after he arrives in the United States.³⁴ Climate, for example, compels a change of dress, manner of living and kind of occupation. Physical environment tends to destroy his old habits and customs, and he adopts in their place American habits and customs, because they are better suited to American physical conditions.

In the beginning of our history, the strongest Americanizing

³³Report Am. Fed. Labor (Sec.), 1903.

³⁴Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9: 439.

force was "frontier life," which is a form of physical environment. Under its influence the immigrants were transformed so rapidly and silently that there was not until recently such a problem as modern Americanization. This force is, of course, diminishing in importance, but in the country of to-day there exists something very much like it. Even when immigrants live in colonies, they frequently become Americans, in the first generation.³⁵ Still there are no unions in the country, and the schools are inferior to those of the city. Why is it that they Americanize? Quite probably it is because of this force of physical environment in the form of frontier life, slightly modified. These immigrants do not Americanize as rapidly or as completely as they did years ago, but they Americanize in a similar way. It is slower than in the city—but it is permanent. It is the distinguishing feature of Americanization in the country.

In the city it is essential to note the Americanizing influence which is exercised by the mere presence of American life. There is a continual rush of industry. In order to live the immigrant must work largely at American occupations, and this, either through the boss or through competition, compels him to adopt American industrial methods. He sees the American system of government, the American way of living, American activity and American ideals. The difference between them and his own must influence him in the direction of those he sees all about him on the streets and at his work.

The extent to which this Americanizes the immigrant depends partly upon his inherent ability to assimilate. A race which crowds into colonies and avoids other nationalities is not as much affected in this way as one which willingly lives among the people of other countries. But even in such cases this force cannot be disregarded. All nationalities, also, have not as great a sense of observation as the Jew. All are not held back by the same home ties as the Italian. All have not as receptive minds as the Irish, and the intentions of one class are not as favorable as are those of another.

Still, although limited in many ways, the force of physical environment and the presence of American life have an Americanizing influence which should not be disregarded.

³⁵U. S. Ind. Com., 15: 500.

(d) *The Church.*

The action of the church as an Americanization force is much like that of the parochial school. It does something to Americanize the immigrant; but, also, in another sense, acts as a hindrance. Its greatest influence is in molding the morals of the immigrant. In a certain sense, also, it acts as a co-ordinating force. Many nationalities comprising the great bulk of immigration belong to the same denomination—the Catholic. So it is with the Italians, the Bohemians, the Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Polanders, and most of the people from southeastern Europe. It is to be noted, however, that the bitterest hatred often exists between these very nationalities who belong to the same denomination. The church, in some instances, tends to bring Americanized immigrants into association with unamericanized immigrants. It also tends to prevent lawlessness. It informs the immigrant what the new laws are and how they differ from those of his native country. It tells him what the new country expects of him socially, politically, and industrially. Finally, the church does something to obliterate slum conditions, thus not merely raising the immigrant's standard of life, but making it possible for other Americanization forces to permanently affect him.

On the other hand, the church makes possible "priest domination," which is the opposite of American thinking and activity. It tends to perpetuate the foreign language. Then, too, the very fact that in immigrant districts a church often consists of a single nationality, makes possible a hatred between nationalities. Furthermore, the church often works in opposition to the public school, and sometimes in opposition to the union. It frequently enters politics in the objectional form in which the priest orders the members of his church to vote for certain men and issues. This is the very opposite of American thought and activity. Finally, the teachings of the church are, in many cases, brought to the United States by the immigrants themselves, and in this way tend to remind men of the past and to perpetuate foreign thoughts and customs.

The extent to which the church reaches the immigrants varies with different churches and nationalities. It is safe to say that the church which most affects them is the Roman Catholic. This is

only true, however, because more and more of the immigrants are annually coming from the Catholic countries.

Attendance differs with nationalities. The Italians, for example, care much less for the church in the United States than they did in Italy. On the other hand, the Irish, in as much as they found the church the very bulwark of their liberty at home, remain with it wherever they go; but even they often patronize the public instead of the church school. Other nationalities especially under the influence of the Catholic Church are the Slavs, Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles.

The first generation of the Jews, even more than the Catholic nationalities, are under the influence of the church. They will choose one occupation instead of another in order to attend to their church affairs. But with them there is also a tendency to desert the church after they have been here for some time. One Jew said: "My father prays every day; I pray once a week; my son never prays."³⁶

The Protestant churches also exert some influence, but it is not so much among the immigrants of the industrial centers. They affect Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians and those nationalities in general who formerly composed the bulk of immigration. Their influence, wherever it exists at all, is, with some exceptions, more rapid and permanent than in the case of the Jewish and Catholic churches, because they do not offer so much resistance to the introduction of the English language.

(e) *Politics.*

In 1900 56.8 per cent. of the foreign born males of voting age in the United States were naturalized, 8.3 per cent. had filed their first papers, 14.9 per cent. were unknown, and 20 per cent. were aliens.³⁷ Thus, politics directly affects considerably more than the majority of the immigrants.

In the past this influence of politics upon the immigrants has done much to assimilate them.³⁸ Its effect to-day depends upon its local conditions. On the one hand, in many of the large industrial centers the political "boss" has some control over the immigrant's

³⁶"Americans in Process," p. 272.

³⁷U. S. Census on Pop., 1900.

³⁸Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9: 665.

"job." He orders him to vote for a certain candidate, and the immigrant, through fear of his displeasure, votes as he is told. The ballot, under such conditions, is not an exercise of a right, but of a compulsory order, whose every detail is determined, not by the immigrant, but by the political boss. Such a condition does not mean the participation in government by the multitude, and certainly does not lead to a condition in which the workman will participate in the control of industry. It is the very opposite, for it tells the immigrant that his "job" belongs to him, not because of his right to work, but because of the pleasure of some other person.

On the other hand, in the case of those immigrants who are not in the power of the political boss of the immigrant colonies, politics is one of the most striking differences between American life and life in their native country. When they vote it is an expression of their will, and inevitably spurs them on to learn how to express that will more intelligently. It tells them that they are part of society; that they have a voice in the control of their actions, and that their interests are not merely private, but are public. Every important step in our political system, to them, means further adoption of American life.

(f) *Miscellaneous Forces.*

The *press* acts as an Americanization force in the case of some immigrants. It does little, however, to assimilate those non-English-speaking nationalities who are becoming most important as immigrants. The constant opposition of some newspapers against such immigrants as the Italians, Poles and Hungarians is likely to cause hostility between these immigrants and the Americans. Furthermore, the English press, in the case of these immigrants, can reach directly only the second generation, as in most instances the first generation cannot read the English language. There are some papers printed in the languages of these people, however, and these, while handicapped by the very language which they use, often convey American principles to the foreigners. Some of them discuss political, social and economic issues much as English papers do, and in this way tend to change the immigrant's thought and activity.

In the case of those nationalities who speak English and those who are welcomed to the United States by the newspapers, such as the English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Germans, and Scandinavians, the

English press acts as an assimilator. Yet even here it must be noted that many of the papers are ruled by the same spirit which dominates politics in some of the industrial centers.

Little need be said of *books* and *libraries*. They tend to assimilate certain classes of immigrants, but they do not reach those who are hardest to assimilate and those who need it most.

Private immigrant aid societies, also, need but be mentioned. Only when more of them have been formed and when they have operated for some time can their real value be ascertained.

Municipal governments are, also, beginning to undertake activities which tend to assimilate the immigrants, at least from the social standpoint. They prevent unsanitary tenement houses, thus forcing a change in the home life of some of the immigrants and improving their social condition. They introduce public playgrounds, which tend to throw the children of the immigrants into association with other children. They establish baths, they minimize drunkenness and make efforts to prevent pauperism. All this aids in the movement of assimilation.

The *theaters*,²⁹ *popular amusements*,³⁰ "*boys' clubs*," *private societies* of various kinds, even *American slang* and the street life which prevails in the large cities, all act as assimilators. There is no more potent factor in the lives of some of the immigrant children than the influences which they meet on the streets.

Finally, it is necessary to consider, briefly, the activity of the *employer* as an Americanizer. In this respect, employers must be considered as individuals and not as a class, for many care nothing about Americanization, and others actually oppose it. Some of them, however, voluntarily give their workmen high wages, reasonable hours, and good physical and sanitary conditions of labor. In this way employers enable the immigrant to adopt the American standard of life, at least in the economic field. Again, in many instances employers have adopted the factory in preference to the sweatshop. The factory takes the immigrant out of his home and compels him to work with other workmen, many of whom are already Americanized and of different nationalities. Sometimes employers purposely employ men of different nationalities to prevent clannishness. Besides, the factory system is in itself a revelation to the immigrant from southern Europe. It means the compulsory adoption of American methods.

²⁹Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9: 653.

Many employers are in favor of the organization of their workmen, and are, therefore, entitled to some of the credit given to trade unionism. The movement of the so-called "welfare work," but recently established on an organized basis,⁴⁰ is also significant. Many of the private libraries and the industrial and evening schools are the work of employers. Not a few employers recognize the principle that the workmen have a right to participate in the control of industry, as is seen in the growth of the joint agreement. Correlative with this is the growing practice of certain employers to encourage originality and inventiveness. Finally, the railroads, who must be classed as employers, carry immigrants from one region to another that is entirely different, thus introducing influences which tend to break up their foreign characteristics. Some railroads distribute immigrants by transporting whole colonies out of the cities into the country.

III. CONCLUSION.

The problem of the Americanization of the immigrant is very huge in proportion, and is becoming increasingly complex. The number of immigrants, together with the population of foreign parentage, might seem threatening to Americanism. This large bulk is annually increasing, and a greater and greater proportion of the increase each year consists of nationalities who are inherently more difficult to Americanize than were the immigrants of the past.

But, however rapidly the difficulties of Americanization may be increasing, the efficiency and activity of the forces of Americanization are increasing even more rapidly. The most promising field for Americanization is with the second generation, and it is here that the public school stands pre-eminent. The chief hope of Americanizing the adult immigrant lies with trade unionism, whose rapid adoption of Americanization as a function is applauded even by those who condemn most of its policies. Physical environment, the church, politics, the employer, and also numerous miscellaneous forces exert an Americanizing influence to a greater or less degree.

New forces are being developed; old methods are, with some exceptions, being increasingly perfected. The problem, both in its increasing scope and complexity, is being met by the forces of Americanization.

⁴⁰ Rept. Welfare Dept. of The Am. Civic Federation (1904).

VI. Appendix

Report of the Annual Meeting Committee.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE American Academy of Political and Social Science.

PHILADELPHIA, April 6 and 7, 1906.

The tenth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science was held on the 6th and 7th of April, 1906, in Witherspoon Hall, Philadelphia. The general topic considered was "The Improvement of Labor Conditions in the United States."

The tenth annual meeting attracted a larger proportion of members from different sections of the country than any previous meeting, and gives ample evidence of the increasing solidarity amongst the members of the Academy. The annual meeting is the one occasion which offers an excellent opportunity for members of the Academy to become acquainted with one another. During the sessions members residing outside of Philadelphia were accorded the privileges of the Manufacturers' Club, the University Club and the Acorn Club. Your committee desires to take this opportunity to extend to these organizations the cordial appreciation of the Academy.

In order to defray the unusual burden of expense incident to this meeting a special fund of \$1,295 was raised, to which the following persons contributed:

Samuel T. Bodine	C. A. Griscom
George Burnham, Jr.	J. Levering Jones
Andrew Carnegie	Henry Phipps
John H. Converse	J. G. Rosengarten
Thomas DeWitt Cuyler	Jacob H. Schiff
Thomas Dolan	J. G. Schmidlapp
W. W. Frazier	Samuel R. Shipley
E. H. Gary	Alexander Van Rensselaer
George Woodward	

To all the contributors the Academy desires to take this opportunity to extend its sincere thanks.

Your committee also desires to take this opportunity to extend the thanks of the Academy to the Local Reception Committee and to the Ladies' Reception Committee.

tion Committee for their efficient services. The members of the Local Reception Committee are:

Joseph Wharton, Chairman	
Samuel T. Bodine	George W. Ochs
John Gordon Gray	William H. Pfahler
Samuel F. Houston	Joseph G. Rosengarten
J. Levering Jones	Samuel R. Shipley
Carl Kelsey	George Vaux, Jr.

The members of the Ladies' Reception Committee are:

Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison, Chairman	
	Mrs. DeForest Willard, Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Stephen W. Dana	Mrs. S. N. Patten
Mrs. Theodore N. Ely	Mrs. E. K. Rowland
Mrs. Adam H. Fetterolf	Mrs. Talcott Williams
Mrs. S. M. Lindsay	Mrs. Clinton Rogers Woodruff

The papers presented at the meeting are printed in full in this issue of THE ANNALS.

SESSION OF FRIDAY AFTERNOON, April 6th.

The session of Friday afternoon, April 6th, was devoted to "The Length of the Working or Trade Life," and was presided over by the Honorable Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, who was introduced by the President of the Academy, Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Neill then presented the Chairman of the Local Reception Committee, Joseph Wharton, ScD., who extended to the members and guests of the Academy a cordial welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee and the city of Philadelphia.

A brief introductory address was made by the presiding officer on the special topic selected for this session. The other addresses delivered were: "Physical and Medical Aspects of Labor and Industry," by Frederick L. Hoffman, Statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, whose address will be found on pages 3-28; "The Manhood Tribute to the Modern Machine: Influences Determining the Length of the Trade Life Amongst Machinists," by James O'Connell, President of the International Association of Machinists (pages 29-33); and "Length of the Trade Life in the Glass Bottle Industry," by Denis A. Hayes, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association (pages 34-37). Owing to illness, Mr. Robert Hunter, of New York, was unable to be present at this session, but has contributed a paper to the volume of Proceedings on "A Plea for the Investigation of the Conditions Affecting the Length of Trade Life," found on pages 38-41.

SESSION OF FRIDAY EVENING, April 6th.

This session was given over to a discussion of "The Settlement of Industrial Conflicts with Special Reference to the Trade Agreement." The presiding officer of the evening, Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania, was introduced by the President of the Academy, Professor Rowe, who said:

"Some of you may remember that in opening the annual meeting of last year I took occasion to say that the review of the work of the Academy, which has heretofore been an integral part of the annual meeting, would become unnecessary as soon as the active interest of our members had reached a point at which this review would simply remind them of what had been done rather than bring to their attention anything of which they were unaware. Fortunately, the progress during the last year has been such that it is possible to eliminate from the program of this annual meeting a review of the Academy's work. The active interest of our members, not only in Philadelphia, but that far larger body in other parts of the United States, has developed to such an extent that the problem now confronting the officers of the Academy is to meet the new requirement, which this awakened interest involves.

"The responsibility involved in the direction of the Academy's manifold activities has grown to such an extent that I deem it a special obligation, in introducing the presiding officer of this evening, to bespeak for him that cordial support and co-operation which it has been my privilege to enjoy during the last four years. He is to be not only your presiding officer of this evening but the responsible head of Academy affairs during the coming year. No matter how much effort he may put forth his work cannot be truly fruitful unless he is assured at all times of your support. He is known to you by reason of the scientific work which he has been doing in the University of Pennsylvania; he is known to you by reason of his success in building up the educational system of Porto Rico; he is known to you by reason of his efforts for the civic betterment of this community; and finally, but by no means least important, as the directing spirit in that great movement for the protection of children, which means so much to the future of this country. I have the honor of presenting the presiding officer of the evening, the Honorable Samuel McCune Lindsay."

A brief introductory address was made by John Graham Brooks, Lecturer on Economics, Harvard University.

Addresses were also delivered by Samuel B. Donnelly, Secretary, General Arbitration Board of the New York Building Trades, on "The Trade Agreement in the Building Trades," which is printed on pages 48-54; George H. Ellis, President of the United Typothetæ of America, on "The Fallacy of the 'Closed Shop'" (pages 55-58); William B. Prescott, ex-President International Typographical Union, on "The Services of Labor Unions in the Settlement of Industrial Disputes" (pages 59-68); A. Beverly Smith, Secretary Employing Lithographers' National League, on "The 'Mutual Govern-

ment' or 'Joint Commission' Plan of Preventing Industrial Conflicts" (pages 69-77). Mr. H. H. Vreeland, President of the New York City Railway Company, who was to have delivered an address at this session, was unable to be with us, but has contributed to this volume a paper on "Some Guiding Principles in the Adjustment of the Relations between Employer and Employee," which is printed on pages 45-47.

At the close of the meeting a reception was tendered to the speakers, members and guests of the Academy.

SESSION OF SATURDAY AFTERNOON, April 7th.

The topic selected for this session was "The Industrial Condition of the Negro in the North." In introducing the presiding officer, Professor Carl Kelsey, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor Rowe, the President of the Academy, said:

"It is sometimes said that the discussion of the status of the negro does more harm than good, because it tends to strengthen in the minds of the white population a desire to place the negro in a position of isolation. It is equally unfortunate for the negro, we are told, because it creates in him a feeling that he is to be subjected to exceptional rules and exceptional conditions.

"I cannot help but feel that this is a fundamentally mistaken estimate of the situation. The attention which the status of the negro is receiving is an indication of the fact that the American people are no longer satisfied to cover the situation with words and phrases, but are anxious to secure and to know the facts. A group of investigators, of which the presiding officer of this afternoon is one of the most prominent, has been at work carefully and patiently examining the conditions under which the colored population are compelled to earn their livelihood, and it is in recognition of the contributions that he has made to the subject that your Annual Meeting Committee has called on Professor Kelsey to preside at this session. I have the honor of introducing the presiding officer of the afternoon, Professor Carl Kelsey, of the University of Pennsylvania."

The addresses at this session were delivered by Professor Kelly Miller, Howard University, on "The Economic Handicap of the Negro in the North," which is printed on pages 81-88; Miss Mary W. Ovington, Fellow Greenwich House Committee on Social Investigations, on "The Negro in the Trades Unions in New York" (pages 89-96); R. R. Wright, Jr., Special Research Fellow in the University of Pennsylvania, on "The Migration of Negroes to the North" (pages 97-116); Hugh M. Browne, Principal Institute for Colored Youth, on "The Training of the Negro Laborer in the North" (pages 117-127); William L. Bulkley, of New York, on "The Industrial Condition of the Negro in New York City" (pages 128-134).

SESSION OF SATURDAY EVENING, April 7th.

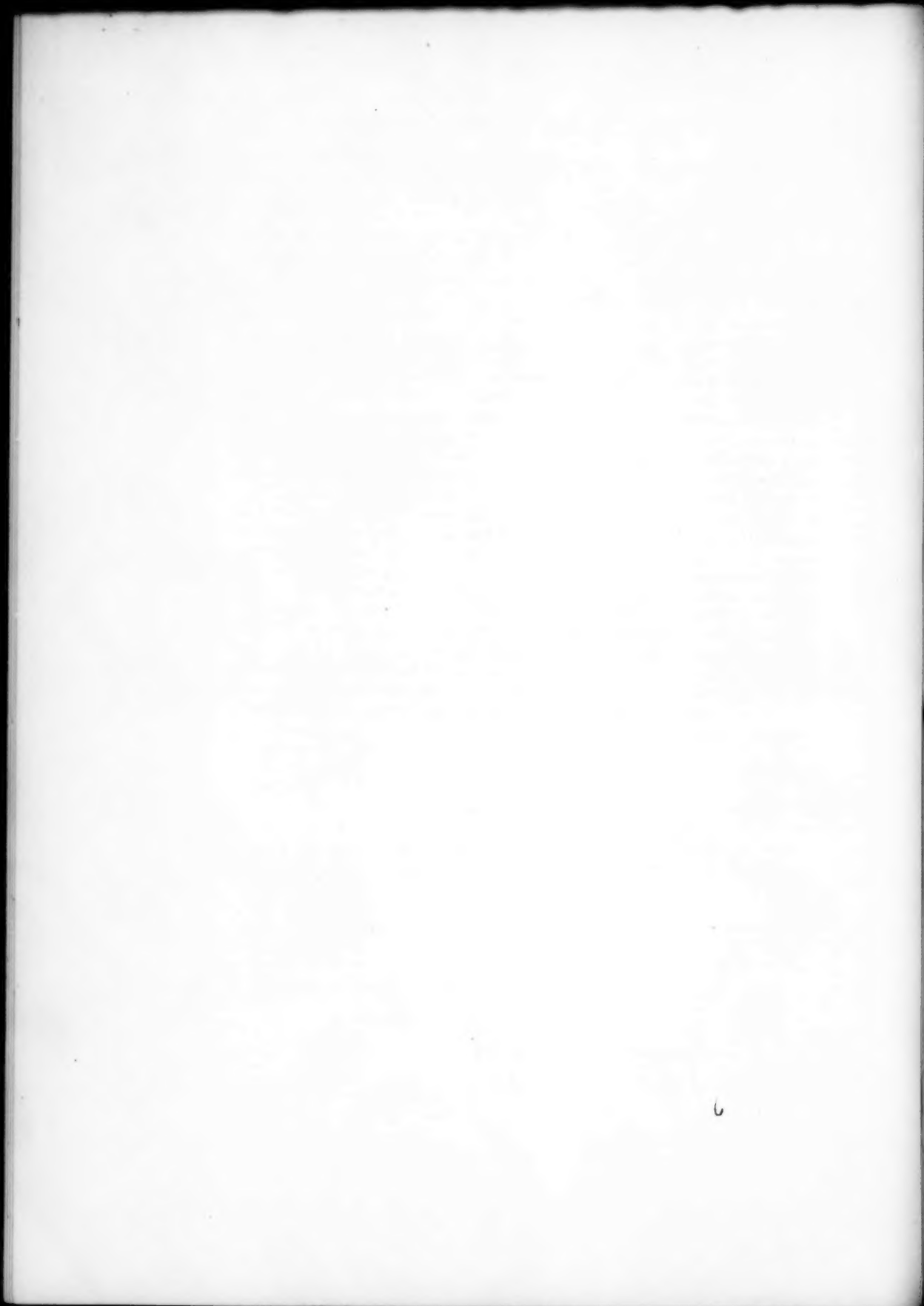
The topic assigned for the closing session of the tenth annual meeting

was "The Condition of Working Women in the United States." This session was presided over by Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, who was introduced by the President of the Academy, Professor Rowe. Professor Rowe, in introducing Mr. Filene, spoke as follows:

"The introduction of the presiding officer of the evening must be in the nature of an apology both to you and to him. I am confronted with the embarrassing alternative of consuming time which, of right, belongs to the speakers of the evening, or neglecting to give you an adequate idea of his contributions to the cause of social progress. I must content myself with the mere statement that to him, more than to any other man in this country, belongs the credit and the honor of rescuing the principle of industrial co-operation from the condition of neglect, not to say discredit, into which it had fallen. His enterprises in the city of Boston entitle him to a high rank amongst those real leaders of industry whose achievements mean not only an increase in the productive power of the community but, going hand in hand therewith, an improvement in the relations between the employer and employee such as constitutes a lesson of real influence in the industrial world. I have the honor of presenting Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, Mass."

The introductory address on "The Betterment of the Conditions of Working Women" was made by the presiding officer, and will be found on pages 151-161 of this volume. The other addresses of the evening were: "The Difficulties and Dangers Confronting the Working Woman," by Miss Dorothy Richardson, author of "The Long Day" (pages 162-164); "The Condition of the Working Women from the Working Woman's Viewpoint," by Rose H. Phelps Stokes (pages 165-175); "Organization Amongst Working Women," by Miss Lillian D. Wald, Nurses' Settlement (pages 176-183); and "Women Who Work and Women Who Spend," by Maud Nathan, President of the Consumers' League of New York (pages 184-188).

At the close of this session a reception was tendered to the speakers, members and guests of the Academy.



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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used: *pap.*, principal paper by the person named; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author; *n.*, note by the person named; *r.*, review by the person named.

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Supplement to
THE ANNALS OF
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
MAY, 1900

The Pan-American Conferences and their Significance

Addressed by

His Excellency, Mr. William Buchanan,
Governor New Jersey, at Trenton

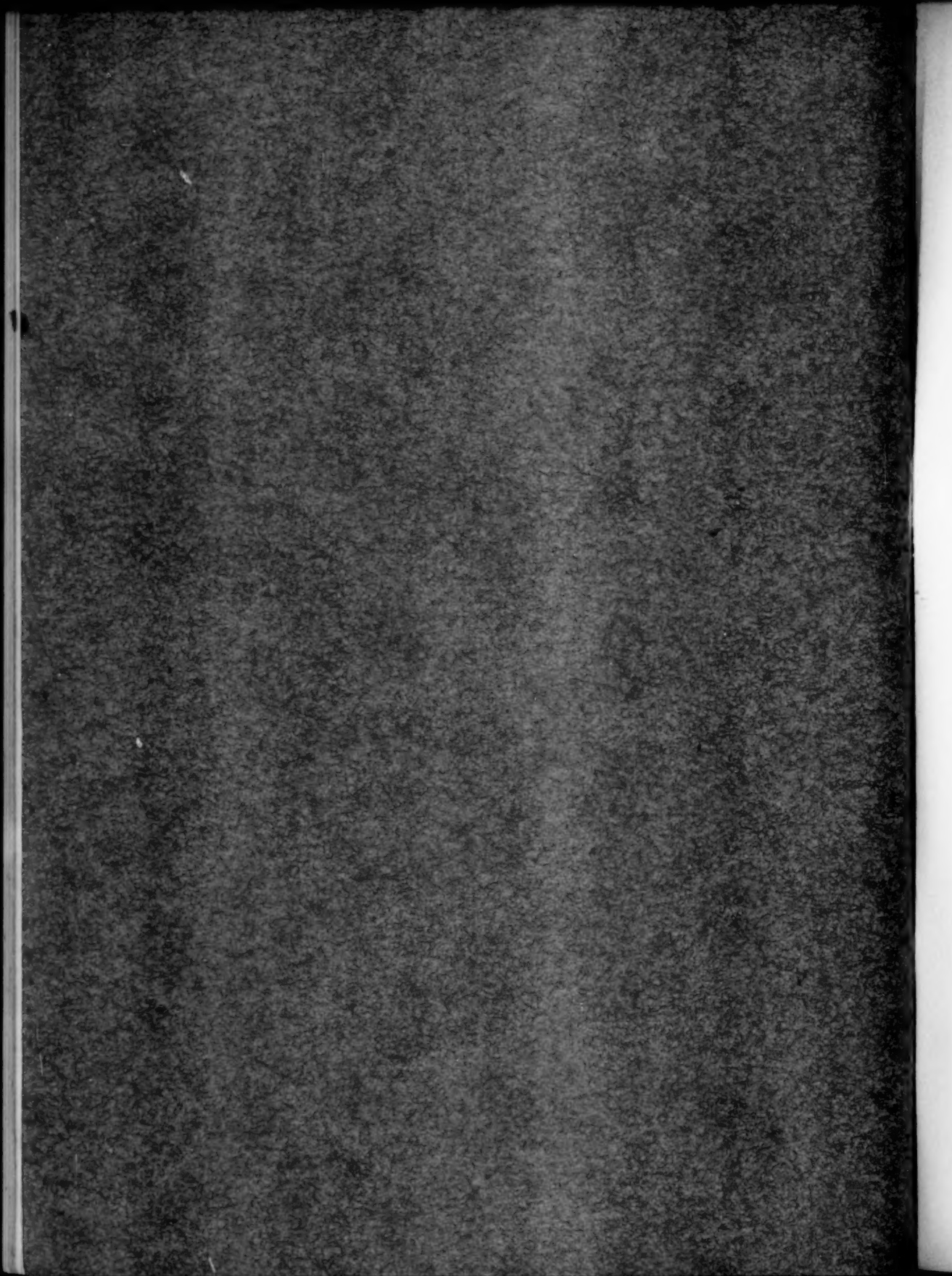
His Excellency, Mr. Antonio Aguilar,
Governor New Mexico, at Santa Fe

His Excellency, Mr. Carlos B. Garmendia,
Governor Vera Cruz, at Mexico

His Excellency, Mr. Carlos B. Garmendia,
Governor Vera Cruz, at Mexico

RECEIVED

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



The Pan-American Conferences and Their Significance

PROCEEDINGS OF SPECIAL SESSION OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE HELD IN HONOR OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MEXICAN AMBASSADOR, SENOR DON JOAQUIN D. CASASUS
FEBRUARY 24, 1906

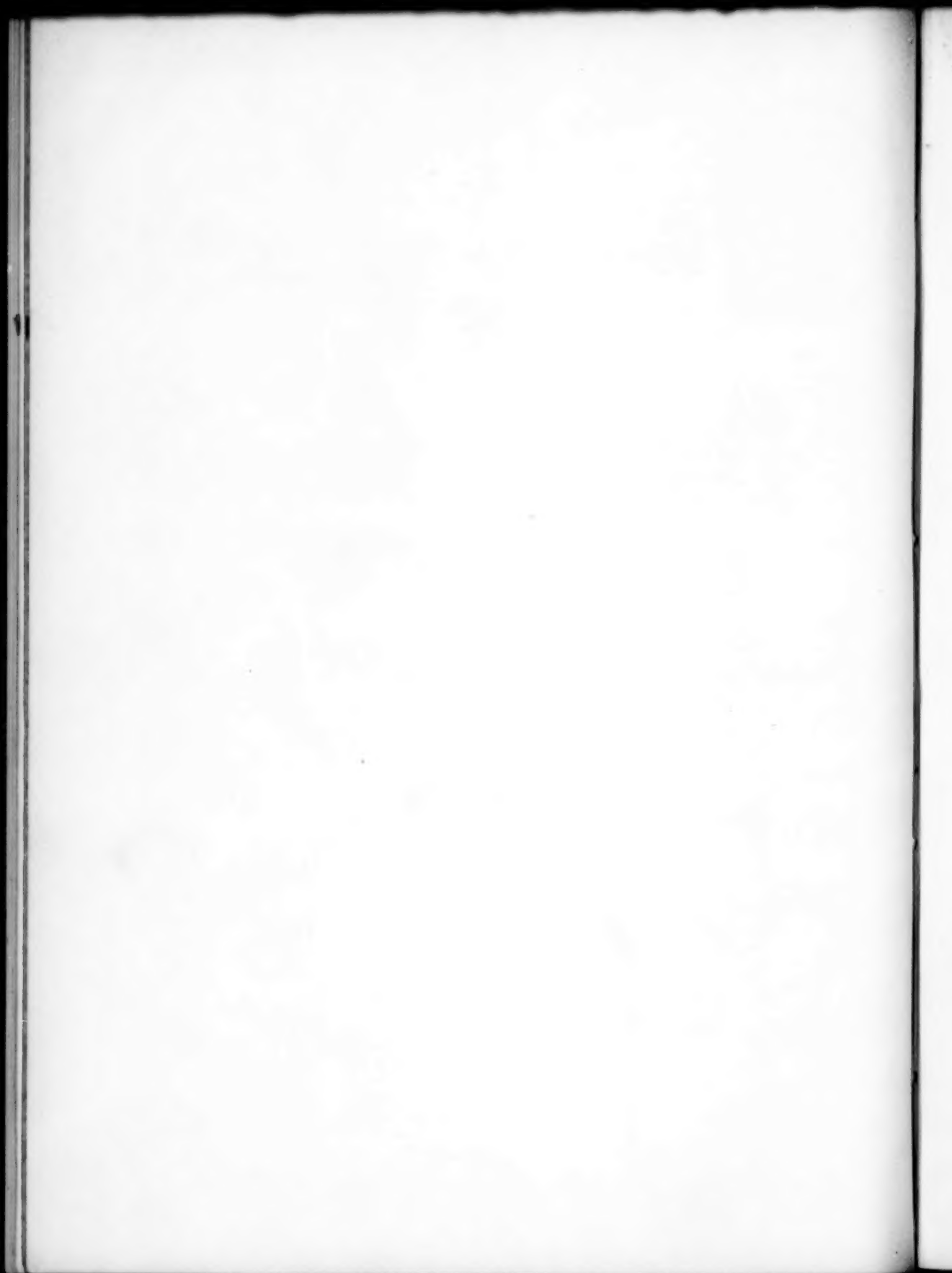
Introductory Remarks by the President of the Academy, Professor L. S. ROWE.

Addresses by: His Excellency SENOR DON JOAQUIN D. CASASUS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the United States.

His Excellency SENOR DON JOAQUIM NABUCO, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Brazil to the United States.

His Excellency SENOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia to the United States.

His Excellency SENOR DON JOAQUIN BERNARDO CALVO, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica to the United States.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By the President of the Academy, PROF. L. S. ROWE.

It is now more than fifteen years since Secretary Blaine made a reality of the dream of so many of our statesmen by bringing together the Republics of the American continent for the consideration of affairs of mutual interest. The vague hope of the nineteenth century has become the reality of the twentieth, with a conscious purpose and a definite organization.

With each succeeding conference the machinery through which the American republics express their united will is becoming more delicate in its adjustment and more effective in promoting that mutual understanding upon which the peace and prosperity of this continent rest.

To us, in the United States, these conferences have been of inestimable educative value. They have contributed more than any one other factor toward a more definite formulation of our policy in American affairs, and they have made us see more clearly that our position on this continent involves not only rights, but also grave responsibilities.

The success of these conferences has been due mainly to the influence of a small group of men, whose commanding position in their respective countries has enabled them to secure not only the formal adhesion of their governments to the resolutions adopted by these conferences, but also to insure the definite execution of the policy agreed upon. In this group of men, our guest of this evening has occupied a conspicuous position. It was largely due to his influence that the conference which met in Mexico City during the winter of 1902-03, was able to accomplish so much. The important part that he has played in Mexican affairs enabled him to speak with authority for his own country, and his thorough knowledge of the Spanish-American situation made it possible for him to guide the efforts of the congress into the most fruitful channels.

I regret that the limitations of my time and your patience forbid the enumeration of the services which he has rendered his country, and which explain the unique position of influence which he now occupies. As a jurist and statesman, he carried to successful conclusion the revision of the most important parts of the Mexican legal system; as an educator he is responsible for the extension of the scope of higher education into new and fruitful channels; as an economist and financier, he played a leading part in that remarkable reconstruction of the Mexican monetary system which has just been carried to successful conclusion, and finally as a patron of the arts and sciences he has, through counsel and financial encouragement, enabled a large group of young investigators, literateurs and poets to secure the equipment and training necessary to bring their talents to full fruition.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT OF THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

By His Excellency, the Mexican Ambassador, SENOR DON JOAQUIN
D. CASASUS.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: To overcome human selfishness, the most natural sentiment of mankind, so as to bring into existence the family and the clan was the first effort that primitive humanity accomplished to make its indefinite progress possible. To sacrifice family and tribal interests and to create the fatherland, so that under the same sky peoples united and having common aspirations might take shelter, was the chief victory achieved by man to assure his wellbeing on earth. And to cast, figuratively speaking, the fatherland into moulds heated by the fire of an immense love of humanity, nourished with sentiments of justice, is the supreme ideal towards which nations aim in seeking to become great and to secure peace.

To create the family and the tribe and obtain the first victory of man over man, it was necessary to use force; because, if in his primitive condition man is the enemy of man, as was believed by the English philosopher Hume, who said: "the natural state of man is war," force was the only civilizing weapon that he could wield. To found the fatherland by means of war, properly considered as the greatest of social necessities, right arose, and right has served, and serves still, as the immovable basis and the indispensable support of modern nationalities. The achievement of the highest victories and the establishment of humane institutions out of the conflicts over rights developed a sense of justice which is destined to render war useless and teach man to struggle for liberty and progress in the peaceful strife of human labor.

Men clustered around the hearth to constitute the family, and made of love the chain that holds together all beings as the only compensation for the sacrifice of individual selfishness. The peoples united on the same soil to form the fatherland, and the organization of government was the compensation for the limits prescribed to

individual liberty. Nations come nearer to each other to-day, aiming at the same ideal and leaving aside the obstacles that stood in the way of their mutual development and growth so as to make justice the supreme arbiter of right and to obtain it as the greatest reward for the sacrifice of national selfishness.

These three periods of the life of man mark the three epochs through which civilization has passed in developing, after constant and repeated sacrifices, the altruistic sentiment that makes all peoples members of one family: the great human family.

This ideal, always kept alive to-day in the conscience of mankind, has been inspiring nations now for many years with the desire and necessity of convening more frequently as time elapses, in conferences and congresses, some of them with the view of avoiding the conflicts produced by the growth of nations, others intended to limit the sphere of action of governments and still others to promote a better understanding between peoples; but all, without exception, to dissipate prejudices, re-establish concord, to do away with trammels to commerce, to proclaim peace and to cultivate cordial relations, based on a noble spirit of universal fraternity.

America could not be a stranger to this civilizing tendency, and the United States of America, which in the eighteenth century had taught the world that it was possible for peoples to live and prosper with self-government under the ægis of free institutions, wished also to demonstrate that it was practicable for the peoples of this hemisphere, without any harm to their wealth or menace to their independence to come together, in order that they should know better their commercial necessities and unify their legislation in all that did not harm their primary interests.

The Congress of the United States, by the act of May 24, 1888, authorized the President to invite the governments of Mexico, Central and South America, Haiti and Santo Domingo to hold a conference in conjunction with the United States, with the object of discussing and recommending to the respective governments a plan of arbitration for the solution of conflicts that might arise between them, to consider also matters pertaining to the development of commerce and the means of direct trade between those countries, and to improve the reciprocal commercial relations that might be mutually beneficial.

The law of Congress outlined the program of the conference.

Never before had such an extensive program been presented for an international conference nor had it been considered possible that such a program could be a matter of discussion among delegates of different nations.

The labors of the Pan-American Conference were for concord and peace; it did not seek, like the congresses of Leybach and Verona, to restore a form of government and authorize a nation to reconquer her colonies; neither was it inspired, as was the congress of Panama, a dream of the great Simon Bolivar, with the necessity of uniting the persecuted to resist the attacks of a common aggressor; it sought rather the union of all in common effort, it undertook to create the commercial prosperity of the hemisphere, and to give this prosperity a basis of peace by means of the amicable solution of international conflicts.

The commercial and political character of the congress was accurately shown in the program. The congress was commercial because the conference aimed at having a Zollverein between the nations of America, supported by a uniform system of Custom House rules for imports and exports of merchandise, equal duties and the same nomenclature and similar forms for consular invoices, all resting on the adoption of an identical system of weights and measures and on a silver currency of international legal tender. And it was besides a political congress because it contemplated the establishment of a general extradition treaty, and above all because it proclaimed that arbitration was the best means of solving the questions and differences that might arise among the nations of America.

The invitation to the conference was addressed to all the governments of the American continent on the 13th of July, 1888, and after all of them accepted it, the conference met at Washington, October 2, 1889, with Mr. James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, in the chair.

For a period of six months the program of the conference was largely discussed, and resolutions adopted were in the form of recommendations to the respective governments.

The commercial necessities of the continent were well considered and all agreed that it was desirable that a railway be built to clasp the continent with steel bands, and that means of rapid steam communication be established both on the Pacific and on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and that partial reci-

procuity treaties between the governments should be negotiated to render fruitful said communication; that a common nomenclature of all the articles taxed or dutiable when imported by the different nations should be arranged in alphabetical order; that uniform rules for making up consular invoices be adopted and that all port and tonnage charges effective in different ports of the continent be consolidated in a single charge.

To foster the commercial interests of America, the creation of an international bank was considered as possible, and a new conference was convened to discuss and inaugurate a scheme of legal tender silver currency.

The political program of the conference was also agreed to in principle. The adoption of treaties on international, civil, commercial and criminal law was recommended; diplomatic intervention for the recovery or collection of money in cases of pecuniary claims, was condemned; the right of conquest was eliminated from the laws of the nations of the new world; negotiations for treaties of extradition of criminals were advised, and, lastly, it was declared that arbitration was the best means to adjust all conflicts that might arise between the different nations of America.

To symbolize this international union of the American republics it was deemed opportune to establish an international bureau, intrusted with the task of collecting and distributing commercial reports of all kinds.

What benefits were obtained by that conference? What was the practical result of that generous effort carried out to identify the commercial and political interests of America? The practical results were slight, but the conference did not fail to have great significance. In fact, the International Bureau of the American Republics was established in Washington; preliminary work was made for the survey of the intercontinental railway, and the commercial nomenclature was printed in three different languages. The other recommendations, however, were only an expression of noble ideas, of legitimate aspirations and plans, some perhaps impossible of accomplishment.

Yet it cannot be said that the conference did not perform a work of immense usefulness. It was a bond that linked together all the peoples of the continent; it revealed to each, community of interests; it had brought to the greater part promises of future well-

being; all countries knew each other more intimately; they had given evidence of their commercial power and had perceived a high ideal to be realized, if possible.

If only this result had been derived from the conference of 1889, it would have been of itself enough to reward the labors of the statesmen who conceived the idea of convening it and of those called upon to discuss the problems comprised in its program.

The transcendental importance of the work which this conference attempted to accomplish cannot be the labor of a single day, but the slow and arduous labor of successive generations. The dreams of yesterday become the realities of to-day and the conceptions of sagacious men, the idle fancies of poets and the efforts of statesmen, at last are changed into efficient laws, precepts of practical usefulness and roads that show us the way to aggrandizement and prosperity. Nations, like men, need ideals to sustain them in the obstinate struggle they undertake to accomplish their destinies, and these ideals must be to them like the pillar of fire which guided the uncertain path of the people of Israel through the desert.

The government of the United States, filled with enthusiasm, as it always is, for all that can affect the interests of the American continent, believed in insisting upon its purpose of assembling the representatives of the peoples of all the American states to discuss all questions that influence their international relations and pointed out the desirability of holding a second Pan-American Congress.

The City of Mexico having been selected for this second conference, the government of the United States of Mexico, on the 15th of August, of 1900, addressed an invitation to all the governments of the American states to assemble in October of 1901 in the capital of the aforesaid republic.

The program of the Second American International Conference contained the following propositions:

1. Matters treated by the former conference which the new conference decides to reconsider.
 2. Arbitration.
 3. International Court of Claims.
 4. Means of protecting industry, agriculture and commerce.
- Development of communications between the nations that form the union. Consular, port, and customs regulations. Statistics.

5. Reorganization of the International Bureau of American Republics.

The program was as extensive as that of the first conference, and was calculated to give rise anew to long and thorough discussion of all those principles that underlie the foundation of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and political prosperity of America.

The second American International Conference profited, however, by the experience acquired in 1889, and did not strive to limit itself to making more or less effective recommendations to the continental governments, but proceeded to write, discuss, approve and sign treaties and conventions so appropriately prepared that they could be submitted to the legislative and treaty-making bodies of America for ratification, and so be converted into obligatory transactions of an international character.

The labors of this conference resulted in six conventions, four treaties, a protocol adhering to The Hague treaties of the 29th of July, 1899, eight resolutions and three recommendations.

The convention had the following purposes: the exchange of scientific, commercial and industrial publications; the protection of artistic and literary copyrights; the formation of codes of public international law and of private international law in America; the declaration of the validity of professional diplomas; the rights of foreigners, and the holding of a geographical congress which was to meet at Rio Janeiro.

The treaties comprised: patent and trade mark laws; extradition of criminals and protection against anarchy; the submission to arbitration of all pecuniary claims and obligatory arbitration in all questions not affecting the honor and independence of nations. It was previously stipulated that independence and national honor would not be considered at stake in all controversies relating to diplomatic privileges, boundaries, rights of navigation and validity, interpretation and observance of treaties.

The resolutions adopted by the conference referred to the prosecution of the work of the intercontinental railway; to the convening of special congresses, to deal with the customs system and the sanitary laws as well as with the production and consumption of coffee; to the reorganization of the International Bureau of the American Republics and to decide the form and the way in which the future international conferences were to be convened systematically.

The recommendations were intended to call the attention of the nations of America to the desirability of establishing an American bank; of creating an archaeological commission for the study and research of American antiquities and to the advantages that are to be obtained from the great Philadelphia Museum.

If all the nations represented in that conference had sent to their respective legislative bodies for study and ratification, after the meeting of the delegates, all the conventions and treaties adjusted, and these had been sanctioned by all the governments, the task of the conference held in Mexico would have been of such importance that it could well have gloried in being the greatest and most fruitful of all international conferences that had ever met in the lapse of centuries.

But even if it is not so, the practical results already obtained are such that the conference is never to be forgotten, and these results demonstrate that it has contributed more than any other to the commercial advancement of America and to the progress of a noble and generous idea: universal pacification.

Some of the Central American nations—Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras—gave their approval to all the labors of the Mexican conference. The United States ratified the convention for the exchange of publications, the Customs Congress was held in New York in January of 1903, and in December of 1902 and October of 1905 the Sanitary Congresses assembled, their labors being so beneficial that a new convention was signed in conformity with the context of that of Paris to regulate all that refers to sanitary service and quarantine.

The work of the conference in Mexico which is destined to perpetuate its name in history, is the convention on obligatory arbitration of pecuniary claims, which having been ratified by the Congress of the United States, by that of Mexico and by Peru, will soon be approved also by all the other nations of this hemisphere.

To understand the wide scope of this convention, one need only consider that notwithstanding the gigantic efforts made in all the civilized world to renounce force to obtain redress and succeed in having an era of peace and concord, this is the first time that the principle which the great Argentine Minister, Dr. Drago enunciated that the collection of public debts and pecuniary claims should never be made by force, has been consecrated in a general and obligatory form.

When the great thinkers Grotius, Pufendorff and Vattel dared to proclaim the principles of perpetual peace to be like magical dreams, impossible of realization; when philosophers like Bentham and Kant wished to avoid war by constituting international tribunals and permanent congresses of nations; when Stuart Mill, the publicist, tried to establish through the bonds of sympathy between peoples a supreme court of justice constituted by themselves to adjust their differences; when authorities on international law such as Levi and Bluntschli studied the proceedings for cases of arbitration, they could never have conceived that what was nothing but vain fancies, pleasing chimeras, golden dreams and deceptive illusions, would soon be transformed into rules and precepts of law, maxims of justice, effective obligations and commandments of strict observance.

When the governments of the United States of America and Mexico in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo bound themselves to try in the most sincere and earnest manner to preserve peace, employing for said purpose mutual representations and peaceful negotiations to avoid the disagreements that might arise between them as to the intent of the treaty or in reference to other matters in the political and commercial relations of both countries; and when again the government of the United States and that of Great Britain submitted to arbitration the Alabama claims in 1871, they could not suppose that within a relatively short period the peaceful solution of international conflicts would make such immense progress as to become an obligation knowingly agreed to and to be necessarily observed in some contests and controversies.

This arises from the fact that human civilization, like alluvial soil, is of slow and successive formation, years and centuries agglomerating their continual labor and preparing the rich and fruitful soil where, in perpetual bloom are to flourish noble ideas and generous sentiments destined to restore on earth the reign of peace and justice.

Another action of the second International American Conference worthy of the attention not only of the nations of this hemisphere, but of all of the civilized world, is the protocol adhering to the treaties signed in The Hague on the 29th of July, 1889.

In fact, of the nations of America only the United States and Mexico were represented in The Hague conference; and the others of the South American continent did not take part in the adjustment of the treaty which established for the first time the international tribunal destined to render effective the principle of arbitration.

This is not the occasion to express an opinion as to the organization of The Hague tribunal, which is the most intelligent attempt and the most august human institution ever established to promote universal peace; but we may remark that the fact of all the nations of America being summoned to enjoy its benefits may be considered as one of the great triumphs of the nineteenth century.

If in future nations are to decide to increase slowly the number of cases in which arbitration can be compulsory, when it is a question of interpretation of conventions and treaties, or when they refer to matters not affecting independence and national honor until they accept arbitration in all its entirety, nothing will contribute more powerfully to its accomplishment than The Hague International Tribunal which, in the midst of the desolation engendered by war, of the sacrifices of human life and of the destruction of public wealth it occasions, will be considered by the nations as the ark from which will sally forth the dove, a harbinger of universal peace.

The conference of Mexico assured another benefit for America: the periodicity of the conference to pursue the study of all the questions that interest America, and in virtue of which periodicity the third Pan-American Conference is to meet shortly in the capital of the great republic of Brazil.

It is not possible for human sagacity to penetrate with investigating foresight the depths of the future to ascertain what the next and the succeeding International American Conferences are to be in the course of time; but it can be affirmed, without fear of falling into an error, that each one will be of more importance than the preceding, and that all of them will strive with more eagerness to rivet the bonds which are to unite the nations of this hemisphere.

If we have seen that a union of the nations is to be accomplished at the cost of some sacrifices of national selfishness; and if we have reflected that in the long run these sacrifices without eliminating the frontiers which divide nations contribute to the organization of future humanity, it is but natural to suppose that all these conferences that America is to hold from time to time are to be landmarks on the road to that ideal that protects and encourages us. The American continent, governed by free institutions, ruled by just governments, impelled by noble ambitions, is the most appropriate field for establishing the new forms of future international law, and we may hope that to the creation of these new forms the Pan-American Conferences will direct all their efforts.

THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

By His Excellency, SENOR DON JOAQUIM NABUCO,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Brazil to the United States.

I may assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that having to speak in a foreign language I would prefer, instead of making any remarks of my own, simply to move that the Mexican Ambassador's address be heard a second time. A more lucid statement of the significance of the Pan-American Conference could not be drawn. Your President, Professor Rowe, succeeded in organizing beforehand to-night a small Pan-American Conference by asking to your Academy representatives of North, Central and South America, and he has called on each of us to express his personal views. I ask, therefore, Senor Casaus's kind permission to use his statement as a convenient platform, and will try to build upon it one or two structures in addition to his own.

The function of those now periodical assemblies of the American Republics, as it seems to me, should be, first, to form and to manifest to the world the American conscience; secondly, to create a common American public opinion. I am employing the word "American" in the sense of continental. This explanation seems necessary nowadays, chiefly in speaking to the people of the United States. That shows the giant strides your country must have made to absorb in the current language the name of our continent. As the original America, that of the early sixteenth century, was Brazil, I hope we will in a few centuries more come to a compromise on the point.

The American conscience I refer to is the sentiment of our own separate orbit, of an orbit absolutely detached from the European, in which Africa and Asia, not speaking of Australasia, are moving. With all our sympathy and interest for Europe, conscious of all we owe to the European influx, products as we are of the overflow of the European races, doubting even that in our soil

all the stems of European culture could ever produce the same fruits or the same flowers as in their native soil, we, however, elected to form a political system wholly unconnected with that of Europe. That, I am sure, is not only to our own advantage; it is also to the advantage of Europe, which finds in our continent a ground for the development of all its races, a field for its superabundant forces, more ready than if it thought of acquiring it by conquest. The existence of neutrals in the world is surely a blessing to the belligerents themselves, and but for our own independent American sphere the whole world might be considered a belligerent camp, devoted even in the intervals of peace to plans of war.

An obstacle to the growth of the Pan-American conscience lies precisely in the great shadow the United States throws over the rest of the continent. It will be, however, a matter of good sense and of sincerity for Latin America to admit the belief universally held abroad that the principal guarantee for the separateness of the American political system is the existence in its midst of a mass of human power that practically balances that of the rest of the world. In that sense the preliminary step for the formation of the American conscience is that the Latin Republics look to the part the United States had and has to play in guarding the Monroe Doctrine as in no way offensive to the pride and the dignity of any of them, but, on the contrary, as a privilege which they ought to support, at least with their sympathy and their loyal acknowledgment of the service rendered to all. That will no doubt be the ultimate result of the Pan-American Conferences. Working together with you, they will understand better your disinterestedness in laying down that principle as the basis of all your foreign policy, and on your side you will find that since their independence they have all looked to you, whatever else may have come here and there to the surface, with sustained admiration and with deep pride.

The other great function of those Conferences, as I view it, should be the formation of a public opinion common to the whole continent. You doubtless noticed the words Secretary Root used in the short and forcible speech which he delivered the other night at the Brazilian Embassy: "May we all do our share towards the building up of a sound and enlightened public opinion of the Americas, which shall everywhere, upon both continents mightily promote the reign of peace, of order, and of justice in every Amer-

ican Republic." I am glad he expressed himself in that way, as I always thought that everything in that direction depends first of all on the creation of a common American opinion.

You could not imagine nations mixing and working together without coming in the course of time to the same degree of civilization, just as liquids in communicating vases will show the same level. In these conferences Latin America, you must remember, is mixing with your democracy, the like of which has never before been seen.

Allow me to add one word more, since I find myself to-night at one of the centres of America's highest culture. What the conferences and meetings of the governments can do is much in itself, but is little compared to what would be done if the people, the liberal minds, the institutions, and the organs of public opinion of the different American Republics were to approach each other, have their own "conferences," and show real concern in their common progress by seeing that no country remains hopelessly behind the others. That is the much broader and much deeper task awaiting the creation by the universities of the two Americas, chiefly of yours, of a generation of masters and students, possessed of the continental spirit, anxious that the American civilization, now I employ the word "American" in the sense of your own, shall expand and reach the whole New World.

It is with such a hope that I beg to support the views so clearly put before this Academy by my distinguished friend the Mexican Ambassador.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

By His Excellency, SENOR DON IGNACIO CALDERON,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia to the United
States.

I feel highly honored to be called upon to address such an important and learned assembly and to have an opportunity of making a few remarks about my own country.

When the Pilgrims abandoned the home of their fathers for conscience sake and undertook to cross the ocean to seek their freedom, everything before them was uncertain, except their faith in God and their deep and strong love of justice and right. They brought with them and propagated in the New World all the virtues that go to make a man a true and worthy image of his Maker, and from such seed has developed a nation that in due course of time has come to be, not only a great world power, but the sacred asylum for all liberty-loving people.

Great as is your material wealth, astonishing as is your progress and the development of your industries and commerce, and amazing as is the accumulation of wealth and the well being of the majority of the people of the United States, nothing appeals with greater force to my mind than the practical working of the principle of equality and freedom, limited only by law, which fact I consider as the mainspring of all your advancement.

When I contemplate the humblest citizen enjoying all the privileges and having open to him all the honors and all the rights that in some other nations are the patrimony of the few, I cannot help exclaim that American democracy is truly the consummation of the conquests of liberty and justice in the world.

Now, on the other hand, if you please, remember for a moment how different was the material that came to colonize and settle the other portion of the American continent; when you consider that the men who conquered Peru and Mexico were nothing but adventurers, seeking for gold and the satisfaction of their hunger for

wealth; that after vanquishing and destroying highly organized nations, subjugated their inhabitants to serfdom; that the history of the three centuries of Spanish dominion is only a long chain of despotism and tyranny, you readily understand that when the Latin-American Republics, after long years of fighting for their freedom, succeeded at last and made themselves independent through their own exertions, their traditions and their education were far from suited to the proper exercise of free and orderly government. Even the geographical formation of our countries presents obstacles that do not exist in this Republic. That is why during the early years of their independence, and for some of them even up to this day, they had to pass through a dark period of formation and revolutions. Fortunately the majority of the republics of South America have entered firmly upon an era of peaceful development of their natural resources under well established governments.

There is a wrong propensity in this country to lump as one the different Republics of the South, and thus form a misleading opinion about their condition and progress.

Bolivia had also an epoch of misfortunes, and after sad experiences that cost her the loss of much of her territory, is now earnestly seeking to develop her great wealth and future.

Her mineral resources are second to none, and the Bolivian mountains contain a wonderful variety of minerals. The silver mines of Potosi are famous in the history of the world, and have contributed largely to its wealth. Silver, copper, antimony, bismuth, gold, and, at present, tin rank highest among the many minerals her territory produces. An Italian scientist, Mr. Raymondi, who made a life study of Peru, has called Bolivia a silver table standing on legs of gold.

The Andes divide themselves in Bolivian territory into two big branches. One towards the coast forms the western Cordillera, and the other, leading towards the east, is called the Cordillera real. Between these two branches extends the high plateau where most of the mineral wealth is to be found. In the eastern section are the vast virgin forests, where rubber, Peruvian bark and a great many other medicinal plants, and all kinds of fine woods grow luxuriantly. The reason why in the commerce of the world a great many of these Bolivian products are not known as such, is because they pass through the territory of neighboring republics and are

shipped from their ports. The Bolivian copper, for instance, passing through Chilian ports, is considered as Chilian copper. The Bolivian rubber shipped at Para is called Para rubber, etc.

My government is at present endeavoring to build a system of railways that will connect the north and the south of the country and facilitate the development of its resources. An idea of their importance may be gotten from the fact that in a few years, and notwithstanding the absolute lack of means of transportation and without the proper machinery, we have increased our exports of tin from about 2,000 tons of crude ore to 25,000 tons last year. It is also a remarkable fact that Bolivia is the only tin-producing country in both Americas, and as this metal is found almost all over the country, its future is great.

The United States, I understand, consumes for its industries about 43 per cent. of the tin in the world, and for want of banking facilities and direct transportation from South America here, you are compelled to get the Bolivian tin via Europe, and this is the case with many other South American products, which are freely imported to England, France, and Germany.

When the railways now being surveyed are completed one of the most important links of the Pan-American system will be made, and then it will be possible to go by rail over a distance of about 2,000 miles, from La Paz, in Bolivia, to Buenos Ayres, in the Argentine.

Peru is also developing its railway system, and in the near future Lima, La Paz and Buenos Ayres, and even Santiago, in Chile, will be united by rail over the length of the South American continent, through a net of railroads more than three thousand miles in length.


Bolivia is absolutely free from any foreign debts, and instead of owing any money has at its disposal ten million dollars in gold to be devoted to the building of railways; and her revenues are sufficient not only to pay all the expenses of the administration, but to leave some surplus to pay the interest of the money that we are seeking to find for the construction of the roads I have described.

We shall welcome the aid of the capital and the enterprising spirit of the United States, and I earnestly hope that the leading men of this country will pay more attention to the great possibilities open to American capital in every one of the South American countries,

and that coming into closer contact the peoples of the North and of the South will learn to understand each other better, and to realize that South America is not a field for revolutions only, and that its people are just as progressive and ready for advancement as any in the world. By this means a true Pan-American feeling may be developed in a great democratic brotherhood based on the mutual respect and estimation of its citizens.

THE RELATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA TO THE PAN-AMERICAN MOVEMENT

By His Excellency, SENOR DON JOAQUIN BERNARDO CALVO,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica to the
United States.



It would seem like carrying owls to Athens to attempt to add one word to what has already been said by the very able gentlemen who have discussed the important subject of the Pan-American Congresses and Their Significance. To their Excellencies, the Ambassadors from Brazil and Mexico, Senores Nabuco and Casaus, all America owes a debt of gratitude for the productions with which they have enriched the literature of this continent. Mr. Casaus has disclosed to the Spanish-speaking people of our hemisphere the beauties of the foremost English-speaking American poet. He has aided us all in his lucid contributions on finance and other matters of political economy, and in the work that we are about to undertake in Brazil he is an expert, having so successfully guided the second conference in Mexico as its Secretary General. Mr. Nabuco, whose amiable and skilful diplomacy is well known to the world, is the author of several books of note on constitutional law, on political institutions, and political and diplomatic history, and has also contributed to the beauties of pure literary work. He, who, by his mere presence in Washington, secured for his country the honor of entertaining the third conference, has his name indelibly engraved in the heart of humanity. No wonder that he could speak so eloquently on a recent occasion of the great Abraham Lincoln. The martyr President liberated in the United States millions of human beings from their chains of bondage. Hardly a generation later Brazil emancipated her slaves, and among her statesmen who brought about this monumental act of justice no name shines with brighter lustre than that of Joaquim Nabuco.

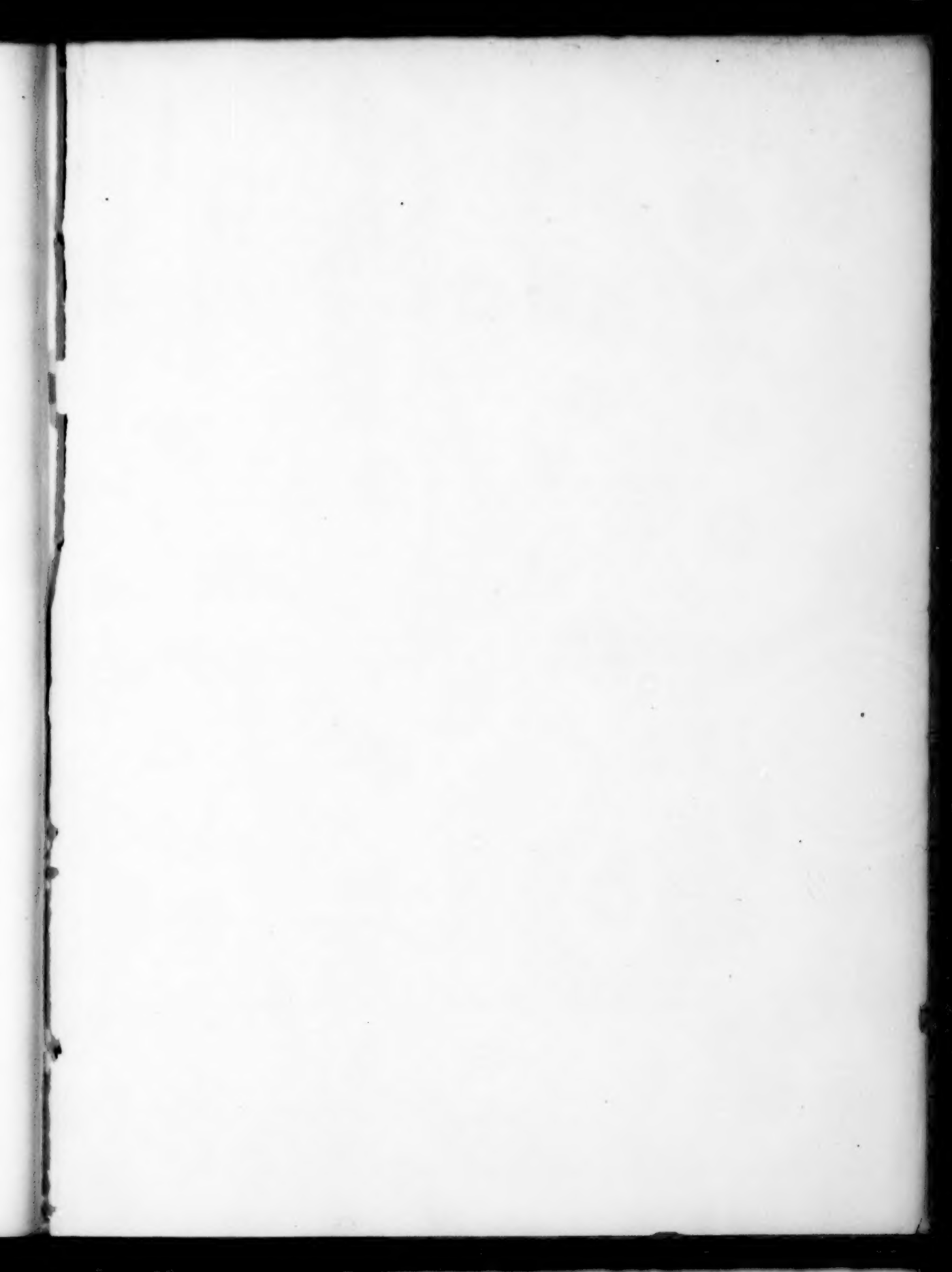
United to the names of these gentlemen in the work of the

next conference we have one representing this great and powerful nation whom we not only respect, but admire. His practical demonstrations of friendship and interest in the welfare of all America command for him our affectionate regard. No one may be assured of a warmer welcome in the third conference than the Honorable Elihu Root.

Speaking for Central America, and especially for my own country, Costa Rica, I wish to say a word. The precious link between the two Americas, in addition to the blessings of being in the center of this continent, bathed by the two great oceans and inhabited by a people orderly and progressive and of no common intelligence, has also a great glory recorded in the history of the American hemisphere, a glory of which we have reason to be very proud. The independence of Central America was the consequence of the triumphs of the great patriots of Mexico and South America, and was declared on the 15th of September, 1821, and only two years later, by a single decree, the abolition of slavery was accomplished in Central America at once without any indemnity being paid to the owners of the slaves, who were themselves the first to support this humane measure. Such an act shows how the Central American people appreciated the benefits of liberty which they owed to their greater neighbors, and that they were well enlightened for their new life as a free people.

To be relatively small is not a disgrace. Material grandeur, if certainly desirable, is not the acme of greatness, and we know that the latter exists where justice rules, where the general good is the supreme law, and where the aspiration is toward the consideration and respect of the other nations and toward the common advancement of humanity.

Now we are divided into five independent States, with Panama as a sixth, which may eventually merge into a greater nation. But, whether united or separated, the States of Central America have shown at all times their love for progress and advancement; they have co-operated with true ideas of Pan-Americanism to the success of the first and second conferences; therefore you are assured that they fully recognize the broad as well as the narrow interests which the Republics of America have in common, and will cheerfully now, as they have in the past, endeavor to do their part in the intelligent progress that the third conference is destined to bring about.



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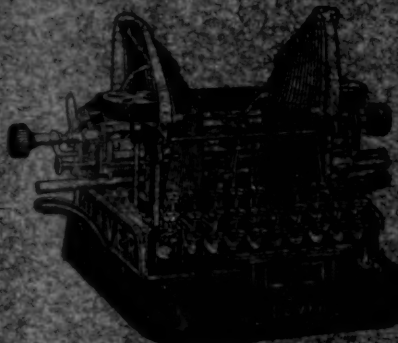
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PHILADELPHIA

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